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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. VII, PART 2

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS



ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. VII.—Pt. 2
(IN THREE PARTS)

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE
PARAMĀRAS, CHANDĒLLAS,
KACHCHAPAGHĀTAS AND
TWO MINOR DYNASTIES

EDITED BY

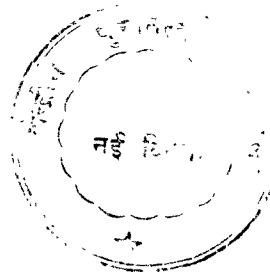
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CONTENTS

PART 2

List of Plates	(ix)
<i>Addenda Et Corrigenda</i>	(xiii)

EDITION AND TEXTS

No.	Plate		Page
Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Mālwā			
1-2	I-II	Two Harsōlā Copper-Plate Grants of Sīyaka : (Vikrama) Year 1005	1
3	III	The Second Plate of Ahmedabad Grant of Sīyaka : (Vikrama) Year 1026	8
4	IV	Dharampurī Grant of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1031	10
5	(No Plate)	Ujjain Grant of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1036 ...	14
6	V-VI	Gaonrī Copper-Plate Inscription of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1038	18
7	VII	Gaonrī Copper-Plate Inscription of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1043	24
8	VIII-IX	Mōḍāsā Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1067	27
9	X-XI	Mahauḍī Copper-Plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1074	31
10	XII	Beṭmā Copper-Plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1076	35
11	XIII	Bāṅswādā Copper-Plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1076	39
12	XIV	Ujjain Copper-Plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1078	42
13	XV	Dēpālpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) year 1079	45
14	XVI-A	British Museum Sarasvatī Image Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1091	48
15	XVI-B-XVII	Tilakwāḍā Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1103	50
16	XVIII-XIX-A	Kālvaṇ Plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Undated)	54
17	XIX-B	Bhōjpur Fragmentary Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Date probably lost?)	60
18	XX	Māndhātā Grant of Jayasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1112 ...	61
19	XXI-A	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 1137	65
20	XXI-B	Dhār Image Inscription : (Vikrama) year 1138 ...	66
21	XXII	Kamēd Pillar Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 1140	67
22	XXIII	Jhālrapāṭan Stone Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 1143	69
23	XXIV	Shērgaḍh Stone Inscription of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 11xx	72

CONTENTS

No.	Plate		Page
24	XXV-XXVI	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Paramāra Rulers of Mālwā : (Undated)	75
25	XXVII	The Mahākāla Temple (Ujjain) Inscription : (Undated) ...	83
26	XXVIII-XXIX	The Dhār Inscriptions: (Undated)	86
27	XXX	Ūn <i>Sarpabandha</i> Inscription: (Undated)	89
28	XXXI	Dōṅgargāon Stone Inscription of the Time of Jagaddēva : Śaka Year 1034	89
29	XXXII	Jainād Stone Inscription of the Time of Jagaddēva : (Undated)	93
30	XXXIII	Amērā Stone Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1151	98
31	XXXIV-A	Dēwās Copper-Plate Inscription of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1152	102
32	XXXIV-B	Bhōjpur Image Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1157	105
33	XXXV	Nagpur Museum Stone Inscription of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1161	106
34	XXXVI	Kadambapadraka Grant of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1167	114
35	XXXVII	A Jain Inscription from Shērgaḍh : (Vikrama) Year 1191 :	118
36	XXXVIII	Vidishā Stone Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Undated)	120
37	XXXIX	Eulogy of Sun-god, composed by Chhittapa : (Date lost ?) ...	122
38	XL-A	Ujjain Copper-Plate Inscription of Yaśōvarman : (Vikrama) Year 1192	126
39	XL-B	Ujjain Copper-Plate Inscription of Jayavarman : (Fragmentary)	129
40	XLI-A	Ujjain Copper-Plate Inscription of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Lakshmīvarman : (Vikrama) Years 1191 & 1200 ...	133
41	XLI-B-XLII	Bhopāl Pillar Inscription of the Time of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Lakshmīvarman : (Undated)	138
42	XLIII	Vidishā Stone Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1216	141
43	XLIV	Gyāraspur Pillar Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Fragmentary)	144
44	XLV	Bhopāl Copper-Plate Inscription of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Hariśchandra : (Vikrama) Year 1214	146
45	(No Plate)	Pipliānagar Copper-Plate Inscription of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Hariśchandra : (Vikrama) Years 1235 & 1236 ...	152
46	XLVI-XLVII	Bhopāl Copper-Plate Inscription of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Udayavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1256	157
47	(No Plate)	Pipliānagar Copper-Plate Inscription of Arjunavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1267	162
48	(No Plate)	Sehōre Copper-Plate Inscription of Arjunavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1270	166
49	(No Plate)	Sehōre Copper-Plate Inscription of Arjunavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1272	168
50	XLVIII	Harsaudā Stone Inscription of the Time of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1275	171
51	XLIX-L	Māndhātā Copper-Plate Inscription of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1282	175
52	LI	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1286	185
53	LII	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 128[9]	187

CONTENTS

No.	Plate		Page
54	LIII	Rāhatgaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Javasiṃha : (Vikrama) Year 1312	190
55	LIV	Atrū Stone Inscription of the Time of Javasiṃha (Vikrama) Year 1314	192
56	LV	Mōḍī Stone Inscription of the Time of Javavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1314	194
57	LVI-LVII	Māndhātā Copper-Plate Inscription of Javavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1317	200
58	LVIII	Vidishā Stone Inscription of the Time of Javasiṃha : (Vikrama) Year 1320	206
59	LIX	Paṭhārī Stone Inscription of the Time of Javasiṃha (II) : (Vikrama) Year 1326	208
60	LX-LXIII	Māndhātā Copper-Plate Inscription of Javavarman (II): (Vikrama) Year 1331	209

Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati

61	LXIV	Varmān Stone Inscription of the Time of Pūrṇapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1099	225
62	LXV	Vasantagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Pūrṇapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1099	226
63	LXVI	Bhāḍūṇḍ Stone Inscription of the Time of Pūrṇapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1102	232
64	LXVII	Ajhārī Stone Inscription of the Time of Yaśōdhavala : (Vikrama) Year 1202	237
65	LXVIII	Achalagaḍh Stone Inscription of Yaśōdhavala : (Vikrama) Year 1207	239
66	LXIX	Bāgh Image Inscription of the Time of Yaśōdhavala : (Vikrama) Year 1210	241
67	LXX	Kāyadrā Stone Inscription of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1220	243
68	(No Plate)	Hāthal Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1237	245
69	LXXI	Nāṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 123[7]	247
70	LXXII	Ajhārī Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1240	249
71	LXXIII-A	Muṅgthalā Stone Inscription of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1245	250
72	LXXIII-B	Bāmanwārjī Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 124[9]	253
73	LXXIV	Jhālōḍī Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1255	254
74	LXXV	Butrī Stone Inscription of the time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1271	256
75	LXXVI-LXXVII	Kāmṭal Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1274	257
76	LXXVIII	Rōhērā Copper-Plate Inscription of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati : (Fragmentary)	259
77	LXXIX	Dhāntā Image Inscription of the Time of Sōmasiṃha : (Vikrama) Year 1277	262
78	LXXX	Nāṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Sōmasiṃha : (Vikrama) Year 1290	264
79	LXXXI-A	Dēvkhētar Stone Inscription of the Time of Sōmasiṃha : (Vikrama) Year 1293	266
80	(No Plate)	Kālājaṛā Stone Inscription of the Time of Ālhanadēva: (Vikrama) Year 1300	267

CONTENTS

No.	Plate		Page
81	LXXXI-B	Bhūlā Stone Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1321 ...	269
82	LXXXII	Girvaḍ Stone Inscription of the Time of Pratāpasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1344 ...	270
Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Vāgaḍa			
83	LXXXIII	Panāhēḍā Stone Inscription of Maṇḍalīka : (Vikrama) Year 1116 ...	278
84	LXXXIV	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1136 ...	286
85	LXXXV	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1137 ...	296
86	LXXXVII-A	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1159 ...	300
87	LXXXVII-B	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1159 ...	302
88	LXXXVIII-A	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Year probably lost) ...	305
89	LXXXVIII-B	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Vijayarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1165 ...	309
90	LXXXIX	Arthūṇā Image Inscription of the Time of Vijayarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1166 ...	312
Inscriptions of the Paramāras of Bhinmāl			
91	(No Plate)	Rōpī Plate Inscription of Dēvarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1059 (?) ...	318
92	(No Plate)	Bhinmāl Stone Inscription of the Time of Kṛishṇarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1117 ...	320
93	(No Plate)	Bhinmāl Stone Inscription of the Time of Kṛishṇarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1123 ...	323
94	XC	Kirādū Stone Inscription of Sōmēśvara : (Vikrama) Year 1218 ...	325
95	XCI	Bhinmāl Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayatsimha : (Vikrama) Year 1239 ...	329
An Inscription of the Paramāras of Jālōr			
96	XCII	Jālōr Stone Inscription of the Time of Vīsala : (Vikrama) Year 1174 ...	332

Note :

Part 1 of this Volume comprises, inter alia, the political history of the dynasties mentioned in the work, with administrative, religious, literary, economic and social conditions, and coins; and Part 3 contains the editions and Texts of the Inscriptions of the Chandēllas of Vindhya Pradesh, the Kachchhapaghātas of Gwālīor, the dynasty of Vijayapāla, the Yajvapālas of Narwar, Additional and Supplementary Inscriptions, and Index of all the three Volumes.

LIST OF PLATES

PART 2

Plate		
I & II	Two Harsōlā Copper-plate Grants of Sīyaka : (Vikrama) Year 1005 ...	Between pages 6 & 7
III	The Second Plate of Ahmedabad Grant of Sīyaka : (Vikrama) Year 1026 ...	Facing page 8
IV	Dharampurī Grant of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1031 ...	 12
V-VI	Gaonrī Copper-plate inscription of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1038 ...	Between pages 22 & 23
VII	Gaonrī Copper-plate Inscription of Vākpatirājadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1043 ...	Facing page 26
VIII-IX	Mōḍāsā Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1067 ...	Between pages 30 & 31
X-XI	Mahaudī Copper-plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1074 ...	 34 & 35
XII	Bētmā Copper-plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1076 ...	Facing page 38
XIII	Bāṇswādā Copper-plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1076 ...	 42
XIV	Ujjain Copper-plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1078 ...	 44
XV	Dēpālpur Copper-plate Inscription of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1079 ..	 48
XVI-A	British Museum Sarasvatī Image Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1091 ...	 52
XVI-B	Tilakwādā Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1103	Between pages 52 & 53
XVII	Tilakwādā Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1103	Facing page 53
XVIII-XIX-A	Kālvaṇ Plate Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva : (Undated)	Between pages 58-59
XIX-B	Bhōjpur fragmentary Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhōjadēva :	Facing page 59
XX	Māṇdhātā Grant of Jayasimha : (Vikrama Year 1112	Facing page 64
XXI-A	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 1137 ...	 66
XXI-B	Dhār Image Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1138	 66
XXII	Kamēd Pillar Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 1040 ...	 68
XXIII	Jhālrapāṭaṇ Stone Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 1143 ...	 70
XXIV	Shērgaḍh Stone Inscription of Udayāditya : (Vikrama) Year 11xx	 74
XXV-XXVI	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Paramāra Rulers of Mālwa : (Undated) Part A-B ...	Between pages 80 & 81

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		
XXVII	The Mahākāla Temple (Ujjain) Inscription : (<i>sarpabandha</i>) (Undated) ...	Facing page 86
XXVIII	The Dhār Inscription (<i>sarpabandha</i>) : (Undated)	„ „ 87
XXIX	The Dhār Inscription (<i>sarpabandha</i>) : (Undated)	„ „ 88
XXX	Ūn Sarpabandha Inscription : (Undated) ...	„ „ 89
XXXI	Ḍōgargāon Stone Inscription of the Time of Jagaddēva : Śaka Year 1034 ...	Facing page 92
XXXII	Jainād Stone Inscription of the Time of Jagaddēva : (Undated)	„ „ 96
XXXIII	Amērā Stone Inscription of the Time of Naravaraman : (Vikrama) Year 1151 ...	„ „ 100
XXXIV-A	Dēwās Copper-plate Inscription of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1152 ...	„ „ 104
XXXIV-B	Bhōjpur Image Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1157 ...	„ „ 104
XXXV	Nagpur Museum Stone Inscription of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1161 ...	„ „ 112
XXXVI	Kadambapadraka Grant of Naravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1167	„ „ 118
XXXVII	A Jain Inscription from Shērgadh : (Vikrama) Year 1191	„ „ 119
XXXVIII	Vidishā Stone Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Undated)	„ „ 122
XXXIX	Eulogy of Sun-God composed by Chhittapa : (Date lost ?)	„ „ 124
XL-A	Ujjain Copper-plate Inscription of Yaśōvarman : (Vikrama) Year 1192 ...	„ „ 128
XL-B	Ujjain Copper-plate Inscription of Jayavarman : (fragmentary) ...	„ „ 128
XLI-A	Ujjain Copper-plate Inscription of Lakshmīvarman : (Vikrama) Years 1191 & 1200	„ „ 136
XLI-B	Bhopāl Pillar Inscription of the Time of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Lakshmīvarman : (Undated)	„ „ 136
XLII	Bhopāl Pillar Inscription of the Time of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Lakshmīvarman : (Undated)	„ „ 140
XLIII	Vidishā Stone Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1216 ...	„ „ 144
XLIV	Gyāraspur Pillar Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (fragmentary) ...	„ „ 145
XLV	Bhopāl Copper-plate Inscription of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Hariśchandra : ...	„ „ 150
XLVI-XLVII	Bhopāl Copper-plate Inscription of <i>Mahākumāra</i> Udayavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1256	Between pages 160 & 161
XLVIII	Harsaudā Stone Inscription of the Time of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1275 ...	Facing page 174
XLIX-L	Māndhātā Copper-plate Inscription of Dēvapālā : (Vikrama) Year 1282 ...	Between pages 182 & 183
LI	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1286 ...	Facing page 186
LII	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Dēvapāla : (Vikrama) Year 128[9] ...	„ „ 188

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		
LIII	Rāhatgāḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1312 ...	Facing page 192
LIV	Atrū Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1314 ...	„ „ 194
LV	Mōḍī Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1314 ...	„ „ 198
LVI-LVII	Māndhātā Copper-plate Inscription of Jayavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1317 ...	Between pages 204 & 205
LVIII	Vidishā Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayavarman II : (Vikrama) Year 1320 ...	Facing page 208
LIX	Paṭhārī Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayasimha II : (Vikrama) Year 1326 ...	„ „ 209
LX-LXI	Māndhātā Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of Jayavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1326	Between pages 218 & 219
LXII-LXIII	Māndhātā Copper-plate Inscription of the Time of Jayavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1331	„ „ 222 & 223
LXIV	Varmān Stone Inscription of the Time of Pūrṇapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1099 ...	Facing page 226
LXV	Vasantagāḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Pūrṇapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1099 ...	Facing page 230
LXVI	Bhāḍlūṇḍ Stone Inscription of the Time of Pūrṇapāla : (Vikrama) Year 1102 ...	„ „ 236
LXVII	Ajhārī Stone Inscription of the Time of Yaśōdhavala : (Vikrama) Year 1202 ...	„ „ 238
LXVIII	Achalagāḍh Stone Inscription of Yaśōdhavala : (Vikrama) Year 1207 ...	„ „ 240
LXIX	Bāgh Image Inscription of the Time of Yaśōdhavala : (Vikrama) Year 1210 ...	„ „ 242
LXX	Kāvadrā Stone Inscription of Dhārāvarsha : ... (Vikrama) Year 1220	„ „ 244
LXXI	Nāṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 123[7] ...	„ „ 248
LXXII	Ajhārī Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1240 ...	„ „ 250
LXXIII-A	Muṅṭhalā Stone Inscription of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1245 ...	„ „ 252
LXXIII-B	Bāmanvārjī Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 124[9]	„ „ 252
LXXIV	Jhālōḍī Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1255 ...	„ „ 256
LXXV	Butrī Stone Inscription of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1271	„ „ 257
LXXVI-LXXVII	Kāṇṭhal Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1274 ...	Between pages 258 & 259
LXXVIII	Rōhērā Copper-plate Inscription of the Paramāras of Chandrāvātī : (Fragmentary)	Facing page 262
LXXIX	Dhāntā Image Inscription of the Time of Sōmasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1277 ...	„ „ 263
LXXX	Nāṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Sōmasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1290 ...	„ „ 266
LXXXI-A	Dēvakhētar Stone Inscription of the Time of Sōmasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1293 ...	„ „ 267
LXXXI-B	Bhūlā Stone Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1321	„ „ 267

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		
LXXXII	Girvaḍ Stone Inscription of the Time of Pratāpasimha : (Vikrama) Year 1344 ...	Facing page 274
LXXXIII	Pānāhēḍā Stone Inscription of Maṇḍalīka : (Vikrama) Year 1116 ...	„ „ 282
LXXXIV- LXXXV	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1136 ...	Between pages 292-293
LXXXVI	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1137 ...	Facing page 298
LXXXVII-A	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1159 ...	„ „ 302
LXXXVII-B	Arthūṇā Image Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1159	„ „ 302
LXXXVIII-A	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Chāmuṇḍarāja : (Undated) ...	„ „ 308
LXXXVIII-B	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Vijayarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1165 ...	„ „ 308
LXXXIX	Arthūṇā Stone Inscription of the Time of Vijayarāja : (Vikrama) Year 1166 ...	„ „ 316
XC	Kirāḍū Stone Inscription of Sōmēśvara : (Vikrama) Year 1218 ...	„ „ 328
XCI	Bhinmāl Stone Inscription of the Time of Jayatsimha : (Vikrama) Year 1239 ...	„ „ 330
XCII	Jālōr Stone Inscription of the Time of Viśala : (Vikrama) Year 1174 ...	„ „ 334

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

(List not exhaustive)

- Page 1, para. 2, line 2. — *For* Brāhmana, *read* Brāhmaṇa.
,, 2, line 11. — *For* *ēvam*, *read* *ēvaṃ*.
,, 3, para. 3, lines 5-6. — *For* Lallōpādhyāya, *read* the Upādhyāya Lalla.
para. 4, line 4. — *Insert* a comma *before* who.
,, 5, foot-note, line 12. — *For* goes, *read* go
,, 6, Text-line 13. — *Add* : The *daṇḍa* in the end is apparently intended to show that the word is completed in the next line.
,, 8, Text-line 26. — *Change* the number of foot-note *to* 1.
Line 3. — *Add* : Note that Gujarāt is now a separate State.
,, 9, foot-note 1. — *Add* : However, taking the Vikrama year as *kārttikādi*, expired, as of the preceding inscription which comes from the same locality, the Christian equivalent would be 3rd September (for *pūrṇimānta*), or 3rd October (for *amānta*) month, of 970 A.C.
foot-note 4. — *Delete* the brackets with their contents.
,, 15, line 4. — *For* Samvat, *read* Saṃvat.
,, 16, line 2. — *Read* appears as *one word*.
,, 20, line 10. — *For* more plausible in identifying, *read* to suggest a clue to identify.
,, 23, Text-line 33. — Dikshit read the name as Jāmaṭa.
,, 24, Text-line 52. — After विलोप्याः *add* [६॥*].
,, 25, para. 4, line 2. — *For* 1943, *read* 1043.
,, 26, foot-note 11. — *Insert* a comma *after* यच्छेषाहि.
,, 28, line 12. — *For* showe, *read* shows.
,, 29, para. 1, line 12. — *Add* : Sircar suggested to amend Upānasya to Aupamanyava. For the word *pārśvika* used in line 13 and for the other details, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 194.
,, 31, Text-line 10. — *Read* क्षेत्र.
Foot-note 7, line 3. — *Insert* a full-stop *after* mark.
,, 32, foot-note 1, line 3. — *For* east, *read* east of ; and *for* spelt, *read* spelt.
Para 3. — *Read* the last two lines as : approaching its modern form in *Paramēśvara* (first instance) in line 3. The letter *r* occasionally shows a fine tail, but its *ch*-like form is also to be seen, as in *char-āchara* in line 8.
,, 34, In metres, *insert* 8, after *v*.
,, 35, In heading, *read* Bēṭmā.
,, 37, line 19. — *For* intrepreded, *read* interpreted.
,, 42, para. 2. — *Add* : Each plate, which is inscribed on one side only, contains fifteen lines of writing.
,, 43, last para, line 4. — *For* corroborated, *read* corroborated.
,, 44, Text-line 17. — *Read* the first letter as ह्.
,, 48, Text-line 25. — Give space after the number of verses. In foot-note 1, *insert* a full-stop after संवत्तं and *read* consisting as *one word*.
,, 51, para. 2, line 2. — *Insert* a comma after the brackets. In foot-note 1, *insert at the end* : But on this day the week-day was Monday ; and if we take the month as Māgha, the date would regularly correspond to Monday, 4th February, 1045 A.C.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- „ 54. — *Insert before the last para*: Each side contains eleven lines of writing except the last one, which shows an additional line of three *aksharas*. The engraving appears to have been done by dots, which are throughout visible, instead of continuous strokes. — In foot-note 4, read *pūrti* for *purti*.
- „ 55, para. 2. — *Read* the last word as *Jōgasvara* (with *J* capital).
- „ 56, last foot-note. — *For* 56, *read* 50.
- „ 57, foot-note 1. — *For Audrahadi*, *read* *Āudrahādi*.
- „ 58, Text-line after 11. — *For* 2, *read* 12.
- „ 59, Text-line 15. — *For* अंबु *read* अंबु. — In foot-note 7, line 2, *for* whih, *read* which.
- „ 60, foot-note 1, last line. — *For* -nī, *read* nī.
- „ 61, in heading, *for* Jayasimha, *read* Jayasimha.
- „ 62, last para., line 3. — *For* P.M.R., *read* P.M.P.
- „ 64, Text-lines — *For* 39, *read* 29.
- „ 67, para. 4, line 3. — *For* foot-note 1, *read* 8.
- „ 68, para. 3, line 5. — *For* Rādha-, *read* Rāḍha-.
- „ 72. — *Read* the first line as 'No. 23 ; PLATE XXIV' ; and the third line as 'Vikrama Year 11xx'.
- „ 76, para. 3, line 1. — *For* Om, *read* Ōm.
- „ 79, foot-note 3. — *For* Brigg's *read* Briggs.
- „ 80, foot-note 6, line 2. — *For* dintinct, *read* distinct.
- „ 81, para. 1, line 3. — *Read* Gwālior here and also elsewhere.
- „ 85, line 2. — *Close the bracket after* of.
- „ 89, foot-note 2. — *For* B.M.P.A., *read* B.M.B.A.
- „ 94, para. 3, line 5. — *For* Vaishṭha, *read* Vasishṭha.
- „ 96, line 7. — *Insert of after* association. — Text-line 1. — *Read* two *daṇḍas* *after the number of verse*.
- „ 97, Text-line 13. — *Read* स[ध्या]वन—.
- „ 98, foot-note 7, line 4. — *For* preservations, *read* preservation.
- „ 99, para. 3, line 6. — *Insert* **bright half of**, *before* Āshāḍha.
- „ 102, para. 2, line 2. — *For* Broad, *read* broad.
- „ 103, para. 1, line 17. — *Drop* the.
- „ 104, line 7. — *Insert* probably, *at the beginning*.
- „ 106, heading. — *For* MESEUM, *read* MUSEUM.
- „ 107, ff., caption. — *Insert* Museum *after* NAGPUR.
- „ 108, para 2, line 5. — *For* 38, *read* 30.
- „ 109, line 5. — *For* Muñjarā, *read* Muñjarāja.
- „ 110, line 9. — *For* 1115, *read* 1123. — Para 2, line 3, *for* was, *read* was probably.
- „ 111. — *Insert* as foot-notes: The *guṇas* mentioned in the first half of verse 1 have each a double meaning, *viz.*, qualities and elements of poetry ; and in the *Sāhitya-śāstra* they are known as technical terms, for which, reference is invited to standard works, for example, Vāmana's *Kāvya-lamkāra*, N.S. Press, 1953, pp. 29 ff. In verse 2, *madhyama-pada* of Viṣṇu (Vāmana) means the sky. The word occurs also below in No. 139, verse 25. In verse 3, the word refers to technical terms ; and in verse 4, the Paramāra ruling house is compared with Śiva, by play of words.
- Text-line 2. — *For* शुवित, *read* शुक्ति; and in line 3, *for* हारादिच *read* हारादि च.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- „ 112, foot-note 11, line 1. — *Delete* U.
- „ 113, Text-line 24. — For निमीलिते-, read निमीलिते-.
- „ 115, para. 3, line 14. — For 1162, read 1167.
- „ 116, line 31. — *For* Abhayadēva, *read* Ajayarāja.
- „ 132, foot-note 10. — *Read* समावासात्.
- „ 133, foot-note 6. — *For* makes, *read* marks.
- „ 134, para. 3, line 6. — *Insert* **eighth of the** before **bright**.
- „ 139, Caption. — *For* PILLER, *read* PILLAR.
- „ 141, line 6. — *Read* epi- at the end of the line, and the rest of the word in the next line. — Para 4, line 8. — *For* 1226, *read* 1216.
- „ 143, in metres for Śikharinī. *read* Śikharinī. *Read* verse 3 as Śārdūlavikrīḍita. — Foot-note 9, last line — note that the complete name of the book is *Elements of Hindu Iconography*.
- „ 144, Text-line 8. — *For* (शो, *read* (शो).
- „ 147, para. 3, line 14. — *For* 21, *read* 11.
- „ 149, para. 2, line 7. — *For* Hariśchandra, *read* Harichandra.
- „ 150, Text-line 11. — *For* पितृन्, *read* पितृन्, in other cases also wherever the word occurs.
- „ 153, para. 2, line 4. — *Insert* a commas after the word pravaras.
- „ 156, Text-line 15. — As on page 150, above.
- „ 157, para. 1, lines 11-12. — *Add* : Very recently (on 23-1-1978) I saw the plates with Shri S. S. Saxena, a research scholar at Bhopāl, who informed me that some two years back he purchased them from a cultivator who obtained them in ploughing his field.
- „ 158, para. 2, line 8. — *Insert* (pūrnimā) after **Vaiśākha**.
- „ 161, Text-line 29. — *For* (ह्णा) *read* (ह्णा). Text-line 33 — *For* आसप्तम, *read* आसप्तमं.
- „ 173, para. 1, line 1. — *read* Ōm, also elsewhere where it occurs.
- „ 192, para. 2, line 1. — *Add* : Also known as Aṭrū.
- „ 202, para. 2, line 2. — *For* Jaitugideva, *read* -dēva.
- „ 217, foot-note 8, line 1. — *For* name, *read* names.
- „ 219, Foot-note 2, add: The third foot has one letter less than required.
- „ 222, Text-line 81, for – दिवदातुं, *read* – दिव दातुं.
- „ 224, foot-note 2, line 2. — *Insert* an apostrophe after army.
- „ 227, para. 5, line 2. — *Insert* a comma after 5.
- „ 230, Text-line 4. — *For* द्वधुक *read* द्वधुक. Foot-note 1, line 2, for बन्धुता, *read* 'बन्धुता. Foot-note 14, line 2, for धेयाहंसी, *read* धेया हंसी. Foot-note 15, insert a comma after भूभुजा. where vacant space is left. Text-line 8, *read* (द् द्वि) for द्वि,
- „ 231, Text-line 18. — *For* सि(ह), *read* मि[ह,] and for शैलेष्टकं, *read* शालाष्टकं (with eight apartments).
- „ 232, para. 1, line 1. — *For* in, *read* into.
- „ 247, Text-line 6. — *Add* note: The emendation परिपन्थयामि is necessary, and in that case, the expression would mean that while the officer mentioned here was looking after the treasury.
- „ 249, para. 1, line 1. — *Insert* a comma before a. — Para 3, end, add: The record is all in prose.
- „ 253, para. 4, line 2. — *Change* the comma to a full-stop. — Text-line 3, *add* note: The letters beginning with ञ are indistinct and we cannot be sure if they give a name.
- „ 265, para. 4, line 3. — *For* mention, *read* mentioned.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- „ 266, Text-line 3. — *Add note* : It is not certain whether an *anuvāra* was put on the first syllable of the name.
- „ 267, last para. line 2. — *For* have lost, *read* as lost
- „ 268, para. 2. — *Add* : The prefix Nāna, which is perhaps lost, is intended to show the Nāṇaka-*gachchha*, known after the place Nāṇā, as we have many other instances, for the details of which, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 47, n. 2.
- „ 276, Text-line 23. — *For* आतृन्, *read* आतृन्; and in foot-note 7, *for* or, *read* of.
- „ 277, foot-note 4, line 3. — *For* Rajasthān, *read* Rājasthān.
- „ 278, foot-note 2. — *Change the places* of *jūta* and *kūta*.
- „ 280, para. 2, line 12. — *For* Sīyaka, *read* Sīyaka's.
- „ 284, Text-line 19. — *Supply* note 1 on मुञ्चति. — Text-line 21, *delete* the first two marks (of missing letters) in the second sub-line.
- „ 292, Text-line 21. — *For* नि(र्ग)म. *read* नि[र्ग]म.
- „ 295, foot-note 13, line 3. — *Insert* who *before* ruled.
- „ 296, foot-note 2. — *Add after* Barnett : of his edition in the *Ep. Ind.*
- „ 303, para. 3, line 5. — *For* recorded in the inscription, *read* not to be found in the extant portion of the record.
- „ 307, Text-line 4. — *For* कडा-, *read* कडा- Text-line 5 — The missing *akshara* is probably रु.
- „ 310, para. 3, last line. — *For* domment, *read* document.
- „ 311. — In metrical portion, *for* S in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, *read* Ś.
- „ 313, para. 3, line 2. — *For* Maṇḍalika, *read* Maṇḍalīka.
- „ 315, foot-note 13. — *For* belo, *read* below.
- „ 316, Text-line 24, *for* स्पयं *read* स्पेयं. Foot-note 10 — *For* appears, *read* appearance.
- „ 321, para. 3, line 7. — *For* his, *read* Kṛishṇarāja's.
- „ 323, para. 3, line 4. — *For* 1132, *read* 1123.
- „ 325, last para., line 2. — *Insert* to *after* homage.

P L A T E S

Plate LXXXIV. — *Insert* Left Side.

„ LXXXV. — *Insert* Right Side.

„ LXXXVIII. — In title, *For* STONE, *read* IMAGE.

Page 286. — *For* PLATE LXXXIV, *read* PLATES LXXXIV-LXXXV.

In upper title page, — *For* KACHCHAPA-, *read* KACHCHHAPA-.

TEXTS WITH HISTORICAL EXEGESIS
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF MĀLWĀ

Nos. 1-2 ; PLATES I AND II

TWO HARSŌLĀ COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF SĪYAKA

[Vikrama] Year 1005

THE plates on which these grants are incised were noticed by D. B. Diskalkar in the *Annual Report of the Watson Museum, Rajkot*, for 1922-23, p. 13, and also in the *Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference*, pp. 303 ff. The same scholar also published their contents, with his own transcripts thereof, in a Gujarātī Journal called *Purātattva*, Vol. II, pp. 44 ff. Subsequently, the inscriptions were edited by him, with abridged translation and facsimiles, jointly with the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX (for 1927), pp. 236 ff. As the original plates are not accessible to me, the grants are edited here from inked estampages kindly provided by the Chief Epigraphist and also from the photographs accompanying the article in the *Epi. Ind.*

They are **two** grants, each consisting of **two** plates which are engraved only on the inner side and which were, at the time when Dikshit wrote on them, in the possession of a Visnagarā Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Magan Motīrām, a resident of the village **Harsōlā** in the Prāntija tālukā of the Ahmedabad District in Gujarāt. Unfortunately, no information is available as to where and under what circumstances the plates were discovered. The editors of the grants were informed by the late Rao Bahadur Keshavlal H. Dhruva, as we are also told, that the first two of them were found joined together by a ring and the remaining two were found loose. But from the presence of the Garuḍa symbol on only one of the sets, it was conjectured that all the four plates were originally joined together, all the more so when both the grants were issued by the same king on the same day to two Brāhmaṇas who were related to each other as father and son.¹ For the sake of convenience, I follow Dikshit and Diskalkar in calling the father's grant as grant **A** and the son's grant as **B**; both are edited here as Nos. 1 and 2, respectively, but so far as the preliminary portion of this article is concerned, both the grants are treated separately, since each has its own peculiarities with reference to palaeography, orthography and some other aspects of them. With reference to their common features, it may, however, be stated here that their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing, which is rather bold and more carefully done in grant **A**. It is in a fair state of preservation.

GRANT A (No. 1)

This set consists of two rectangular plates of copper, each of which is inscribed on the inner side only, as stated above. When found, they were held together by a ring passing through a hole, showing a diameter of about 5 cms. and cut in the centre of the lower side of the first and the upper side of the second, disturbing the writing in two lines at the edge. Nothing about the ring is now known. The inscribed portion on the first of the plates covers a space measuring about 21.5 cms. broad by 13 cms. high and contains 16 lines, whereas that on the second it is 21 cms. broad by 8.5 cms. high and contains only 11 lines (17 to 27), the last of which shows only one letter followed by a symbol somewhat resembling the Nāgarī *akshara da* (for *chha*, as we find at the end of some of the inscriptions). In the lower field of the left side and below the last line of the second plate is incised the representation of flying **Garuḍa**, the symbol of the Paramāra house of Mālava, holding a snake in his right arm and with the left hand raised above as if to

¹ This view is plausible but not conclusive, since it is equally possible to hold that the figure could not be incised on the second plate on the son's grant for want of space.



strike it. The height of the letters varies from .3 to .5 cms., excepting that of those employed in the **sign-manual** of the king, which are slightly bigger.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 10th century A.C. An interesting feature to be noted about the head-strokes of the letters is that most of them show curvatures or zigzags in the middle and some of them resemble a small crescent. To note the forms of some of the letters, we find that the left limb of the initial *a* is a curve with a slanting stroke below, as in *anēka*, l. 10 and *atula*-, l. 11; but occasionally it also represents a form in which the curve is surmounted by a small vertical stroke so as to make the letter show its modern form as in *adṛishṭa*, l. 19. The initial *i* is represented by two loops placed horizontally and subscribed by the sign for medial *u* ending in a sharp curve below; cf., e.g., *iti*, ll. 17 and 20. The initial *ē* resembles a triangle with its apex below, cf. *ēvam*, l. 8. Of the consonants, *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line above, see *-nakha*-, l. 3; the forelimb of *g* is also formed as a triangle with its apex above; see *yōga*-, l. 15; and the nasal *ṇ* is devoid of its dot, as in *śārṅgi*-, l. 2. *Ch* exhibits two forms—one in which the loop is triangular and the other in which it is as in modern Nāgarī; both these forms are to be noticed in *vidyuch-chakra*-, l. 1. The nasal *ñ* occurs once in *ājñā*, l. 21, where it is used as a subscript of *j*. The lingual *ṇ* almost resembles the modern *l*, as in *śōṇa*-, l. 1. The letters *t*, *n*, *i* and *bh* have retained their antique shape; see e.g., *nēttara*-, l. 1, and *-bhuḥyamāna*-, l. 12. Attention may also be drawn to the two transitional forms of *dh*, one in *vidha*-, l. 8, which is rare and in which the left limb of the letter is endowed with a horn above; but generally we find this letter without the horn, as in *vasūdh-ādhipatya*-, l. 15 and *sādhū*- and *vudhē*, both in l. 25. In *vudhē*, again, the forms of both the consonants are alike but in *vudhvā*, l. 22, the consonant of the first of the letters differs in form from those of the rest two. Little distinction is observed between the shape of *p* and *y*; see *Vappaiya*-, l. 5, and *ripu*-, l. 10. The form of *ph* in *phalam*-, l. 24, differs entirely from that which is used throughout the rest of the record. The letter *r* presents at least three different varieties, one formed by a vertical stroke with a horizontal bar attached to its middle on the left, cf. *-ari*-, l. 5; another when the bar originates from the top-stroke itself, as in *ḍamvara*-, l. 1; and the third when the horizontal stroke has a wedge attached to it in the middle, as in *kaḍāra*-, in the same line. With reference to the medial vowels, we find the sign for *ā* sometimes replaced by a crescent attached to the right extremity of the top stroke of a letter, e.g. in *kaḍāra* and *saḷā*, both in l. 1, and *chūḍā* in l. 12. The vertical of the medial short *i* is often slightly bent to the right at the bottom, as in *tasmin*-, l. 5, and *likhitam*-, l. 26.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the inscription is composed in prose and poetry. Altogether there are seven verses which are not numbered. With reference to **orthography**, the following peculiarities are to be noted: (1) the letters *b* and *v* have the same sign throughout; see *ḍamvara* l. 1; (2) a class-consonant following *r* and also *t* preceeding it are doubled, as in *garjji-tarjjita*-, l. 2 and *nēttara*-, l. 1, respectively, but there are exceptions like *darpa*-, l. 2; (3) the signs for the medial *ē* and *ō* are denoted either by the *ūrdhva-mātrā*, as in *kulē*-, but also by the *prishṭha-mātrā*, as in *-dēva*-, l. 3, and *mōsha*-, l. 5. In the case of the medial *ai* and *au*, one *mātrā* appears at the top and the other, before the letter, as in *Vairisīṅgha*-, l. 6, and *dhautā*-, l. 7. The *prishṭha-mātrā* is not fully developed; it is often only a short curve attached to the left of the top-stroke; in all these examples; (4) *siṃha* is twice spelt as *siṃgha* in ll. 1 and 6, *punya* as *puṇṇa* in l. 19, *kshuṇṇ* as *kshunna*-, l. 3, and *triṇa* as *triṇa* in l. 16 but not in the line that follows it; (5) *sandhis* are occasionally not observed as noted in the text; (6) the *visarga* is changed to *s* in ll. 2 and 23; and finally, (7) there is a general tendency to represent class-nasals by *anvisvāras*, even wrongly at the end of a stich sometimes, though very rarely we find the *n* used, e.g., in *narēndra*-, l. 24 and in some other cases.

GRANT B (No. 2)

Like the previous one, this grant too is incised on two rectangular copper-plates, each measuring about 20 cms. in breadth and 13 cms. in height. Both the plates are incised on the inner side only. As shown by a hole of the diameter of about .5 cms. and cut through the lower and upper sides of the first and the second plates respectively, both of them were originally held together by a ring, probably along with the same of the plates of grant A, about which we have already remarked above. The edges of the plates are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. The writing consists of 13 and 16 lines respectively, covering a space 19.2 cms. broad by 12 cms. high on

each, but the mechanical work betrays slovenliness both on the part of the writer and the engraver. Some of the lines of the writing are not straight and on the second plate the letters, which are slightly longer occasionally and more sparsely written than on the first, not only gradually decrease in size but are also compressed in the last 5 or 6 lines, and, in spite of it, a portion which could not be accommodated till the end of the last line had to be engraved in the margin on the right side thereof.

The **palaeography** of the alphabet which was written by a different hand and naturally shows some variation in form, is also interesting in that some of the letters have assumed an advanced form. The letters *kh* and *g*, for example, have totally discontinued their triangular limbs, cf. *khara-nakha*, l. 3, and *pratāp-āgni*, l. 6, respectively. The latter of these two examples also shows that *p* is distinguished from *y*, a feature not to be seen in the writing of grant A. *Dh* almost resembles *v* as in *dhvani-vadhirita*, ll. 10-11; and *t* in *suta*, l. 6, has assumed the advanced form, but the archaic form of this letter is also occasionally to be seen, as in *atula*, l. 12. The letter *s* too is mostly used in its advanced form, e.g. in *sāmanṭa*, l. 9 and *samaya*, l. 15. *Ph* exhibits its rare form in *phala*, l. 26, which is somewhat similar to that of the same letter in Grant A, as already seen above. Unlike the writing of the preceding grant, we find the *prishṭha-mātrās* fully developed here and the use of the *mātrā* above the top is also more often resorted to as in *kulē* and *-mōsha*, both in l. 5; and *vairi*, in l. 6.

About the **language** and composition, the same remarks as about Grant A are to be made here too; and **orthographical peculiarities** also are almost the same. It may be remarked, however, that the slovenliness on the part of the writer and the engraver is responsible for omitting limbs of some of the *aksharas* and also distorting those of some others, e.g. *śva* in *paramēśvara*, l. 4, and *śa* in *śaṅkha*, l. 10 have their tail separated from the loop; *m* in *mōsha*, l. 5, appears as *shōsha*; *sakala* in l. 18 is engraved as *makala*; *y* in *nāgarāya*, l. 20 appears as *sha*, and finally, *shṭa* in *adṛishṭa*, l. 21, as *ṣṭa*.

As stated above, the plates constitute two grants which were issued on the bank of the *Māhī* by the *Mahārājādhirājā* and the crest-jewel among the feudatories (*sāmanta-chūdā-maṇi*), the illustrious **Siyaka**, who, as we shall see below, belonged to the royal house of the **Paramāras**. The grant B is an exact copy of A, with the exception of the formal portion. The **object** is to record the gift of the villages Kumbhārōṭaka and Sīhakā in the *Mōhaḍavāsaka vishava*, respectively to Lallōpādhyāya,¹ son of Gōvardhana, and to Nīnā Dīkshita, son of Lallōpādhyāya, a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa of Ānandapura and belonging to Gōpālī gōtra. The *dāpaka* or the person who caused these grants to be made and who was probably the officer-in-charge of registering the grants, was the *Thakkura*, the illustrious Vishṇu. The grants were written by the Kāyastha Guṇadhara. The **date** borne by both the grants, in the last line of each, in decimal figures only, is **Māgha vadi 30, Wednesday, 1005**, which, as calculated by Dikshit, regularly corresponds to **31st January, 949 A.C.**, showing that the year was *Kārttikādi* and the month was *amānta*.

Each of the inscriptions opens with the customary symbol for *Siddham* and a verse invoking the blessings of the god Vishṇu in his boar incarnation. This is followed by the mention of the illustrious **Amōghavarshadēva** with the *birudas* *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and his successor, the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Akālavarshadēva** who had the additional epithets of *Prithvī-vallabha* and *Śrīvallabha*. These two kings are the well-known sovereigns of the royal Rāshtrakūṭa house of Mālkheḍ, either Amōghavarsha I (c. 814-878 A.C.) and his son Kṛishṇa II (c. 878-914 A.C.), or Amōghavarsha III (c. 934-939 A.C.) and his son Kṛishṇa III (c. 939-966 A.C.).²

¹ That the father is here called Upādhyāya and the son Dīkshita goes to show that surnames had not then become stereotyped as in the modern days.

² Suggesting both these alternatives and also drawing our attention to the fact that the date of the present inscriptions, i.e. V. 1005, which is equivalent to Śaka 870, is just intermediate between those of the Dēolī inscription (*E. I.*, V, p. 188 ff.) and the Karhād inscription (*E. I.*, IV, p. 278 ff.) of Kṛishṇa III, dated respectively in Śaka 862 and 880, the editors of the present inscriptions are inclined to favour the second of these alternatives. Dr. D. C. Sircar also holds the same view, for which, see *E. I.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 144; and it also appears to be in consonance with the well-known fact that Kṛishṇa III, or his successor Khottiga, according to a different view, led an expedition into Mālwā against the Paramāra ruler Siyaka, probably necessitated by the latter's assumption of the title of *Mahārājādhirājapati* (ll. 12-13) in the present grants and thus proclaiming his independence. That Kṛishṇa III was the overlord of Siyak is known from the title *Mahāmāṇḍalika-chūdāmaṇi*, also attached to his name in the present records; and it is possible that the overlord was given the honour.

1005
949
56

Following this, we have an expression, *viz.* "in that family" (*tasmin kulē*); but as the family is not mentioned here, I agree with the editors of the grants in holding that since the expression *narēndrapādānām* cannot be construed with *tasmin kulē*, a portion mentioning the name of the family is obviously omitted here through oversight by the writer.¹ Then we have a metrical portion (vv. 2-4) introducing three kings, *viz.*, **Bappaiparāja**, **Vairisimha** and **Siyaka**, the latter in each case being the son and successor of the former. The description of all these princes is quite conventional. The prose-portion that follows in ll. 8-22 tells us that the illustrious Siyaka assembled all the officials and residents of these two and the neighbouring villages and in their presence announced the perpetual endowments, which were made at the instance of the ruler of the *Khēṭaka-maṇḍala*, modern Kairā in Gujarāt, for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame of his parents and his own self.

Then follow the usual instructions to the inhabitants of the village (in each case) to offer to the donee and to his sons and son's son, *etc.*, in due succession, all the income as paid then, such as the shares (of the produce), royalties, taxes, and gold and so on. With two imprecatory verses followed by the date, the name of the *dāpaka* and of the writer, as already seen above, both the grants are concluded, with the **sign-manual** of the king Siyaka in the last line.

Siyaka of both the present inscriptions is evidently identical with his namesake, the father of Vākpati-Muñja, as we know from the latter's Dharampurī, Ujjain and Gaṇri grants, issued respectively in V. 1031 (975 A.C.), 1036 (980 A.C.) and 1038 and 1043 (981 and 986 A.C.).² The first of these grants was issued 25 years later than the present records, which is just the period of one generation, as pointed out by the editors of these grants in the *Ep Ind.*; and that Siyaka is also the same ruler for whom we have another date, *viz.* V. 1026, or 969 A.C. This shows that he held the throne at least from 949 to 969 A.C., which too is roughly a period of one generation. His father is stated to be Vairisimha, as also in the grants referred to above; but whereas his grandfather's name is mentioned as Vappaiparāja in the present inscription, it figures as Kṛishṇarāja in all the inscriptions of his son. The discrepancy in the names of the grandfather may be explained away by considering that both the names were borne by one and the same prince, as we know from a number of instances; and there is no room for doubt that Bappaiparāja was the same as Vākpatirāja, the former being a Prākṛit equivalent form of the latter.³

The grants were issued by Siyaka from his encampment on the bank of the Māhī, on his return from a successful expedition against Yōgarāja (l. 15), at the request of the ruler of *Khēṭaka-maṇḍala*. This evidently shows that the place was in the possession of Siyaka or adjoining to his dominions, and we may also hold that Yōgarāja was an enemy of the Paramāra prince. The identification of this adversary of Siyaka is a vexed problem, but it is no doubt evident that his principality was situated on the west of the river and his possession was in the territorial division *Khēṭaka* where he was subdued. The history of this region of Gujarāt for this period is shrouded in mystery, and until it is so, we have to agree with Dikshit who held that the Yōgarāja of the present grants was either a chief of the Chāvḍā (Chāpōtkāṭa) dynasty of Anhilwāḍ-Pāṭan or of the Chālukya dynasty of the southern part of Saurāshtra. Both these houses had then acknowledged the overlordship of the Imperial Pratīhāra house of Kanauj, and the view that Siyaka, who was the feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭa house, may have led an expedition against either of them seems to be quite justifiable.⁴

¹ We do not know if the titles of Amōghavarsha and Akālavarsha were also borne by some of the predecessors of Bappaiparāja, but from what is stated in the present grants, it appears to be possible that he had some family tie with the Rāshtrakūṭa house, probably on his mother's side. See *Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-44.

² See below, Nos. 4-7.

³ In the royal genealogy recorded in the Udaipur *prāśasti* (No. 24) we have two more members, *viz.*, Vairisimha (I) and Siyaka (I) as the predecessors of Vākpati (I), but as no historical fact is given there in connection with either of these princes, it has been assumed that either they had not established their power or there is merely a repetition of these two names, by mistake. See *H.M.H.I.*, Vol. II, p. 118; also see *P.O.C.*, Madras, pp. 308 ff.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 238-39. D. C. Ganguly takes this enemy to be identical with the Chālukya Avantivarman Yōgarāja II. See *A.I.K.*, pp. 303 ff. It has also been pointed out that this ruler may have been the same as Rāḍupāṭi of the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, mentioned there as vanquished by Siyaka (*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 240). But it may be observed here that besides similarity in the two names we have nothing else to establish this identity. On the other hand, attention may however be drawn to a fragmentary stone inscription found by Hall at Vidishā in Mālwā. This inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, a minister of the

(Footnote continued on p. 5 n)

As to the king of Khēṭaka, at whose instance the grants are stated to have been made, we have to observe that neither his name nor the family to which he belonged is mentioned in the records. It appears possible, however, as already suggested by Dikshit and Diskalkar while editing the grants, that this chief may have been a successor of Prachāṇḍa of the Brahmanavāk family, on whom, according to the Kāpaḍvanj grant of Śaka 832 (910 A.C.), Khēṭaka-*maṇḍala* was bestowed by the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereign Akālavarsha who was ruling at Harshapura or the modern Harsolā, where the present grants were obtained.¹

Counting back from 974 A.C., the earliest known date of Vākpati-Muñja (his Dharampurī grant), and allowing 25 years to each of the three rulers mentioned in the present inscriptions, Bappaiparāja may be taken to have begun his career some time about 900 A.C., as a participant in the warfare of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II (878-914 A.C.) in the latter's invasion of Gujarāt and the surrounding regions;² and he may have gained for himself the region of Khēṭaka. His son and successor Vairisimha appears to have pressed further in the east and entered Mālava, probably during the Rāshṭrakūṭa campaign in the north; and his son and successor Sīyaka, who may be presumed to have taken a further bold step, established himself in this region, capturing Ujjain, probably from Mādhava, a governor under the Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla II.³ But it appears that almost at the same time he had to lose his hold over the portion of Gujarāt, since we know that Mūlarāja, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of Anhilwād, was then busy struggling against Bārappā, a general of the Chālukya king Tailapa, who led an expedition in that region; from Lāṭa, *i.e.* southern Gujarāt; and from the north, Mūlarāja could not have come in a hostile contact with Bārappā, without capturing that part of Gujarāt which was then under Sīyaka, who was then engaged in a war in the east.

All the **localities** mentioned in the inscriptions have been identified by the editors of the grants. **Khēṭaka-*maṇḍala*** is stated to have been roughly equivalent to the modern Kairā, including some parts of the Ahmedabad District in Gujarāt; the district (*vishaya*) of **Mōhaḍavāsaka** with Mōhḍāsā or Mōḍāsā in Prāntija *tāluka* of the Ahmedabad District; and the gift villages **Kumbhārōṭaka** and **Sihakā** with the present Kāmroḍ and Sikā, lying about 20 kms. east and 13 kms. south of Mōḍāsā, respectively. It is noteworthy here that a copper-plate grant of Bhōja-dēva of the dynasty has been recently found at Mōḍāsā.⁴ **Māhī** is the well-known river which rises in the Jhābuā District of Madhya Pradesh, and flowing in the north so as to separate this state and Rājasthān on its east from Gujarāt on its west, takes a sudden turn to the south and enters the gulf of Cambay. **Śivanātha**, the shrine on this river and the place of encampment of the king, has been suggested to be identical with Sarnāl, lying near the place where the Māhī is now crossed by the Ānand-Gōdhrā section of the Western Railway. "It is still looked upon with sanctity in the neighbourhood and has an ancient Śiva temple named Gaṭtēśvara which is now a protected monument". And lastly, **Ānandapura**, the original home of the donees, is the modern Vaḍnagar in Barōḍā, which is also the original home of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. It is often mentioned in the Valabhi inscriptions, and is about 80 kms. due south-southwest of Mōḍāsā, on metalled road to Gōdhrā.

Chandēlla king Kṛishṇapa who was placed in charge of the region around Dudāhī by his brother Dhaṅga, firmly established the ruler of Rālā-*maṇḍala*, Rōḍapa and some other places (*J.A.S.B.*, XXXI, p. 111, n. 2). Now, in view of the fact that the Chandēlla territory then extended up to Vidishā in the south-west, the principality of the ruler who is stated to have been placed on the throne by Vāchaspati should be looked for still further in the south or south-west of Vidishā. From the Partābgadh inscription of Mahēndrapāla II (946 A.C.) we know that the Pratīhāra king had posted imperial officers at Ujjain and Maṇḍapikā, *i.e.*, Māṇḍū (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 176). In view of all these considerations, it is not unlikely that the ruler crowned by the Chandēlla minister may have been in the region comprising the Ujjain-Māṇḍū area or somewhere in its vicinity; and from the maps I could trace a place of the name of Rālāmaṇḍala, situated about 24 kms. south-west of Māṇḍū, and another, now known as Rōḍadā, lying at almost the same distance north-west of Rālāmaṇḍala. Both these places are on the west of Māṇḍū, and their close proximity from each other and also nearness to the headquarters of the Pratīhāra governor goes very strongly to suggest that the ruler crowned by the Chandēlla minister was one in charge of this region, who appears to have been troubled by Sīyaka whose principality lay in the further south-west in Kairā and who was a feudatory of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the deadly enemies of the Pratīhāras. Also see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. xxii (topmost note).

¹ *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 129; also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 52.

² Vide Wardhā and Navasārī plates, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 239 ff.

³ See the Partābgadh inscription of Mahēndrapāla II (946 A.C.), *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 176.

⁴ See below, No. 8.

TEXT¹ (Grant A)[Metres: Verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 7 *Indravajrā*; vv. 3, 4, 6 *Anushubh (Ślōka)*; v. 5 *Vasantatilakā*].

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² (।*) विद्युच्चक्रकडारकेसरसटाभिनां वु (भिन्नाम्बु) दश्रेणयः शोणं नेत्तुताशडं व (ब) रभृतः सिघा (हा) -
- 2 कृतेः शार्ङ्गणः । विस्फूर्ज्जद्गलगर्ज्जितर्ज्जितककुन्मातंगदपोदयाः संरंभास्मुखयंतु वः खरन-
- 3 खक्षुं (क्षुण्ण) द्विषद्वक्षसः ॥ [१॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोववर्षदेवपादा-
- 4 नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्ल-
- 5 भनरेन्द्रपादानां (नाम्) । तस्मिन्कुले कल्मषमोषदक्षे³ जातः प्रतापाग्निहृता रिपक्षः । व (ब) प्यैय (प)⁴ -
- 6 राजेति नृपः प्रसिद्धस्तस्मात्सुतो भूदन् वरिसिघः (हः) ॥ [२॥*] दृप्ता रि वनिता वक्त्र चंद्रविम्ब (विम्ब) कल-
- 7 कता [।*]⁵ नो धौता यस्य कीर्त्यापि हरहासावदातया ॥ [३॥*] दुर्वार रिपुभूपालरणरंगैकना-
- 8 यकः । नृपः श्रीसीयकस्तस्मात्कुलकल्पद्रुमोभवत् ॥ [४॥*] स एव विधः प्रणतसकलसामंत-
- 9 शिरोमणिमरीचिरंजितचरणयुगलः श्रीखेटकमंडलाधिपतिप्रतिपत्तिप्रतिव (ब) द्धुक्ति (?)⁶ -
- 10 सतूर्यारवसंतत्रस्तानेकरिपुसमूहः अनेकशंखध्वनिव (ब) धिरितपंचवर्णपताकाराजीविरा-
- 11 जितवि[शालवक्षः]* स्थलावलम्बि (म्बि) तकुमुदवा (वा) न्धवः अतुलदानसंपादनैककल्पद्रुमः⁷ महामंड-
- 12 लिक्कूडामणिमहाराजाधिराजपतिश्रीसीयकः स्वभुज्यमानमोहडवासकविषयसंव (ब) द्धकुं-
- 13 भारोटकग्रामः⁸ । समस्तराजपुरुषान्प्रतिवासिजनपदांश्च वो (बो) धयत्यस्तु वः⁹ यथा योगराज- ।
- 14 स्योपरि या¹⁰ त्रासमयसंसिद्धकार्या¹¹ नंतरव्याघुटितै¹² महीनदीतटनिवासिभिरस्माभिश्चंद्रा-
- 15 र्कयोगपर्वणि शिवनाथं समभ्यर्च्यवि[घा]यं ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापात-
- 16 मात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्त्रि (स्तु) णाग्रजलवि (बि) दुसमा नराणां¹³ धर्मः सखा परमहो

Second Plate

- 17 परलोकयाने ॥ [५॥*] इति जगदनित्यं सकलमवधार्योपरिलिखितो ग्रामः स्वसीमातृणगोचरप[र्य]-
- 18 तः[.] सो¹⁴ पर (रि) करः सर्वादायसमो (मु) पेतः श्रीमदानंदपुरीयनागराय व्याख्येयाय गोपालिस-
- 19 गोत्राय गोवर्द्धनसूने ललोपाध्यायाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो (शो) भिवृद्धये¹⁵ अदृष्टफ-
- 20 लमंगीकृत्याचंद्रार्कावक्षितिसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेन उदकपूर्वकं प्रतिपादित इ-
- 21 ति ॥ तंनि (तन्नि) वासिजनपदैर्यथादीमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिसर्वभाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा
- 22 तत्पुत्रपौत्रादिभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं (व्यम्) । इति वु (बु) द्धवा अस्मद्वंस (श) जैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिः मत्प्रदत्तध-
- 23 र्मदायोयं¹⁶ भनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व (ब) हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य
- 24 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रहीनानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] नि-
- 25 र्मात्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [७॥*] संवत् १००५ माघ वदि ३० वु (बु) धे [।*] दाप-

¹ From inked impressions supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.² Expressed by a symbol, taken for ओम् by Dikshit and Diskalkar and for स्वस्ति by the Editor of *Ep. Ind.*³ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.⁴ Note that there is no distinction between the formation of प and य. The sign of *visarga* after the preceding क्ष was subsequently inserted.⁵ It is possible that the *daṇḍa* engraved here is almost mixed with the *prishṭha-mātrā* of the following syllable.⁶ Probably the word intended here is भुक्ति, the whole phrase meaning "whose region is connected (conterminous) with that of (the acquisition of) the lord of the *Khēṭaka-maṇḍala*".⁷ There is a redundant sign of *anusvāra* above द्रु.⁸ This phrase is grammatically unconnected with the preceding or following word, as rightly observed by the editors of the record.⁹ Supply संविदितं after वः.¹⁰ It seems that some other letter was originally engraved here and later on altered.¹¹ The superscript sign is damaged by a redundant chisel stroke.¹² A redundant superscript र् appears here in the form of traces. Read -नंतरं.¹³ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.¹⁴ This letter and the preceding *visarga* are engraved as almost mixed.¹⁵ *Sandhi* is not observed here and also in some cases below.¹⁶ The *anusvāra* is redundant.

26 कोत्त्र ठक्कुरः श्रीविष्णुः । राजाज्ञया लिखितं कायस्थगुण¹धरेण ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीसीयक-

27 म्य ॥ [छ] ॥

TEXT ² (Grant B)

[Metres: Verse 1 *Śūrdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 7 *Indravajrā*; vv. 3, 4, 6 *Anuṣṭubh (Ślōka)*; v. 5 *Vasantatilakā*].

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम् ³ [।*] विद्युक्च (च्च) ककडारकेसरमटाभिनां वु (भिन्नां वु) दश्रेणयः शोणं नेवहुताशडं व (व) रभृतः सिघा (हा) -
- 2 कृतेः शाङ्गिणः । विस्फूर्ज्जदगलर्गज्जितज्जित⁴ककुन्मातंगदपौदयाः संरंभाः मु-
- 3 खयंतु वः खरनखक्षुन (क्षुण्ण) द्विषद्वक्षसः ॥ [१॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
- 4 मदमोववर्षदेवसादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर⁵श्रीमदका-
- 5 लवर्षदेवपृथ्वी वल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरे (रे) द्रपादानां (नाम्) । तस्मिन्कुले कल्मषमोषदक्षे जातः
- 6 प्रतापाग्निहृता रिषक्षः [।*] व (व) प्पैपराजेति नृपः प्रमिद्धस्तस्मात्सुतोभूदनु वैरिसिघः (हः) । [१२॥*] दृ-
- 7 प्ता रि व नि ता व क्त च द्र वि व (वि) कलंकता [।*] नो धौता यस्य कीर्त्यापि हरहासावदातया । [१३॥*] दुर्वार रि-
- 8 पुभूपालरणर (रं) गैकनायकः । नृपः श्रीसीयकस्तस्मात्कुलकल्पद्रुमोभवत् ॥ [४॥*] स एवं वि-
- 9 धः प्रणतसकलसामंतशिरोमणिमरीचिरंजितचरण⁶युगलः श्रीखेटकमंडला⁷-
- 10 धिपतिप्रतिपत्तिप्रतिव (व) द्द्वि [वृक्ति?] ⁸ स (स्व?) तूर्यारवसंन⁹स्तानेकरिपुसमूहः अनेकशंखध्व-
- 11 निव (व) धिरितपंचवर्णपताकाराजीविराजितविसा (शा) लवक्षः [।*] स्थलावलम्बि (म्ब) तकुमुदवां (वां) ध-
- 12 वः अतुलदानसंपादनैककल्पद्रुमः महामंडलिकचूडामणिमहाराजाधि-
- 13 राजपतिश्रीसीयकः स्वभुज्यमानमोहडवासकविषयसंव (व) द्द्वि सीहकाग्रा-

Second Plate

- 14 मः⁷ । समस्तराजपुरुषान्प्रतिवासिजनपदांश्च वो (वो) धयत्यस्तु वः⁸ यथा योगरा-
- 15 जस्योपरि यात्रासमयसंसिद्धका⁹थानन्तरव्याघुटितैर्महीनदीतटनिवासिभि-
- 16 रस्माभिश्चंद्रा [र*] कयोगपर्वणि शिवनाथं समभ्यर्च्य विधाय । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसु-
- 17 धाधिपत्यमापातमात्त्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्त्रि (स्त्र) णाग्रजलवि (वि) दुसमा नराणां धर्मा (र्म) -
- 18 स्मखा परमहो परलोक्यानै (ने) ॥ [५॥*] इति जगदनित्यं ¹⁰सकलमवधार्योपरिलिखितो
- 19 ग्रामः स्वसीमातृणगोचरपर्यन्त [।*] सोपरि (रि) करः सर्वदायसमो (मु) पा (पे) तः¹¹ श्रीमदानंद-
- 20 पुरीयनागराय व्याख्याय गोपालिसगो [त्रा] य लल्लोपाध्यायसुतनीनादीक्षिताय
- 21 मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो (शो) भिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्रावर्कान्-
- 22 वक्षितिसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेन उदकपूर्वकं¹² प्रतिपादित इति ॥ तनि (नि) वा-
- 23 मिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकर¹³ हिरण्यादिसर्वमाज्ञाश्रवणविधि (धे) येभू (यैभू) -
- 24 त्वा तत्पुत्रपौत्रादिभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं (व्यम्) [।*] इति बुद्ध्वा (बुद्ध्वा) ¹⁴अस्मद्वंस (श) जैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्त (क्तृ) भिः मत्प्र-
- 25 दत्तधर्मदायोयं (यम्) अनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व (व) हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-

¹ The *anusvāra* appears to be superfluous. Possibly the name as it appears here may have been locally so pronounced.

² From Plate B, facing p. 243 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ There is a redundant *anusvāra* above this letter.

⁵ In the process of engraving, as also in some other cases below, the tail of this letter is separated from the loop.

⁶ See *n.* on this word in Grant A.

⁷ This phrase is grammatically unconnected with the preceding or following word.

⁸ Supply संविदितं after वः.

⁹ Above this letter a superscript र् appears to have been carved and subsequently erased when found redundant.

¹⁰ This *akshara* is engraved as म.

¹¹ Dikshit and Diskalkar read समो (मु) पेतः.

¹² What appears as *anusvāra* above पू is probably a redundant chisel stroke.

¹³ Originally, भौ appears to have been engraved and later on corrected.

¹⁴ The *sandhi* is not observed here, as also in some cases below.

- 26 दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) । [1६॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रानानि धर्मा^२र्थ-
 27 यशस्कराणि । निम्मा (म्मि) ल्यव (वा) न्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम [साधुः] पुनराददीत [11७*] स (सं) १००५ माघ व (ब) ३[०]
 28 [वु (वु) धे] दापकोव ठकु (क्कु) रः श्रीविष्णुः [1*] राजाज्ञया लिखितं कायस्थगुणधरेण [1*] स्वहस्तोयं
 29 श्रीसीयकस्य ।^३ (*In the right margin*).

No. 3 ; PLATE III

THE SECOND PLATE OF AHMEDABAD GRANT OF SĪYAKA

[Vikrama] Year 1026

THIS **copper-plate**, which is the second of (apparently) the two plates making a complete grant, is stated to have been obtained by a pleader of **Kairā**, in the Gujarāt area of the Bombay State, and presented to Muni Jinavijayaji of the Gujarāt Purātattva Mandir of Ahmedabad, some time about 1920 A.C. How it came to the copper-smith is not known. The inscription incised on it was briefly noticed by D.B. Diskalkar, in the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, p. 304, and also in the *Annual Report* of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, for 1923-24, p. 14, and was transcribed by him in *Purātattva* (a Gujarātī Journal), Volume III, pp. 145 ff. The same scholar subsequently edited the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XIX (for 1927), pp. 177-78, giving its transcript (only of ll. 1-2) in Nāgarī and a facsimile (Plate No. 28), facing p. 178. From the same facsimile it is edited here.³

The plate measures 33.34 cms. in length and 19.05 cms. in breadth. It has two holes, each of which shows a diameter of about .6 cm. at the top, at a distance of 17.78 cms. from each other, which were originally meant for two copper-rings to pass through them to hold the plates together. But as is the case with the first of the plates, the rings too have never been discovered. The edges of the existing plate are fashioned thicker, to protect the writing, which is in a good state of preservation, excepting a few letters here and there, which appear to have been wholly or partially lost, probably in the process of cleaning it in a crude way, but it is not difficult to restore them.

In the lower right corner of the plate there is a representation of a flying **Garuḍa** facing right and depicted as a human being, except for the wings attached to his shoulders ; he is holding a hooded snake in his left hand and his right hand is raised to strike it, as we generally find in the charters issued by the **Paramāra** rulers of Mālwā. The figure measures about 5 cms. in height and 4 cms. in breadth.

The plate is inscribed on one side only and bears ten lines of **writing**. The average **size** of the letters is about .6 by .6 cm., excepting in the last line which is only 18.5 cms. long and contains letters about three times larger than the others and shows only the **sign-manual** of the king, which just follows the Garuḍa figure.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the tenth century, slightly differing in formation from those of the Harsolā grants of Sīyaka but showing a great resemblance to those of Vākpati-Muñja and Bhōja, which are dealt with just below. The technical execution indicates slovenliness ; the letters are sometimes inclined towards the left but more often to the right, and the sign of *anusvāra* and punctuation marks are occasionally omitted. We have also instances when parts or limbs of letters are left uncarved, *e.g.*, the horizontal stroke of *ma* making it appear as *ga* in l. 2 and the middle slanting bar of *sha* in *purusha*, in l. 8.

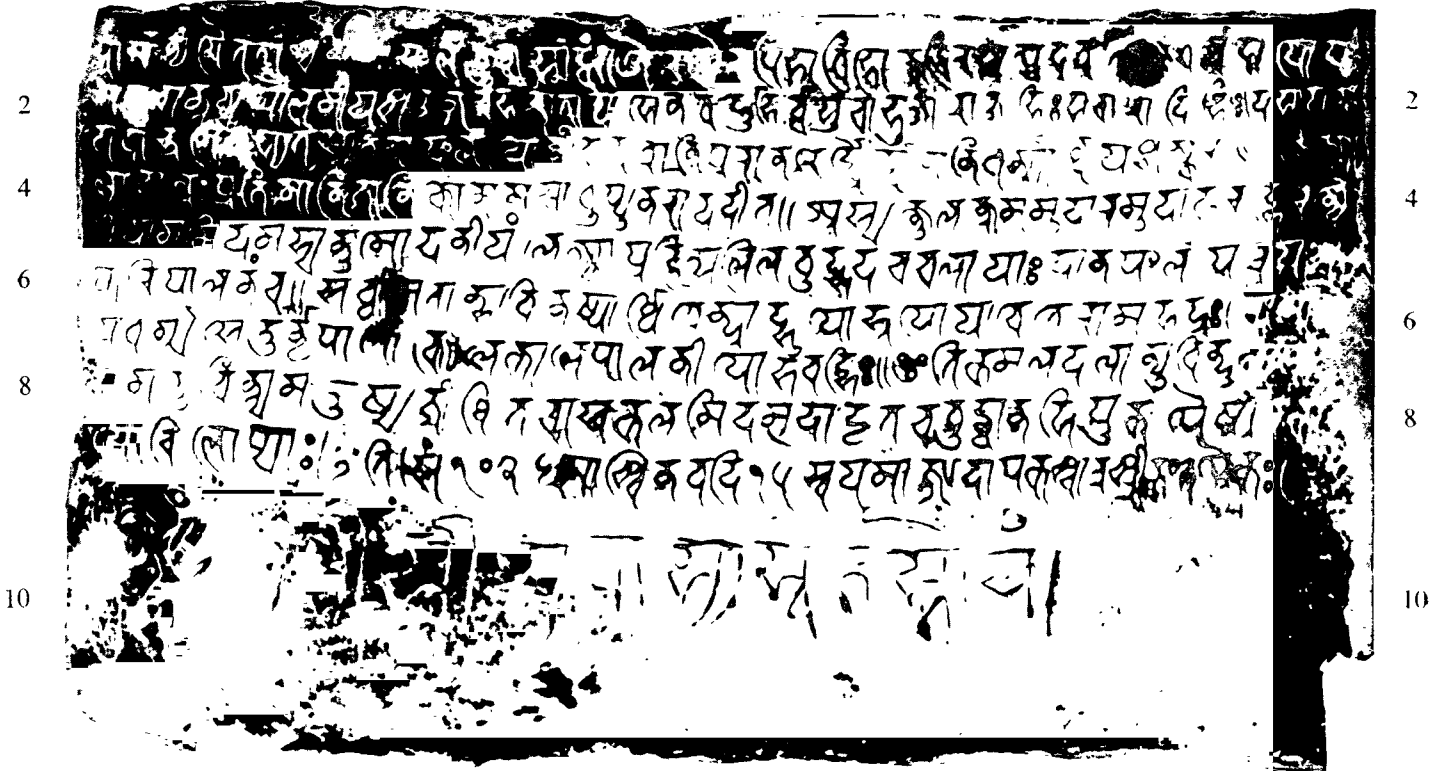
To note the formation of the letters, *a* in *asmat*, l. 4, appears to approach its modern form ; *dh* continues to be much similar to *v*, *e.g.* in *dharmamārtha*, l. 3 ; *p* often resembles *y*, as in *para*-, l. 5,

¹ Dikshit and Diskalkar read here म्, but the plate does not show the consonant of this *akshara* to be doubled.

² The *danḍa* is followed by some traces which may have been of a symbol, as in Grant A.

³ After I finished writing on this inscription, I came to know that the plate has been acquired for the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, by the efforts of its Director, Pt. D. D. Malvania, through whose kindness I had an opportunity to examine it in the original, in my visit to Ahmedabad in February, 1972. I thus had an opportunity to compare the transcript from the original, making some necessary changes. I also found that the plate is thick and the marks of engraving are not seen on the other side. It weighs 1198 grs.

THE SECOND PLATE OF THE AHMEDABAD GRANT OF ŚĪYAKA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1026



From Photograph

where both these letters appear ; and *r* shows two varieties, *viz.*, a vertical with its lowest extremity slightly bent to the right, as in *rājabhiḥ*, l. 2, and the vertical with a triangular loop in the middle, as in *purushaiḥ*, which appears as *purupaiḥ* in l. 8. *ś* shows a transitional state, with its antique form in *āśvina*, l. 9 and its advanced form in *vaṁśa*, l. 1.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and, with the exception of a sentence in ll. 1-2 and the portion containing the date, the name of the *dāpaka* and the sign-manual of the king in the end, in ll. 9-10, the record is in verse. It contains five of the customary predicatory verses which are not numbered. In respect of **orthography**, we have only to state that (1) *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and (2) the *anusvāra* is as many as five times changed to *p* when followed by this letter, in ll. 2, 4, 6 (twice) and 8, and is wrongly marked as *sh* in the last three of these instances.

As stated above, the inscription is **fragmentary** ; and owing to the loss of the first plate, the exact nature of the grant cannot be known. But it would appear that, like others, it was made to record some donation by **Siyaka**, the mention of whose family and pedigree is also lost in the first plate. From the Garuḍa representation which is precisely the same as on the other plates of the Paramāras of Mālwa, he may definitely be taken to be identical with the homonymous Paramāra ruler who issued the Harsolā grants, dealt with immediately before. The way of putting the sign-manual, along with the palaeography, also points to the same conclusion ; and it is also interesting to note that the five imprecatory verses of the present charter and the name of the *dāpaka* Kaṇhapaika in the end, are the same as in the Dharampurī (next) grant of V.S. 1031 of his son, issued only five years later. Line 9 mentions the **date**, given in words only, the **fifteenth of the dark half of Āśvina of the year 1026**, which must evidently be referred to the Vikrama era and which for the Northern V. *expired*, corresponds to Thursday, 14th October, 969 A.C.¹ This date is of great historical interest, as it indicates that Sīyaka, who issued the Harsolā grants in V.S. 1005, continued to be on the Paramāra throne at least up to V.S. 1026 and was succeeded by his son Vākpati-Muñja, some time before V.S. 1031, which is so far the latter's earliest known date.

Recording the name of the *dāpaka* in l. 9, as we have seen above, and with the sign-manual of the grantor Sīyaka in l. 10, the charter comes to a close.

It is noteworthy that the present plate and the Harsolā plates which are the earliest known records of the Paramāra house of Mālwa were all discovered in Gujarāt and the property donated by Sīyaka in the latter also existed in the same tract of Gujarāt. From this, Diskalkar has suggested that the Paramāras were connected with Gujarāt in the early days of their power, and the suggestion appears to be justified from the find of some more grants of the Paramāras and their activity in this region, as we shall see later.

No **place name** occurs in the existing portion of the record.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 2 *Indravajrā* ; v. 3 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 4 *Sālinī* ; v. 5 *Pushpitāgrā*].

- 1 सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बु(बु)द्ध्वास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोय-
- 2 म[नु]ग(म)न्तव्यपा(व्यः पा)लमी(नी)यश(श्च) [1*] उक्तं च भग[व*]ता व्यासेन [1*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
- 3 यदा भूमि[स्त]स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । [1911*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरे[न्*]द्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशष्क(स्क)राणि [1*] निम्मा(र्म्मा)-
- 4 ल्यवा[न्तः]³प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुषु(धुः पु)नराददीत ॥ [211*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यै-
- 5 श्च दाम(न)मिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्त⁴डित्सलिलवुद्धु(बुद्धु)दच(चं)चलायाः⁵ दान(नं) फलं परयश-
- 6 ष्य(ःप)रिपालनं च ॥ [311*] सर्वानितान्भाविनष्पा(ःपा)थि[वे]न्द्राद्भू(न्भू)यो भूयो याचे(च)ते रामभद्रः । सामा[न्यो]⁶-

¹ In the Northern V. current, Āśvina was intercalary ; and for the Southern V. expired, the date would correspond to Saturday, 3rd September, 970 A.C. It cannot be verified.

² From facsimile facing p. 178 in *Epi, Ind.*, Vol. XIX, and also from the original.

³ The *visarga* is redundant.

⁴ This *akshara* looks like स्त. (or, य्तः).

⁵ The *visarga* is not dropped here.

⁶ This letter has disappeared, leaving some traces.

- 7 य(यं) धर्म^१सेतुनृपाणां^२ काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥४॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)^३वि(वि)न्दुलोलां [श्रि]-
 8 यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवित(तं) च^४ सकलमिदमुदाहृत(तं) च बु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषै^५ष्य(षैः प)रकीर्त्त-
 9 यो विलोप्याः ॥१५॥*] इति । सं १०२६ आश्विन वदि १५ [१*] स्वयमाज्ञा । दापकश्चात्र कन्हपैकः ।
 10 श्रीसीयकस्य स्वहस्तोयं(यम्) ।

No. 4 ; PLATE IV

DHARAMPURĪ GRANT OF VĀKPATIRĀJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1031

THIS inscription is incised on two copper-plates which are stated to have been dug out by a farmer in his field at **Dharampurī**⁶, the chief town of a *parganā* in the former State of Dhār, which is now the head-quarters of a District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. Some time after, the plates were sent to Indore in the Archives Office of the Central India Agency. The record was first brought to light, in 1861, by Fitz Edward Hall, who translated it and commented upon it in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXX, pp. 195-210. Subsequently, in 1877, the inscription was edited by Nīlkantha Janārdana Kīrtanē, with his own reading of the text, in Nāgarī, and a fresh translation, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume VI, pp. 48 ff. and Plates, showing full size facsimiles (facing pp. 51 and 52).⁷ The plates are now in the India Office, London. The record is edited here from the facsimiles published in the Volume of the *Indian Antiquary*, referred to above.

As stated above, the plates are two in number, each engraved on one side only and each measuring 12" (30.5 cms.) wide and 8.6" (21.60 cms.) high, and contain 18 and 16 lines respectively, the last line containing only a part of the **sign-manual** of the king. The lower left corner of the second plate, in a rectangular space of about 9 cms. high by 8 cms. broad, shows the figure of a flying **Garuḍa**, in human form and facing left, holding a snake in the left hand. The figure measures 7 cms. broad by 8.5 cms. high. The lower edge of the first plate and the upper of the second contain two round holes, each about 1 cm. in diameter and obstructing the continuity of writing in a line, showing that both the plates were originally held together by two rings which are now not forthcoming.

The writing is bold and from the facsimiles it appears to be in a perfect state of preservation. The height of individual letters is between .5 and .8 cms. The **characters** belong to the tenth century A.C. and they bear a general resemblance to those of the Harsolā Grant A. The new forms of letters exhibited in the present record, however, are as follows. The initial *a* is engraved so as to resemble *p* with the sign of medial *u* attached to its left limb, see, *e.g.*, *agāra*, l. 11 and *asmat*, l. 27. The vertical stroke of *k* is turned above at its lowest extremity so as to form the loop, see *kuśālī*, l. 8 ; the rare *chh* in *Ahichchhatra*, l. 20, appears as a hollow circle with a tail

¹ The horizontal bar of the superscript of this letter is not carved.

² This *danḍa* is superfluous.

³ The superscript of this letter appears as न्.

⁴ This *danḍa* is so close to the preceding letter as to look like a *mātrā* attached to it.

⁵ In this letter the middle slanting bar is missing ; on the other hand, it is seen in the following ण, making it appear as ण.

⁶ Dharampurī of the maps, situated in 75° 27' E. Long. and 22° 10' N. Lat. The place is of some historical and archaeological importance and lies on the north bank of the Narmadā, about 96 kms. south-southwest from Indore and about 77 kms. straight south of Dhār, the capital of the former State of that name and controlled by the Central India Agency.

⁷ The following are some of the points which show that Kīrtanē's reading of the text is not quite correct, though from the point of history it makes little difference. The syllables *sī*, *rā* and *ka*, which the plate shows as closing the lines 3, 29 and 30 respectively, are written by him at the beginning of each of the following line ; he wrongly put two *avagraha* signs after *cha* in *chāśvāsitaṇ*, l. 4 ; on the last letter in *bhagavantam*, l. 15, the sign of *anusvāra*, which is clear on the plate, is omitted by him ; in *pavitraka*, l. 14 and *Ahichchhatra*, l. 20, he read a single *t* for double ; and in l. 25 he read *dharmā*- whereas the facsimile does not show the medial *ā*.

below ; the loops of *ch*, *dh* and *v* are almost similar, the first of these letters occurs in *chañchad*-, l. 2, and the other two in *vāridhēr*-, l. 3, and all the three letters are found in one single instance and exhibiting the same form in *cha vōdhayati*, l. 10. In some instances, however, *ch* resembles *r*, see *anuchintya* and *cha*, both in l. 31. The form of the rare *ñ* can be seen in *chañchala*, l. 28. *Bha* in l. 1 is confounded with *ru* ; and the formation of *r* and *s* is almost as in modern Nāgarī, see, e.g., *sarasī*, l. 3. It is also interesting to note that the top-strokes of several letters are triangular, with the vertex below, as in *kathōra*, l. 2.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, and with the exception of two verses in the beginning, two in the middle and five in the end, it is composed in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the points that call for notice are these:— (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well ; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r* and of *t* that precedes it, as in *Narmmadā*, ll. 8-9 and *sarvvadā*, l. 24 ; and in *pavittraka*, l. 14, *mātra*, l. 16 and *attra*, l. 33 ; (3) the dental *s* occurring for the palatal only in two instances, viz. *Pisācha*, l. 13 and *chaturddasyām*, l. 14 ; (4) the sporadic use of the *mātrā* before a letter and above it and the other two diphthongs denoted by one *mātrā* before the letter and the other above ; (5) the occasional use of *avagraha* to denote the merging of *a* in *ē*, cf. in *vṛiddhayē* = *drishṭa*, l. 22, and in *ō*, cf. in *samētō'hi*-, l. 20, but also to denote the merging of *a* in *ā* in *vudhvā'smat*, l. 25, and not in some other instances for which see *taḍārōyam*, l. 11 and *sāmānyōyam*, l. 30, where it may rightly be expected ; (6) the wrong use of the sign for *anusvāra* in place of *m* at the end of a hemistich, as in *gataṁ*, l. 4, *śriyaṁ*, l. 17, *phalaṁ*, l. 18 and l. 26 ; (7) the consonant *n* engraved with the vertical stroke and then marked *halanta* in *-smīn* l. 14 ; and (8) some wrong spellings as *saṁvatsarē* appearing as *samvatsarē*, l. 14, *śrēyāṁsi* as *śrēyānsi* and *ārdritaṁ-vā* as *ārdritam-vā*-, both in l. 3, *truṁśa* for *triṁśa*, l. 13 ; and finally, local influence is to be seen in *saiṁhikāya*, l. 2, and *Vairisīṁha*, l. 6.

The inscription contains a few grammatical and other errors. The rule of *sandhi* is violated in *-nī uttarasyām*, l. 9 ; *diṣau* is wrongly put for *diṣi* in ll. 12 and 13, though in l. 12 we find *diṣi* also. A superfluous *u* is engraved in *tathō uttarasyām*, l. 11 and *tīrtha* is spelt as *ttīrtha* in l. 13, evincing carelessness of the writer or the engraver.

It is a royal charter and its **object** is to record the donation by Vākpātīrāja, of a *taḍāra* (?) of the name of Pipparikā, connected with Gardabhapānīya situated in the region (*bhōga*) of the name of Gardabhapānīya on the Narmadā, from his stay at Ujjayanī (ll. 9 ff). The date, which is expressed in words in lines 13-14 and again in figures in lines 32-33, is the **fourteenth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada in the year 1031**, which, for the Chaitrādi expired year, would correspond to **3rd September, 974 A.C.** and, for the kārttikādi expired, to **23rd August, 975 A.C.**¹

To note the contents of the record, it opens with a symbol denoting *siddham*, and following it, it has two *maṅgala-ślōkas*. The first of these stanzas purports to eulogise the beauties of the manly throat of Śrīkaṇṭha (Śiva), desiring him to increase our happiness, and the second, to describe the body of Mura-ripu (Lord Kṛishṇa), with a request to him to protect the world. Then begins the genealogical portion of the grantor, which is in prose (ll. 5-8). It mentions the name of the illustrious **Vākpātīrājādēva**, otherwise known as Amōghavarshadēva, bearing the epithets *Prithvīvallabha* and *Śrīvallabha*, who was the lord paramount meditating on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* **Sīyakadēva**, who meditated on the feet of *P.M.P.* **Vairisīṁhadēva**, who, in his turn, meditated on the feet of *P.M.P.* **Kṛishṇarājādēva**. The record does not mention the name of the house to which these kings belonged, but from the names given in it and also from the Garuḍa symbol engraved at the end, it can obviously be known to be that of the Paramāras of Mālwā.

Lines 9 ff. state the donation of a *taḍāra* (?) of the name of Pipparikā, situated on the banks of the holy Narmadā, to the north of the portion of waters called the *Gardabha-Pānīya*² ; it was bounded on the east by Agāravāhalā, on the north by the ditch (or descent) belonging to (of) Chikhillikā, on the west by the river Gardabha(ī) and on the south by the *Pisāchadēva-tīrtha*. The donation was made by the king from his stay at Ujjayanī (Ujjain) to increase the merits of his

¹ The date cannot be verified.

² As translated by Kīrtanē on p. 53 of the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI. This, however, appears to me to be the western boundary of the gift place.

parents and of himself, to the learned Brāhmaṇa-philosopher, the illustrious Vasantāchārya, the son of Paṇḍita Dhanika¹ and hailing from Ahichchhatra into the southern region.

Lines 23-25 record the usual condition of the grant ; and then are quoted five imprecatory and benedictory verses, followed by the date in figures, as seen above, and also the mention of the name Kaṇhapaika who passed on the (royal) orders. He appears to be the same person as mentioned in the preceding grant. Here the inscription ends with the sign-manual of the king — *sva-hast-ōyam Śrī-Vākpatirājadēvasya* (in ll. 34-35).

The present grant is the first of those issued by Vākpatirāja *alias* Muñja and is dated (V.) S. 1031, which is equivalent to 975 A.C. ; and as his father Siyaka's last grant shows the year which corresponds to 969 A.C., it is evident that Vākpatirāja occupied the throne of Mālwa some time between the two dates. It is also interesting to note that the present one is the first royal charter issued by a member of the house from Mālwa, all the previous ones being issued from Gujarāt.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Ujjayinī** (l. 14) and **Narmadā** (ll. 8-9) are well known ; and **Ahichchhatra**, the original place of the donee (l. 20) has been identified with Rohelkhand.² **Pipparikā** (l. 9), which has so far remained unidentified, appears to be identical with the modern Pīprī (E. Long. 75° 12' ; N. Lat. 22° 9') in the Manāwar *tahsīl* of the Dhār District, about 6-7 kms. north of the Narmadā. Kīrtane identified **Chikhillikā** (l. 12) with the modern town of Chikhaldā which is about 28 kms. south-southwest of Pīprī ; but besides its great distance from Pīprī, this identification goes against the direction of the other places mentioned in the inscription. This place rather appears to have been more likely the village Chīkhli, about 15 kms. north-northwest of Pīprī. The stream Mān, which is a northern tributary of the Narmadā, follows a meandering course, first flowing to the east of Chīkhli and then taking a sudden bend to the north of Pīprī, before it pours its waters into the Narmadā ; thus it shows the donated *taḍāra* to its west and is very probably to be the *vāhalā* (stream?) stated to form its eastern boundary. About 8 kms. north-northwest of Chīkhli flows another stream known as Kharjā, which, as rightly recognised by Kīrtane from the identical meaning, may be the **Gardabha-nadī** (l. 9), forming the western boundary of the *taḍāra*, as stated in the inscription. The *tīrtha* by the name of **Piśācha-dēva**, as it is known even today, is on the Narmadā, just to the south of Pīprī ; and the *bhōga* of **Gardabha-pāniya** refers to the region around the prosperous village Gandhvānī (N. Lat. 22° 21' ; E. Long. 75° 3') about 40 kms. south-west of Dhār and about 45 kms. north-west of Dharampurī where the plates were found.³ And finally, **Śiva-taḍāga**, mentioned in l. 15, where the king took his bath before making the grant, appears to be the cistern in the precincts of the Mahākāla temple at Ujjain where he is stated to be then residing. The *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* (I, v. 48) describes it as a pious lake.

TEXT 4

[Metres: Verses 1-2 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3 and 7 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 4-5 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 6 *Indravajrā* ; v. 8 *Sālinī* ; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

1 सिद्धम् [1*] याः स्कृज्जत्तगम्द्विषानलमिलद्धमप्रभाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाव(ब)द्धशशङ्कुकोटिषटिता याः सै-

¹ It is not known whether this person is identical with his namesake, the commentator of the *Daśarūpa*. Inviting our attention to the fact that the *Daśarūpa* must have been completed after Muñja's death for the reason that it cites Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, which was written under Sindhurāja, A.B. Keith expressed his doubt on the identification of the father of the donee with the commentator (*Sans. Drama*, p. 293). But this doubt disappears when we consider the age of both of them. For taking Vasantāchārya, of course hypothetically, to have been about 25 years old in 974 A.C. when he received the grant, his father, to whom he may have been born at the age of about 20, can be taken to have been then a man of 45, and can presumably be taken as living till the end of Sindhurāja's reign and possibly even thereafter. Keith's argument may thus he replied, but we have nothing to establish the identity of the father of the donee with the commentator, except only the similarity in the names.

² See N.L. Dey: *G.D.A.M.I.* under the same name. Hall thinks that Ahichchhatra may not have been far from the Vindhya ; but the place has now been definitely identified.

³ Hence the plates are also known after the name of this place.

⁴ From Plates between pp. 51 and 52 in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 इ.हि(सैहि)केयोपमाः [1*] याश्चंचद्गिरिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठरुचयः¹
- 3 श्रेयान्ति(यांसि) पुण्णन्तु वः ॥[१॥*] यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुता न सुखितं यन्नाद्रितम्वा(तं वा)रिधेर्व्वारा यन्न निजेन नाभिसरसी-
- 4 पद्मेन शान्तिङ्गतं(तम्) [1*] यच्छेषाहिरुणासहस्रमधुरश्वसैर्न चाश्वासितं तद्राधाविरहातुरं मुररिपोर्व्वे-
- 5 ल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्गह(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
- 7 जपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमो-
- 8 घवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली ॥ श्रीन-
- 9 र्मदातटे गर्दभपानीयभोगे गर्दभपानीयसम्बद्धि(सम्बन्धि)नी³ उत्तरस्यां दिशि पिप्परिकानाम्ना(म्नि)तडारे स-
- 10 मुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्ना(न्ना)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः स-
- 11 म्वदितं⁴ यथा तडारोयमस्मा⁵भिराघाटाः पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि । अगारवाहला⁶ मर्यादा । तथा उत्तरस्यां⁷
- 12 दिशि चिखिल्लिकासत्कगर्ता या समायता⁸ सा मर्यादा । तथा पश्चिमदिशौ(शि) गर्दभनदी मर्यादा [1*] त-
- 13 था दक्षिणस्यां दिशौ(शि) श्रीपिता(शा)चदेवति(ती)र्थमर्यादा । एवं चतुराघाटोपलक्षिताभिरेकत्(त्रि)शसो(सा)-
- 14 हस्त्रिकसम्ब(संव)त्सरेस्मिन् भाद्रपदशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां(श्यां) पवित्रकपर्व्वणि⁹ श्रीमदुज्जयनी¹⁰समा[वा]सितिः(तैः)
- 15 शिवतडागाम्भसि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा ।
- 16 वाताभ्रविभ्रम(मि)दं वमुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [1*] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)-
- 17 न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा पर[म]हो परलोक्याने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) [1*]
- 18 प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) ॥[४॥*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं स-

Second Plate

- 19 कलमिदमाकलय्योपरिलिखिततडा(रः)¹¹ स्वसीमातृणकाष्ठयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः स
- 20 वृक्षमालाकुलतहिरण्यभागभोगः¹² सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतोऽ¹³हिच्छत्राविनिर्गताय धा-
- 21 [म]दक्षिणप्रपन्नाय¹⁴ ज्ञानविज्ञानसंपन्ना¹⁵य श्रीमद्वसन्ता¹⁶चार्याय श्रीधनिकपण्डितसूनवे ॥¹⁷
- 22 मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये¹⁸दृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचंद्राकर्णवक्षितिसमकालं पर-

¹ What appears as an *anusvāra* above this letter is only a redundant chisel mark.

² The formation of this *akshara* is defective.

³ This expression has probably to be taken as qualifying तडार, and in that case we have to read the last syllable as नि. The word तडार is not known to the lexicons ; but the context shows that it denotes a region. The reading is absolutely certain.

⁴ Read बोधयति । अस्तु वः संविदितम्. The *danḍa* following तं is redundant, as some others below.

⁵ The horizontal bar of this letter was omitted in course of engraving.

⁶ The meaning of *vāhalā* is not known to me. It, however, appears to be a *nālā* flowing by the side of a house (*agāra*) ; but the use of the root *vah* in the sense of 'to cause to move (water) onward' would form the word *vāhā* or *vāhinī*, for the best use of which see *Raghuvamśa*, XIII, v. 61. This word in the masculine form occurs also in No. 107, l. 12.

⁷ Read तथोत्तरस्यां.

⁸ It means 'a hollow or cave of (belonging to) Chikhillikā which joins it. The word *talāra* is not known to the dictionaries, but from the boundaries specified here, it appears to be a piece of land, formed from *tala*=surface or a forest or adjoint land, and the consonant of the second letter being changed to *d*, as both these *aksharas* are interchangeable. गर्ता means a hollow or cave.

⁹ I.e., the purifying day which is the fourteenth of the month or fortnight.

¹⁰ It is interesting to note the spelling of the word used here. In the last letter in this line the top-*mātrā* is so engraved as to resemble the curve of medial *i*.

¹¹ It may better be read as -लिखितस्तडारः.

¹² It appears that the *mātrā* of ओ was first omitted and, to indicate it, later on a curve was put just adjoining to the top-stroke before it. Read -कुलः.

¹³ After त, only the lower dot of the *visarga* is visible and it is followed by the *avagraha* sign. It appears that because of the *avagraha*, the engraver, while making corrections as required, erased the upper dot of the *visarga*, but forgot to erase the lower one and also to put the *mātrā* of the diphthong.

¹⁴ The construction here is rather peculiar.

¹⁵ The letter was misformed and appears somewhat like मा.

¹⁶ Some other letter, which was formerly engraved here, was subsequently erased to put this letter.

¹⁷ The *danḍas* are redundant. The preceding ण in the line is only partially engraved.

¹⁸ This *avagraha*, with the preceding sign of *mātrā*, appears to have been marked subsequently.

- 23 या भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा तनि(त्रि)वासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभो-
 24 गरहरिण्यादिकं सर्वमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वदास्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफ-
 25 लं बु(बु)द्ध्वास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ।¹ उक्तं
 26 च । व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] ये(य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[1५॥*]
 यानीह दत्तानि
 27 पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1*] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[1६॥*] अस्म-
 28 त्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाह[र*]द्विरन्यैश्चदानमिदम²भ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बु(बुद्बु)दचञ्चलाया दा-
 29 नं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥[७॥*] सर्वानितान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रा-
 30 मभद्रः ॥(1) सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुनृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८॥*] इति क-
 31 मलदलाम्बुवि(म्बुवि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] सकलमिदमुदाह-
 32 तं च बु(बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[९॥*] इति सं³ १०३१ भाद्रपद-
 33 शुदि १४ स्वयमाज्ञा [1*] दायकश्चात्रकण्ठैकः⁴ ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवा-
 34 क्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥

No. 5 ; No PLATE

UJJAIN GRANT OF VĀKPATIRĀJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1036

THE copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription are stated to have been discovered some time before the middle of the nineteenth century A.C., in a ruin in the vicinity of UJJAIN, the Ujjayini of a hoary antiquity, and found their way to the Central India Agency, which then existed at Indore, in Madhya Pradesh. R.N.C. Hamilton, who was then the Agent to the Governor-General and in charge of the Agency, sent a facsimile of the record to the Asiatic Society, Calcutta ; and from the same, the late Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, the librarian of the Society, edited the inscription in its *Journal*, Volume XIX (for 1850), pp. 475, publishing the text in Nāgarī (pp. 477-78), with its translation in English (pp. 478-80) and a preliminary note (pp 475-77). In the meanwhile the plates sailed off and were again noticed in the India Office, London, where they are now preserved. In 1885 the document was systematically edited by Kielhorn, with text in Nāgarī and a fresh translation, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XIV (1885), pp. 159 ff., from a photo-lithograph, supplied to him by J.F. Fleet, one of the editors of the *Journal*. But neither Mitra's nor Kielhorn's article is illustrated, and, being unable to procure the impressions of the inscription, I edit it here from the latter's reading of the text.

The set consists of two copper plates, each measuring about 32·38 cms. broad by 24·13 cms. high. The edges of them are fashioned thicker into rims to protect the writing, which is well preserved. The bottom of the first and the top of the second plate has two ring-holes for holding the plates together, but from Kielhorn's writing it appears that only one of the rings could then be obtained. He describes it to be a "plain copper-ring, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " (.9 cm.) thick and $2\frac{1}{4}$ " (5.71 cms.) in diameter ; it has been cut before the grant came under notice for photolithograph." As he has also stated, the total weight of the plates and the ring is 6 lbs. 10 oz., i.e., about 3 kilograms.

The grant is written in the Nāgarī script current in the tenth century A.C. The language is Sanskrit ; and, excepting two benedictory and five imprecatory stanzas at the beginning and the end, respectively, the record is in prose. Unlike the preceding inscription, it shows the

¹ This *danḍa* appears to have been inserted subsequently.

² Before this *akshara* a *prishṭha-mātrā* has been wrongly engraved.

³ That is, संवत्.

⁴ Read स्वयमाज्ञा । दायकश्चात्र. The first expression means the order of (the king) himself ; and the second is in the sense of *dūtaka*, See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 178, n. 1.

tendency to use *parasavarṇa* instead of the sign for *anusvāra*, see, e.g., *śaśāṅka* and *chañchat*, both in l. 1, *śrīkaṇṭha* in l. 2, *samva(ba)ddha* in l. 9 and *sāmānyō'yandharmma-* in l. 25, illustrating the use of all class-nasals. This tendency, however, has gone so far as to put a class nasal wrongly in some instances, e.g., in *śrēyāṅsi*, l. 2, *samvat*, l. 28, and *samviditaṁ* and *samvatsarē*, both in l. 11. On the other hand, *anusvāra* wrongly occurs at the end of a hemistich in *phalaṁ* in v. 3 (l. 21) and at the end of a sentence in l. 19. To note a scribal error, the word *shaṭṭrimśat* in l. 11 is written as *shaṭṭrumśat*. In place of the sign for *visarga* we have that of *upadhmanīya* in two instances in ll. 5 and 27; the sign for *avagraha* is employed once correctly in l. 16, to denote the merging of initial *a* into the preceding *ē*, but wrongly in *vuddhvā'smat*, l. 19. The spelling *Ujjayanyāṁ* in l. 14 is interesting, as in the preceding record. **Orthographically**, there is nothing worth noting, except that (1) *b* is always denoted by the sign for *v*, and (2) the consonant following *r* is not unoften doubled.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārājā*, the illustrious *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* **Vākpatirājadevā**, alias Amoghavarsha, who belonged to the **Paramāra** ruling house of Mālwā; and its preliminary portion consisting of the *maṅgala-ślōkas* and the mention of the genealogy is literally identical with that of the Dharampurī grant that immediately precedes and was written only five years earlier, in V.S. 1031. Thus the genealogical portion teaches us nothing new. The only noteworthy difference, however, is in regard to the object of the grant and the occasion of making it. The **object** of the present charter is to record, in terms which call for no remarks, the donation of the village of Sēmbalapura, included in the *bhukti* of the *Mahāsāadhanika* Mahāika and connected with the *Tiṇisapadra-dvādaśaka*.

The gift was made by Vākpatirāja from his stay at Bhagavatpura, at the request of Āsinī, the wife of the *Mahāsāadhanika* Mahāika, on, as expressed in words only, **the full-moon day of Kārttika, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1036**, the corresponding Christian day being the **26th October, 980**,¹ and it was to provide for the worship of *Bhaṭṭārikā*, the goddess Bhaṭṭeśvarī at Ujjayanī, the modern Ujjain, for the repairs of the temple.

While editing the grant, Kielhorn has suggested that "as *Bhaṭṭārikā* is an epithet of Durgā, Bhaṭṭeśvarī seems to have been one of the local names of that deity".² In view of these general remarks made by Kielhorn, the deity referred to here appears to be none else than the goddess now known in the locality by the name of Hara-siddhi, whose image is enshrined there in a temple which, though not very old, occupies almost the same high regard as Mahākālā, not only among the public of Ujjain but also in the surrounding region. For exposition of the phrase referring to the repairs to the temple, my note appended to the corresponding portion of the text may be seen.

The expression *Mahāsāadhanika* is used in Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* in the sense of a military governor;³ and *Sāadhanika* occurs in the Māndhātā inscription of V.S. 1331 of Jayavarman II; and according to Dr. D.C. Sircar, it is the same as Prakrit *Sāhaniā*, meaning the commander of an army.⁴ But from the historical point of view it may be noted here that Vākpati-Muñja made the grant from his stay at Bhagavatpura; and, if our identification of this place with the village of Bhagōr which is on the Chambal, as shown below, be correct, incidentally it may be pointed out that this river of ancient fame is still regarded very sacred throughout Mālwā;⁵ and the custom of taking bath in its holy waters before making gifts to Brāhmaṇas on the full-moon day of Kārttika, as also happens to be the date of the present inscription, is taken to be most meritorious. The proposed identification of Bhagavatpura with the modern Bhagōr and of the

¹ This equivalent was given by Kielhorn when he edited the inscription in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 159. But while publishing his article, the editor of the *Journal* remarked in *f.n.* 2 of the same page that "this date, when there was an eclipse of the moon, answers by the northern reckoning, to the full moon of Kārttika of V.S. 1037, which is one year later than the date recorded in the grant, and for full moon of Kārttika of V.S. 1036 the equivalent date would be Tuesday, the 6th November, 979 A.C., when also there was an eclipse of the moon." Kielhorn later on accepted this statement in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 23, No. 4.

² Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

³ P. 162. Cf. Ganguly, *H.P.D.*, p. 212.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 141-42.

⁵ Cf. Kālidāsa, *Mṛghadūta* (*Pūrvamēgha*), v. 47. For the origin of the name Charmaṇvatī, see *Mbh.*, *Drōṇa-parva*, Ch. 67.

other place in the region adjoining to it which is the north-western part of Mālwa, may also go to suggest, of course tentatively but as it appears likely, that on this occasion Vākpati-Muñja appears to have encamped at this place in course of his struggle with some of his enemies in the west and north-west, *viz*, the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I, the Guhila Śaktikumāra and the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna Balirāja, all of whom are known to have been defeated by him.¹ Line 29 states that the charter of the donation was actually issued on the **ninth of the dark half of Chaitra of the same year, i.e. V.S. 1036**, which is about four months later when the king was camping at Guṇapura after he had achieved a great victory (*mahāvijaya-skandhāvarē*), which may obviously be taken to have been won against any of these enemies.

The portion of the inscription dealing with the grant and the purpose for which it was made is followed by five of the customary imprecatory verses (ll. 20-28), which are the same as in the Dharampurī record. Line 28 gives another date, as seen just above. And, after mentioning the name of the *dāpaka* to be Rudrāditya,² and with the **sign-manual** of Vākpatirāja in l. 30, the record comes to a close.

Kielhorn expressed his inability to identify any of the **geographical names** appearing in the inscription ;³ but considering that they were all in the same region, I propose to make the following suggestions. **Bhagavatpura**, as seen above, appears to be the modern town of Bhagōr (23° 53' N. Lat. and 75° 25' E. Long.), situated on the Chambal, about 16 kms. south-southwest of Sītāmaū,⁴ the chief town of a former State of the same name and now that of a *parganā* in the Mandsaur District of Madhya Pradesh. About 6 kms. to the north of Bhagōr is a big village of the name of Titrōd (24° 2' N. Lat. ; 75° 29' E. Long.), which too, like Bhagōr, is an old place and a *tehsīl* of the former State named above, and is known to have been an important place in the later days under the Mughals,⁵ and may have borne some importance in the earlier days also so as to form the headquarters of a region at the time of the Paramāras, as we learn from the charter under study. This place suggests its identification with **Tiṇisapadra**. About 8 kms. north-east of Titrōd is a village of the name of Sēmliā, which, in view of its situation in the same region, appears to be the **Sēmbalapura** of the inscription. A consideration of all these places in the same locality shows that in the early days of their power the Paramāras had extended their sway at least up to the southern part of the modern Sītāmaū *parganā* of the Mandsaur District of Madhya Pradesh and lying to the west of the Chambal. **Guṇapura**, where the grant is stated to have been written, cannot be definitely identified for want of details ; a somewhat similar name goes to suggest that it may possibly have been the modern village of Guṇāvad (75° 30' E. Long. : 22° 39' N. Lat.), situated about 12 kms. north by east from Dhār, which is now the chief town of a District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : Verses 1-2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Anuṣṭubh (Ślōka)* ; v. 4 *Indravajrā* ; v. 5 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 6 *Śālinī* ; v. 7 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 ओं [11] यः(याः) स्फू(ज्जल्फण)भृद्विषानलमिलद्ध अ(म)प्रभाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाव(ब)द्वशशाङ्कोटिघटिता याः सैङ्हि(सैहि)केयोपमाः
[1] या[श्चञ्च]-
- 2 द्गिरिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठ[रु]चयः श्रेयान्सि(यांसि) पुष्पन्तु वः [11911]*
- 3 यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखितं यन्नाद्रितम्बा(तं वा)रिधेर्वाग यन्न निजेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन शान्ति-

¹ See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 173 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, ll. 41-42 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 20, text, vv. 9-10. It is equally possible that Vākpati may then have been struggling against the Hūṇas, as to be discussed in the next inscription.

² Probably the same as the Minister of the same name who dissuaded the king from marching against Tailapa. See *P.C.M.*, p. 33.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁴ C.E. Luard : *Western States Gazetteer*, Vol. V. part A. 1907, p. 348, where the place (Bhagōr) is also stated to be sacred.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 350.

⁶ From Kielhorn's transcript in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 477 f.

- 4 ज्ञतं(तम्) [1] यच्छेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरः(रैः) ¹श्वसैनं चाशवासितं तद्राधाविरहातुरं मुररिपोर्वेल्लद्वपु-
 5 ँपातु वः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
 6 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्गह(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
 7 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
 8 श्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदे-
 9 वः कुशली ॥ तिणिसपद्मद्वादशकसम्ब(म्ब)द्धमहासाधनिकश्रीमहाइकभुक्तसेम्ब(म्ब)लपुरकग्रामे स-
 10 मुपगतान्समस्तराजपु(रु)षान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादी(दी)श्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः सम्ब(संवि)-
 11 दितं यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिः षट्त्वं(त्विं)शसाहस्रिकसम्ब(संव)त्सरेस्मिन् कार्तिकशुद्धपौर्णिमायां² सो-
 12 मग्रहणपर्वणि श्रीभगवत्पुरावासितैरस्माभिर्महासाधनिकश्रीमहाइकपत्नीआसि-
 13 नीप्रार्थनया³ उपरिलिखितग्रामः स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः⁴ सहिरण्यभागभोगः
 14 सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतः श्रीमदुज्जयिन्यां भट्टारिकाश्रीमद्भूटेश्वरीदेव्यै स्नानविलेप-
 15 नपुष्पगन्धधूपानैवेद्यप्रेक्षणकादिनिमित्तञ्च तथा खण्डस्फुटितदेवगृहजगतीसमारचनार्थः⁶
 16 च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धयेऽदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्कवर्णवक्षितिसमका-
 17 लं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्ट-

Second Plate

- 18 किलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगः(ग)करहिरण्यादिकं सर्वमाज्ञाश्रवण-
 19 विधेमै(यै)भूत्वा सर्वथा सर्वमस्याः⁷ समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बु(बु)द्ध्वाऽस्म-
 20 द्ब्रंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व(ब)हु-
 21 भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्यस्य⁸ यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३॥*] यानीह द-
 22 त्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [1] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
 23 पुनराददीत [11] [४॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । ल-
 24 क्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बु(बुद्बु)दचञ्चलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनञ्च [11] [५॥*] सर्वानितान्भाविनः पा-
 25 थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1] सामान्योयन्ध(यं ध)र्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-
 26 यो भवद्भिः ॥[६॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य म-
 27 नुष्यजीवितं च [1] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैःप-
 28 रकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति [11] ⁹ सम्ब(संव)त् १०३६ चैत्र वदि ६ । गुण-
 29 पुरावासितै(ते) श्रीमन्महाविजयस्कन्धावारे स्वयमाज्ञादायकश्चात् ¹⁰
 30 श्रीरुद्र(रु*)दित्यः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥

¹ Kielhorn: मधुरश्वसैः. Both the corrections as given by him and by me are equally good.

² Read either पौर्णमास्यां or पूर्णिमायां.

³ Sandhi is optional here.

⁴ This expression has been variously interpreted. Colebrooke rendered it by "within the proper bounds, extending to the grass and pasture" (*Misc. Essays*, Vol. II, p. 312); and Kirtane translated it, by "within all its proper boundaries, which extend as far as the ground for the tending of the cattle and for cutting grass" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53). Referring to both these renderings, Kielhorn translated the expression as "up to its proper boundaries, the grass and pasture land" (*op. cit.*, p. 161). The purport of all these renderings is the same, but all these scholars have failed to catch the meaning of the word यूति, which means 'mixing' or 'junction'. And thus I would render the expression as 'extending up to the grass within its bounds and the pasture land connected with it.'

⁵ This word means 'show' or 'spectacle'. Possibly प्रो may have been intended.

⁶ Kielhorn: "putting in order of the temple buildings, when damaged or out of repairs." I would, however, take it as खण्डशः स्फुटित, partially broken, and also for the construction of जगती, foundation, or for repairing the जगती, which was partially broken.

⁷ This word appears to be restored to अस्मै.

⁸ Read सगरादिभिः । यस्य -.

⁹ Read विलोप्याः ॥७॥ इति.

¹⁰ Read स्वयमाज्ञा । दापकश्चात्. For translation, see n. on the same in the preceding inscription.

GAONRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VĀKPATIRĀJADĒVA

(I)

[Vikrama] Year 1038

THIS inscription, which is on **three** plates of copper, was first brought to light by M.B. Garde, the Director of Archaeology of the former Gwalior State, in the *Annual Report of the Department*, for V.S. 1987 (1930-31 A.C.), pages 10-11, where he summarised its contents. About five years subsequently, the record was edited by K. N. Dikshit, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXIII (for 1935-36), pages 101 ff., with his reading of the text in Nāgarī characters (pp. 108-11) and facsimiles facing pp. 108, 109 and 111. It is edited here from the same facsimiles.

As stated above, it is a set of three plates which are stated to have been discovered, on 20th June 1931, in course of cutting a channel of a tank at **Gaonri**, or Gonry, situated about 5 kms. to the north-east of Narwal, a *jāgīr*-village lying 18 kms. to the south-east of Ujjain, on Ujjain-Dewās metalled road, in Madhya Pradesh. The plates reached the hands of the *jāgīrdār* of the village, who sent them to K.N. Dikshit who was then in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they were cleaned ; and it was found that the outer side of the first plate was a palimpsest containing an earlier record of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Suvarṇavarsha (Govind IV), dated Śaka 851, which preceded the grant by 52 years. This is indeed a rare and interesting feature¹.

The size of the plates varies from 38·10 to 39·37 cms. in length and from 26·03 to 26·67 cms. in breadth. Each of them is about 3 mms. in thickness and their rims have been raised to protect the writing. The lower side of the first and the upper side of the rest two are pierced with two holes 1·2 cms. in diameter and with an intervening space of about 15 cms., for rings to pass through and hold them together. On the first two of the plates the holes disturb the continuity of writing in two of the lines. The rings are missing ; and the plates without the rings weigh 6·43 kgms. On the proper right side of the bottom of the third plate is incised a representation of the flying **Garuḍa** in human form, but with the nose of a bird, wearing a crown and holding a snake in the left hand, with the right hand raised as if to strike it. The figure, which bears a close resemblance to that as to be seen on the Dharampurī grant of Vākpatirāja, is 8 cms. broad by 11 cms. high and occupies a space at the beginning of the last four lines of the writing.

Each of the plates is inscribed on one side only, excepting the first which bears an older record on the outer side, as stated above. The writing consists of 53 lines, of which 23 lines are inscribed on the first plate, 20 on the second, and the remaining 10 lines on the third plate. The **script** belongs to the tenth century, and bears a general resemblance to that of the Dharampurī grant of Vākpatirāja. But it is more cursive. To note the peculiarities of the writing, the initial *a* is formed by the sign of the initial *u* joined to a vertical stroke with a horizontal ; see *atīta*, l. 9 ; the initial *i* is represented by two circles subscribed by the *mātrā* of *u*, as in *iti*, l. 12 ; the consonant *ṇ* has not developed the dot ; e.g. *śaśāṅka*, l. 1 ; and *ch*, *dh* and *v* are almost alike in form ; cf. *Vahricha*, l. 15, where the first letter cannot be distinguished from the third, and the formation of all these letters is similar in *vindu*, *dharmma* and *chakra*, all in l. 11. The letters *kh*, *g*, *j*, *n*, *bh* and *ś* continue their old forms ; see *sukhita*, l. 2, *vinirggata*, l. 24, *Girijā*, l. 1, *na*, l. 2, *nābhi*, l. 3, and *śrī*, l. 2, respectively. The letter *ñ* is similar to *ṇ*, as in *uktañ* = *cha*-l. 45.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and with the exception of two verses in the beginning, two in the middle in ll. 10-12, by way of a parenthesis, and 5 imprecatory stanzas in the end, the record is composed in prose. **Orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as those of the age ; viz. (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *brāhmaṇa*-, l. 8 ; (2) the

¹ Citing instances, the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* concludes that "what necessitated the obliteration of the original grant is not known" (Vol. XXIII, p. 101, n.). But how the plates could travel from the distant Deccan to the region of Mālwā cannot be ascertained unless we hold with Dikshit who conjectured that it is possible that in his invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭa capital which took place in about 973 A.C., the Paramāra king Siyaka snatched it either from the Rāshtrakūṭa treasury or from the owner and brought it with him along with the other booty and that later on it was used for engraving a fresh inscription by Vākpati.

sporadic doubling of a consonant following *r*, e.g. in *kārttikyām*, l. 9 ; (3) the occasional use of the dental sibilant for the palatal, as in *pārāsara* l. 21, and *vice versa* ; see *śādhu* (for *sādhū*) in l. 47 ; (4) the use of *anusvāra* before a vowel, e.g. in *ētēshām* = *upari-*, l. 43, and at the end of a hemistich, as in ll. 3, 12 and 46 ; (5) the representation of a diphthong or its part by a *prishṭha-mātrā*, with a very few exceptions ; and (6) putting the sign of *avagraha* correctly in l. 41, to denote the elision of *a* before *ē*, but wrongly in l. 15 and 44, to denote *dirgha-sandhi*. Wrong spellings are often noted, e.g. in *śrēyānsi*, l. 2, *samviditam*, *truṃsat* and *samvatsarē*, all in l. 9, *sansāra*, ll. 10-11 ; *Magaddha*, l. 14 ; *tru-pravara*, ll. 14 f. and *Ranāditya*, l. 19. The spellings of *sainhikēya*, l. 1 and *Vairisinha*, l. 5 are also peculiar. There are also mistakes of engraving ; letters, their parts, *mātrās*, *anusvāra* and *visarga* are manytimes omitted, as will be known from the corrections made in the text that follows.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation, by Vākpatirājādēva, of the village Vanikā situated in the *Āvaraka-bhōga* in *Hūṇa-maṇḍala*, in favour of thirty-six Brāhmaṇas hailing from different localities (ll. 13-42). The announcement of the king was made before all the royal officials, Brāhmaṇas and the other leading persons and the *paṭṭakila*. The order in which each of the donees is mentioned is his original place, *gōtra* with number of *pravaras*, Vēda and *śākhā*, his own name with his father's name, and lastly, the number of parts (*aṃśa*) donated in favour of him. From the tabulated list appended below, it will be known that in eight cases the record also mentions the name of the *dēśa* in which the original place of the donee was included ; and that the Brāhmaṇa donees had hailed to Mālwā from the distant countries such as Magadha, Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, Uttara-Kula(ru?), Sāvathika (Śrāvasti?), Lāṭa and Madhyadēśa, is an information which is valuable in the field of social history of Mālwā of this period. The list also shows that in two cases (Nos. 6 and 20) the epithets of the donees are also given with their names ; in two cases (Nos. 9-10) the names end in *svāmin* ; and one name (No. 2) appears as of a place. Of the names of the fathers of the donees mentioned in the record, only two (Nos. 1 and 9) are accompanied by their epithet which is Dikshita. This very probably indicates that the practice of using the epithet was rather rare at the time when the present grant was issued.

The donation is stated to have been made on the **full-moon day of Kārttika, when there was a lunar eclipse, in the (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1038, elapsed (atita)**, as given only in word in l. 9. From l. 52, below, we also learn that the charter was actually issued on the **tenth day of the bright half of the second Āshāḍha of (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1038**, which is the same year, evidently showing that Kārttika of 1038 must be taken as preceding Āshāḍha of the same year, the year has to be taken as commencing from Kārttika¹. The equivalent Christian date, as calculated by Dikshit, is **Sunday the 16th October, 981 A.C.**, for the first date, and **3rd July, 982 A.C., for the second**. From these calculations we know that the charter was actually issued about nine months later.

The record opens with two *maṅgala-ślōkas*, followed by the genealogical portion mentioning three predecessors of Vākpatirājādēva, viz. **Kṛishṇarāja**, his successor **Vairisimha**, and his successor **Siyaka**. This portion is identical with that of the other records of Vākpatirāja, and nothing need be said here in this respect. We have already seen above that they all belonged to the **Paramāra** house of Mālwā. This is followed by the grant portion which too we have seen above.

The gift-village **Vanikā** is mentioned as situated in the *Āvaraka-bhōga* in the *Hūṇa-maṇḍala*. Dikshit proposes to identify Vanikā with Benkā, lying 15 miles (24 kms.) north-west of Awār (Āvaraka of the inscription), which is near Āgar, a town situated to the north-east of Ujjain.² So far as the similarity in names is concerned, Dikshit is quite justified in proposing both these identifications. I have, however, to propose another alternative in this respect, on more certain grounds. Awār near Āgar is only a tiny hamlet and contains nothing to indicate that it was a flourishing place in some former times so as to be designated as a *maṇḍala*. I am, therefore, inclined to identify the Āvaraka of the present grant with the village known as Āvrā, which lies about 30 kms. by road from Shāmgadh, a station on the Bombay-Delhi line of the Western Railway (between Ratlām and Kōṭā). About 10 kms. straight south-east of Āvrā is a village of the

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 104. Also see our remarks on the dates of the Bētmā and Ujjain grants of Bhōjadēva, showing that in this region the year at that time began in Kārttika and not in Chaitra.

² Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 102. This place is about 75 kms. straight north-east of Ujjain and almost equidistant from Narwal ; it is now included in the adjoining district of Shājāpur.

name of Banī, which may have been the Vaṇikā of the present grant. Both these places are in the present Mandsaur District of Madhya Pradesh; and somewhere in the neighbourhood may have been the Hūṇa-*maṇḍala* of the inscription. Following the suggestions of Dikshit that the Hūṇa-*maṇḍala* "must be taken as the north part of the Mālwa plateau", my suggestions for identifying both these places are more suitable to the District of Mandsaur rather than that of Ujjain.¹ Reference is also invited in this respect to Yaśōdharman's success against the Hūṇa Mihirakula as mentioned in the Mandsaur pillar inscription;² and it is possible that after this defeat some of the Hūṇas may have continued to stay around Mandsaur and in the district itself.

Thus we get a strong evidence to corroborate the identifications proposed by me, and it seems more plausible in identifying the places connected with the gift village mentioned in the inscription; and, if accepted, it would throw a welcome light in ascertaining the jurisdiction of the Paramāra dominions in the time of Vākpatidēva, and would also substantiate what I have stated while editing his Ujjain grant,³ viz., that a part of the present Mandsaur District was included in his dominions. According to the Udaipur *prāśasti*,⁴ Vākpati's father Sīyaka defeated the Hūṇas; and if this allusion refers to the people residing in the vicinity of the present Mandsaur District, we travel on certain grounds while proposing the above identifications.

Gaonrī, the find-spot of the plates, is about 130 kms. south-southeast of Banī, where the land was donated, as we have seen above; and how the plates possessed by a donee at that place could be found at this great distance has also to be considered here. While proposing to identify the grant village with Benkā, as seen above, Dikshit states that the distance between this village and the provenance of the plates is about 40 miles (64 kms.); but the first mentioned person in the present grant who may likely have been the 'sole proprietor and the senior partner' thereof may have carried with him the charter, as he is also the sole recipient of the grant that follows.⁵ The view is probable and applies equally in accepting our identification of the village, though the distance is rather greater in the latter case.

The main body of the inscription recording the details of the grants ends with the usual injunctions stating that the gifts were intended to be enjoyed by the donees perpetually (ll. 42-44); and following this statement, we have five of the customary imprecatory and benedictory verses, which are exactly the same as to be found in the other grants of Vākpatirāja. Line 52 mentions another date when the charter was actually issued, as we have seen above. Then we find the expression *svayam* = *ājñā*, i.e. '(this is) the order (of the king) himself', followed by the name of the *dāpaka* who was Rudrāditya, the same person who was also the *dāpaka* of the Ujjain grant of the king issued only two years before and who was his minister, as we know from some other sources.⁶ The charter ends with the **sign-manual** of the king, engraved in continuation of the writing and in *aksharas* which are smaller and thinner in size.

With reference to the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, it may be stated here that K. N. Dikshit has identified most of them, particularly those which are in Bengal; and I have made an attempt to locate some others. **Magadha** (l. 14), **Madhyadēśa** (ll. 15 and 26) and **Lāṭa-dēśa** (ll. 36 and 38) are all well known. **Kulāñchā** (l. 19) is proposed to be identified with Kulāñch in the Bogra District of North Bengal.⁷ **Sāvathika** or **Sāvathikā** (ll. 29-30) is most likely the tract more or less corresponding to North Bogra and South Dinājpur, in Bengal, and **Dardurikā** and **Mitila-pāṭaka** (ll. 29 and 30) may perhaps be 'Dadra in Panchbibi Thānā of the Bogra District and Mitail or Mitialpārā, both of which are in the Bogra District'. **Dakshina-Rādhā** (l. 21) is also a part of Bengal, but **Bilvavāsa** (l. 21) which is said to have been included in it cannot be identified. The **bhaṭṭa-grāmas** mentioned in ll. 14, 17, 18 and 33 may denote

¹ For Dikshit's remarks, see *ibid.* On the other hand, Āvrā is an ancient place where excavations were conducted, for which see *Ind. Arch., A Review*, for 1959-60, p. 24; and *Journ. of M.P. Itihāsa Parishad*, Number IV, pp. 13 ff. The village Banī contains a big pond, justifying the statement of the inscription समस्ततलकैः सहिते वणिकाग्रामे (1.8). तलक=pond.

² *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, pp. 152 ff. For the location of the Hūṇas in this region, see D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 327, n. 4.

³ No. 5, above.

⁴ No. 24, below.

⁵ No. 7, l. 19, below.

⁶ *P.C.M.*, p. 33.

⁷ For Kolāñch, the fatherland of the Rādhī and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas, see *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, pp. 358 f.

some Brāhmin-settlements founded by persons whose names are given in the beginning. **Uttara-Kuru-Dēśa** (l. 24) is again well known. **Śravaṇabhadra** (ll. 28 and 39), which is mentioned also in the Tilakavāḍā grant of Bhōja,¹ may be somewhere near Kanauj in North India. **Khēṭaka** (l. 32), which is mentioned in the first two of our grants, is evidently Kheḍā or Kairā in Gujarāt. **Nāndipura**, which is stated to have been in Lāṭa country (l. 38), has been identified with the modern Nāndoḍ on the Narmadā. The name **Asureśa-maṇḍala** (l. 19) I am tempted to identify with a Hūṇa locality, and I also find that the name of the modern village Usārā in the Bhānpurā *parganā* of the Mandsaur District sounds somewhat similar to it. But the village Avivā (l. 20), as stated to have been included in it, I am unable to identify. In course of his identifying most of the places, Dikshit states that 'places like **Kharjurikā, Sopura, Dapura, Ānoha, Avivā** and **Rājakiya grāma**, may be found in the neighbourhood or within the province of Mālhwā.' And following this remark, I could trace out a number of villages resembling these names throughout Mālhwā; one of them lying about 10 kms. to the east of the find-spot of the plates bears the complete name Khajūriā-Parmār. The name Dapura sounds like Devar, about 3 kms. south of Narwal (now in the Dēwās District). Rājakiya-grāma may perhaps have been the modern village Rānevās, about 5 kms. west of Narwal, or Rāipuryā in the Bhānpurā *parganā* of the Mandsaur District, which also shows a village of the name of Sopuryā. The remarks suggesting the location of places in Mālhwā are all tentative, based only on the resemblance in names; but it is certain that some of them are to be found in the District of Ujjain and some others in that of Mandsaur, in which lie respectively the find-spot and the gift village, as proposed by me. It is interesting to note here that of all the regions from which Brāhmaṇas are stated to have migrated to Mālhwā at the time when the present grant was issued, Bengal occupies the first place, giving the second or the third place to the United Provinces, Gujarāt and some other regions. It is also worth noting that all the Brāhmaṇas hailing from Bengal are Sāmavēdins belonging to its Chhāndōgya-śākhā.

In the end we may reproduce the list of the Brāhmaṇa donees, in a tabular form, as given by K. N. Dikshit in his article in the *Ep. Indica, op. cit.*, pp. 105-06:—

Table showing the Brāhmaṇa donees of the Gaonrī Plates of Vākpati Muñja; V.S. 1038.

Serial No.	Name of Donee	Father's name	Original place	Vēda & Śākhā	Gōtra & Pravara	Parts of village granted
1	Sarvānanda	Dīkshita Lōkānanda	Kaṇōpā in Magadha	R̥igvēda, Bahv̥richa Sāmavēda,	Sām̐kr̥itya	3 8
2	Mūlasthāna	Brahmapaṇḍita	Ayaka in Madhya-dēśa	Chhāndōgya	Vasishṭha	3 3
3	Lōhiṇa	Īśvara	Kāvaḍa	Yajurvēda, Vāji-mādhyandina	Gautama	3 3
4	Chandrāditya	Pītavāsa	Chauramba	Sāmavēda, Chhāndōgya	Śāḍilya	3 4
5	Śābara	Raṇāditya	Kulāñchā	Do	Do	3 2
6	Agnihōtrin Lōhapa	Vāsudēva	Avivā in Asurēśa-maṇḍala	Do	Vatsa	5 4
7	Dōnāka	Gōśaraṇa	Vilvagavāsa in Dakṣiṇa Rāḍha	Do	Pārāśara	5 ² 5
8	Anantāditya	Surāditya	Khaḍupallikā	Yajurvēda, Vāji-Mādhyandina	Maudgalya	3 2
9	Vāmanasvāmin	Dīkshita Hari	Paṇḍarika in Uttarakula	Sāmavēda, Chhāndōga	Gārgya	5 3
10	Ātuka	Risiula	Umvarāchara	Yajurvēda, Vāji-mādhyandina	Agastya	3 1
11	Purushōttama	Līhā	? in Madhyadēśa	Do	Maitrēya	3 4
12	Gōvindasvāmin	Dēvasvāmin	Madhupālikā	Sāmavēda, Chhāndōgya	Kāśyapa	3 3
13	Sihāṭa	Mitrānanda	Śravaṇabhadra	R̥igvēda, Bahv̥richa	Vatsa	5 4
14	Śaṅkara	Dēvāditya	Dardurikā in Sāvathikā	Sāmavēda, Chhāndōgya	Bhārgava	3 2

contt.

¹ No. 15, l. 4, below.

² As also remarked in a foot-note in the text, this gōtra has three pravaras and not five (K.N.D.)

Serial No.	Name of Donee	Father's name	Original place	Vēda & Śākhā	Gōtra & Pravara	Parts of village granted
15	Madhumathana	Achala	Mitilapātaka in Sāvathikadēśa	Yajurveda, Vāji-mādhyandina	Parāśsara	3 2
16	Svayam̐tapa	Śrīnivāsa	Khēdāpālīkā	Do	Mauni	3 3
17	Nēnaiyaka	Madhu	Khēṭaka	Rīgvēda, Bahvṛicha	Bhāradvāja	3 4
18	Jāmaṭa	Vishṇu	Anōhā	Yajurveda, Vāji-mādhyandina	Bhārgava	3 2
19	Dēdāka	Do	Do	Do	Do	3 2
20	Āvasthika Śarvadēva	Lōhaṭa	Sōpura	Sāmavēda, Kauthuma	Śaṇḍilya	3 2
21	Varāha	Śrīdhara	Kharjūrikā	Sāmavēda, Chhāndōgya	Māhula	3 4
22	Āśāditya	Mahula	Dapura	Rīgvēda, Bahvṛicha	Vārāha	3 3
23	Bhāila	Hari	? in Lāṭadēśa	Yajurveda, Vāji-mādhyandina	Kāśyapa	3 1
24	Dēvāditya	Līlāditya	Rājakiya-grāma	Sāmavēda, Chhāndōgya	Kāśyapa	3 1
25	Mum̐jāla	Īśvara	Nāndipura in Lāṭadēśa	Yajurveda, Vāji-mādhyandina	Vatsa	5 2
26	Amāṭta	Guṇākara	Śravaṇabhadra	Do	Bhāradvāja	3 2
Total						78

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1 and 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 7 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 4 and 5 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. 8 *Śālinī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [॥*] याः स्फूर्जत्फणभृद्विषानलमिलद्धूम्न[प्र*]भाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाव(व)द्वशशाङ्गकोटिघटिता याः सैङ्गि(सैहि)केयोपमाः³
[॥*] याश्च(ञ्च)द्विगि⁴रिजा-
- 2 कपोललुलि⁵ता[ः*] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठरुचयः श्रेयान्ति(यांसि) पुष्पन्तु वः ॥[१॥*] यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेदु(न्दु)ना
न सुखितं यन्ना-
- 3 द्वितम्बारिधेर्वीरा यन्न निजेन [ना]भिरसरसीपद्मेन शान्तिङ्गतं(तम्) [॥*] यच्छेषाह्मिणासहस्रमधुरश्वासैर्न चाश्ववासितं तद्राधाविरहा-
- 4 तुरं मुररिपोर्वेल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टार-
- 5 कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्ग(सिंह)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानु-
- 6 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदमोवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभ-
- 7 श्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली ॥ यथा हूणमंडले आवरकभोगसम्ब(म्ब)द्वपूर्वभोक्तृभिर्भुक्तभुक्तिक्रमेण यथासम्ब(म्ब)[द्व्य]मा-
- 8 न[॥*] समस्ततलकैः सहित(ते) वणिकाग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषां(षा)न्ना(न्ना)ह्यणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासि[पट्ट]किलजनप[दा]-
- 9 दीश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः सम्बि(संवि)दितं यथा अतीत(ता)ष्टतृंस(त्रिंश)दुत्तरसाहस्रिकसम्ब(संव)त्सरेस्मिन् कार्त्तिक[व्यां] सोम]-
ग्रहणपर्वणि
- 10 स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य सन्सा(संसा)रस्यासारतां⁶ दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसु[धा]⁷ध्रिपत्यमापातमात्र-
- 11 मधुरो विषयोपभोगः [॥*] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा⁸ परमहो परलोकयाने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्सन्सा(त्संसा)रचक्रा-

¹ From facsimiles between pp. 108-11 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ The sign of *visarga* was inserted subsequently.

⁴ There are some chisel-strokes, probably showing that some other letters were first engraved here by mistake.

⁵ The curve of the *mātrā* is not formed above this *akshara*.

⁶ The sign of *anusvāra* is put on the preceding letter.

⁷ The engraver first incised धि, and later on the ā-sign was formed without deleting the top-curve of the medial i (K.N.D.).

⁸ There is a redundant *anusvāra* over म्.

i[illegible]

ii

[illegible]

- 12 ग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यन्) [१*] प्राच्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः परं फलं(लन्) ॥४॥*] इति जगतो विनश्चरं सकलमिदमा-
कलया(य्यो)परिलिखि-
- 13 तग्रामः स्वसीमातृणकाष्ट(ष्ठ)यूतिगोचरपर्यन्त(न्तः) सवृक्षमालाकुल(लः)¹ सहिरण्यभागभोग(गः) सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतः उ-
- 14 परिलिखितग्रामेस्मिन् कल्पितांश²अष्टसप्ततेर्मध्यात् मगद्ध(ध)देशान्तःपातिकणोपाभट्टग्रामविनिर्ग³तसांक्रुत्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)-
- 15 प्रवरव(ब)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसर्वानंदाय पण्डित-दीक्षित*]लोकानंदसूनवे अंशाऽष्टौ⁴ ८ मध्यदेशान्तःपातित्य⁵कभट्टग्राम-
- 16 विनिर्गतवासिष्ठसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमूलस्थानाय आवस्थिकत्र(ब्र)ह्मपण्डितसूनवे अंशत्रयं
- 17 ३ कावडभट्टग्रामविनिर्ग(र्ग)तगौतमसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणलोहिणाय ईश्वरसूनवे अंशत्र-
यं ३ चौरम्ब(म्ब)भट्टग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शां)डिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछन्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणचंद्रादित्यपि(पी)तवाससूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 18 कुलांचाग्रामविनिर्गतसां(शां)डिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणशाव(ब)राय रना(णा)दित्यसूनवे अंशद्वयं २
- 19 अशुरेस⁶मंडलान्तःपा-
- 20 ति अविवा⁷ग्रामविनिर्गतवत्ससगो⁸त्रपञ्चप्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपंडिताग्निहोतृ(त्रि)कलोहपाय वासुदेवसु(सू)नवे अंशचतुष्ट-
यं ४ दक्षिणराढान्तःपातिविल्वगवासनिर्गतपारास(श)रसगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदोनाकाय गो-
- 22 सरणसु(सू)नवे अंशत्रयं⁹ ५ खड्डु¹⁰रल्लिगाग्राम*]विनि*]र्गतमौद्गल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
अनन्तादित्या-
- 23 य सुरादित्यसु(सू)नवे अं-

Second Plate

- 24 शद्वयं २ उत्तरकुलदेशान्तःपातिचौण्डरिकभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतगार्ग्यसगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवाम-
- 25 नश्वा(स्वा)मिने दीक्षितहरिसूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ उम्बराचरविनिर्गत अगस्त्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म-
- 26 ण आतुकाय रिसिउलसूनवे अंशमेकं १ मध्यदेशान्तःपातिमैत्रेयसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपुरुषोत्तमाय
- 27 लीहासूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ मधुपालिकाग्रामविनिर्गतकास्य(श्य)पसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगोविन्दश्वा(स्वा)मिने
देवश्वा(स्वा)मि-
- 28 सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ श्रवणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरव(ब)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसिंहटाय मित्रानंदसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 29 शावथिकान्तःपातिदर्दुरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसं(शं)कराय देवादित्यसूनवे अंशद्वय
- 30 २ सावथिका*]देशान्तःपातिमितिलपाटकविनिर्ग(र्ग)तपराशरसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमधुमथनाय अ-
- 31 चलसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ खेडापालिकाविनिर्गतमौनिसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्वयंतपाय श्रीनिवास-
- 32 सूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ खेटकविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरव(ब)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणनेनैयकाय मधुसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४ आ-
- 33 नोहभट्टग्रामविनिर्गतभार्गवसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणजासटाय विष्णुसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ तथा तस्यैव आ-
- 34 त्रे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेदेकाय अंशद्वयं २ सोरुरविनिर्गतसांडिल्यसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरकौथुमशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआवस्थिकसर्वदेवाय¹¹
लोहटसून-
- 35 वे अंशद्वयं २ खर्जूरिकाग्रामविनिर्गतमाहुलसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवराहाय श्रीधरसूनवे अंशचतुष्टयं ४
- 36 दपुरविनिर्गतबाराहसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरव(ब)हृचशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणआशादित्याय माहुलसूनवे अंशत्रयं ३ [ला]टदेशविनिर्गत-
- 37 कास्य(श्य)पसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभाइलाय हरिसूनवे अंशमेकं १ राज[कीयग्राम]विनिर्गतवत्सस-
- 38 गोत्रपञ्चप्रवरछ(छ)न्दोगशा[खि*]ने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणदेवादित्याय लीलःदित्यसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ लाटदेशान्तःपातिनान्दिपुरविनिर्गतभार-
- 39 द्वाजसगोत्रतृ(त्रि)प्रवरवाजिमाध्यन्दिनशाखिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमुंजालाय ईश्वरसूनवे अंशद्वयं २ श्रवणभद्रविनिर्गतवत्स-

¹ The *visarga*-sign was inserted subsequently.

² *Sandhi* is violated here and in some instances below. The word *kalpita* here means fixed or settled.

³ Faint traces of the superscript letter are visible.

⁴ Read अंशाष्टकं as suggested by Dikshit, or अंशाः अष्ट.

⁵ The superscript of this *akshara* is engraved as *avagraha*.

⁶ The correct form of this is अशुरेश.

⁷ It can also be read as अविघ्ना. *Sandhi* is violated here and in several places below, which are not noted separately.

⁸ The *prishtha-mātrā* of गो shows a fine curve.

⁹ Read अंशपञ्चकम् or अंशाः पञ्च. The *pravaras* of the *Pārāsara gōtru* are three and not five, as wrongly mentioned here.

¹⁰ The second *akshara* of this name can also be read as दु.

¹¹ Both these letters are damaged and the reading is doubtful.

- 40 सगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरवाजिमाध्या (ध्य)न्दिनशाखिने ब्रा (ब्रा)ह्मणामात्त (त्य ?) गुणाकरसु (सू)नवे अंशत्रयं ३ [1*] एवममुना क्रमेण उ-
 41 परिलिखितग्रामोयं उ (यमु)परिलिखितब्रा (ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः षड्वि (वि)शतिभ्यः मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेऽदृष्टफल-
 42 मङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिसमकालं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा तंनि (तन्नि)वासिप-
 43 द्वि (द्वि)किलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगः (ग)करहिरण्यादिकं सर्वमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वदा एतेषां (षाम्) उ-

Third Plate

- 44 परिलिखितनिव (ब)द्धक्रमेण¹ समुपनेतव्यं (व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु (बु) [द्ध्वा]स्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भा-
 45 विभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोयं (य) मनुमन्तव्यः ॥² पालनीयश्च । उक्तञ्च । व (ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
 46 सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [५॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थय-
 47 शस्कराणि [1*] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा (सा)धुः पुनरा [द*] दीत ॥ [६॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्विर-
 48 न्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं (यम्) [1*] लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्तलिलवुद्धु (बुद्धु) दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं
 49 च । ॥ [७॥*] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां
 50 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुवि (म्बुवि)न्दुलोलां श्रियम-
 51 नुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । सकल [मिदमुदा] हृतं च वु (बु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः पर-
 52 कीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ इति सम्ब (संव)त् १०३८ द्विराषाढशुदि १० [1*] स्वयमाज्ञा [1*]
 53 दापकश्चात्र श्रीरुद्रादित्यः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥³

No. 7 ; PLATE VII

GAONRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VĀKPATIRĀJADĒVA

(II)

[Vikrama] Year 1043

THIS inscription is incised on **two** copper-plates which were discovered in the village of **Gaonri**⁴ in the District of Ujjain in Madhya Pradesh, in 1931, along with those of the grant that immediately precedes here. The record was first noticed by M.B. Garde, in the *Annual Report* of the (former) Gwalior State Department of Archaeology, for V.S. 1987 (1930-31 A.C.), p. 11; and about five years subsequently it was edited by K. N. Dikshit, who was then in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXIII (1935-36), with text in the Nāgari characters (pp. 111 ff.) and facsimile-plates between pp. 112-13. From the same facsimiles the inscription is edited here.

As stated above, the plates are two in number, each measuring 31.75 to 32.38 cms. broad by 24.7 to 25.4 cms. high. Their rims have been raised to protect the writing, which is in a fair state of preservation. The lower margin of the first plate and the upper margin of the second are pierced with two holes at an intervening space of about 16 cms., for rings to hold them together; but the rings are not forthcoming. When the plates were sent to Dikshit in the Indian Museum, he was informed that the rings were of iron and in a very fragmentary state of preservation, and therefore were thrown away; but he seems to be justified in remarking that "it appears that the labourers who found the plates considered the rings to be of iron (as they took the plates

¹ The joining horizontal bar of this letter is not engraved.

² This mark of punctuation is redundant.

³ The letters of the sign-manual which is in continuation, are smaller than the main portion of the record.

⁴ Gaonrī (also spelt as Gōnri and Gōnry) is about 5 kms. to the north-east of Narwal, which is a big village and lies about 18 kms. to the south-east of Ujjain, on the Dewās-Ujjain metalled road. For the other details regarding the discovery of the plates etc., see the inscription that immediately precedes this. Both these grants were also noticed in *Statesman*, 12th May, 1932, where they were called Narwar grants. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 853, where they are also said to be in the India Office Library, London.

too), but it is likely that they were of copper".¹ Both the plates together weigh 2.25 kilograms.

Each of the plates is inscribed on one side only. In all there are 29 lines of writing, of which 16 lines are on the first plate and the rest on the second. The last line is engraved after leaving a blank space which measures about a little more than one-third of the rest of the lines in length; the purpose of this blank space cannot be ascertained.² The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** characters and the **language** is Sanskrit. The technical execution is beautiful; the letters are boldly and symmetrically drawn and cut deep. The work is more carefully accomplished than in the case of the plates of the grant that just precedes. But the inner parts of some of the letters show redundant chisel strokes. There are a few minor mistakes of writing or engraving; e.g., the omission of the sign of *anusvāra* in *sukhitam* and *śāntim*, both in l. 3, but marking it wrongly on the preceding letter in *chamchat*, l. 2, and the omission of the superscript *r* in *pariyanta*, l. 16; but with the exception of such minor errors, the language is correct. The average **size** of the letters is about .8 cms.

In respect of **palaeography**, the script bears a close resemblance to that of the immediately preceding inscription; but some of the letters are here advanced in form. The lower limb of the initial *i* has a fine tail attached to it, e.g., see *iti*, l. 27; the triangle of the right limb of *kh* and that of *g* occasionally gives place to a loop; cf. e.g., in *sukhitam*, l. 3, *sakhā*, l. 14, *grāmah*, l. 16, but also *vinirggata*, l. 17; the antique forms of *t* and *n* are found to be generally disappearing, giving their place to the modern forms of the letters, as in *pratinivāsi*, l. 10; and the sibilants *ś* and *s* show their forms somewhat advanced, as in *paramēśvara*, ll. 5 and 6, and in *samasta*, l. 10. With the exception of specifying the grant-portion and the date, the present inscription is a copy of the preceding grant; and the **orthographical** features are almost the same as to be found in that. It may however be remarked in this respect that the present inscription uses the signs of *anusvāra* more often than those of the nasal; and the *upadhmānīya* sign is used once in l. 17. It resembles the sign for *sh*.

After two verses paying obeisance respectively to Śiva (Śrīkaṇṭha) and Kṛishṇa (Mura-ripu) and invoking their blessings, the inscription gives the pedigree of the donor, the *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vākpatirājādēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Siyakadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Vairisimhadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Kṛishṇarājādēva**. As stated above, this portion with the *maṅgala-ślōkas* is worded exactly as in the preceding grants of the king. Then follows the announcement of the king, telling us that while staying in (the region of) *Pūrṇa-pathaka*, he donated the village of *Kaḍahichchhakā*, lying in the *Maddhukabhukti*, connected with *Pūrva-pathaka* in the *vishaya* of *Ujjayanī* in the *Avantī-maṇḍala* (ll. 9-11), to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Sarvānanda*, the son of *Dikshita Lōkānanda* of the *Sa(Sam)kṛiti gōtra* and *Āśvalāyana śākhā* with three *pravaras*. It is interesting to note that the donee is identical with *Sarvānanda*, the first-mentioned person in the other grant from Gaonrī, where he is given special preference. It may also be noted that while mentioning his name in the present grant, he is stated to have hailed from the village of *Kaṇōpā*; the same place is mentioned as a *bhaṭṭa-grāma* in the other inscription, which calls his father *Paṇḍita-Dikshita*, whereas the present grant mentions him only by the latter of these titles. Moreover, the king is stated to have made the grant after taking his bath in *puṇyābhra-sarit* (l. 12), which I am unable to identify. It is, however, not known if it is a wrong engraving for *puṇyāmbhaḥ* (of holy waters).³

The **date** of the grant, as recorded only in words in ll. 11-12, is the **winter solstice** (*Udagayana*) in the **month of Māgha of the** (Vikrama) **year 1943**, which corresponds to **22nd December 986 A. C.** In the end there is another date given in figures; it is **thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of Māgha** and corresponds to **Friday, the 31st of December, 986 A.C.**⁴ The date is important as it is furnished by the latest known epigraphical record of *Vākpatirāja*, though we know from some other sources that he continued for some more years.⁵

¹ Dikshit, op. cit., p. 101.

² This vacant space was possibly left for the *Garuda* figure which was not carved for some unknown reasons.

³ A variation of the same type appears in the name of the *pathaka* which is engraved as *Pūrva* in l. 9 but *Pūrṇa* in l. 11.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 104. The latter is the day when the plates were actually donated.

⁵ Amitagati in his *Subhāshitasandōha* tells us that the work was composed in *Vākpatirāja's* reign in V.S. 1050, or 993-94 A.C. See *Kāvya-mūlā Series*, No. 82, p. 104, v. 922.

With the customary imprecatory verses which are the same as to be found in the other grants of the king, and with the usual expressions *maṅgalam mahā-śrīh*, the record comes to a close.

Of the **geographical names** found in the inscription, **Ujjayani** (l. 9)¹ is the well-known city of Ujjain; it is mentioned here as a *vishaya*, a smaller territorial unit which was included in the *maṇḍala* of **Avanti** (l. 9), which was a larger administrative division. It is interesting to note here the relative significance of both these terms. *Pūrva-pathaka* (l. 9)² is possibly used to denote a sub-division of the *vishaya*, and was situated in the east, in contrast with the expression '*paśchima-pathaka*', used in the Dharampurī grant of Vākpati, issued in V.S. 1031,³ **Maddhuka** (l. 9) which is stated here to be a still smaller division (*bhuki*), cannot be identified; but Dikshit's suggestion 'that it may perhaps be identified with Mahū or Mhow, the well-known cantonment near Indore,' appears to be unacceptable, for, besides his own statement that it would be about 40 miles, i.e. 64 kms. from Narwal, the place is to its south-west and straight to the south of Ujjain,⁴ and not to its east, as indicated in the inscription. The gift-village **Kaḍahichchhaka** (l. 9) has rightly been identified with Karcha or Kaḍacha, almost 5 kms. to the north of Narwal and almost equi-distant to the north-west of Gaonri.⁵ **Abhrasarit** (l. 12), where the king took his bath before making the gift, cannot be identified; it appears, however, to be possible that *abhra* is wrongly engraved for *ambhah*, meaning water, and the name of the river was omitted through inadvertence, as stated above.

TEXT⁶

[Metres: Verses 1 and 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 8 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 4 and 5 *Anuśṭubh*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. 7 *Śālīnī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम् ⁷ [I*] याः स्फूर्जत्फणभृद्विषानलमिलद्धूम (अ) प्रभाः प्रोल्लसन्मूर्द्धाव (ब) द्दशशां⁸ ककोटिघटिता याः
- 2 सैहिकेयोपमाः । याश्चंचद्गिरिजाकपोललुलिताः कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठो ⁹-
- 3 रकण्ठरुचयः श्रेयांसि पुष्पन्तु वः ॥ [१॥*] यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखित (तं) यन्नाद्रितं वारिधेर्व्वारा यन्न नि-
- 4 जेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन शान्ति (न्ति) गतं (तम्) । यच्छेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरस्वासैर्न्न चाश्वासै (सि) तं तद्राधाविरहा-
- 5 तुरं मुररिपोर्व्वल्लद्वपुः पातु वः ॥ [२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेव-
- 6 पादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्ग (सिंह) देवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 7 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप-
- 8 रमेश्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभ¹⁰ नरेंद्रदेवः
- 9 कुशली ॥ अवन्तीमण्डले श्रीमदुज्जयिनीविषयपूर्व्वपथकसम्ब (म्ब) ध्यमानमद्भुक्त (क्तौ) कडहिच्छ¹¹क-

¹ The spelling of this word is interesting; the same spelling appears in some other grants of the Paramāra kings. Cf. Bhōja's Ujjain grant of V.S. 1076 (ll. 6-7). Moreover, the name Avanti denoting West Mālwa reminds us of the earlier times (*Ākar-āvantī*).

² But in l. 11 below the name is spelt as Pūrṇṇa- which I propose to identify with the modern village of Punāsā, situated about 35 kms. east of Māndhātā on the Narmadā. This suggestion is confirmed by Tale No. 8 of the *S.M.K.*, which states that *Pūrṇṇapathaka-pattana* came on the way of a traveller from Vidishā to Mānyakheta (p. 62). In view of this, it seems that the donation was made actually at this place.

³ No. 4, l. 14.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 102. I find a village madhupurā, lying about 12 kms. south of Gaonri; the name suggests its identification with Maddhuka, but we have no evidence in support of it.

⁵ Dikshit, *op. cit.*, p. 102. While publishing the text read by Dikshit, the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* remarks that the reading appears to be *Kaḍahisthaka* (p. 112, n. 1). But in view of the fact that the third letter in the name of the village is *chchha*, Dikshit's reading is justified. In this connection attention is also drawn to the exactly similar forms of the subscripts *chh* and *th*, the former of which appears in l. 4 and the latter in l. 11. Also see n. 11 in the text below.

⁶ From the facsimile between pp. 112-13 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ The sign of *anusvāra* has some decoration around.

⁹ The vertical for medial *ā* is turned up with a fine bend.

¹⁰ In both these titles probably some other letters were first engraved and subsequently changed.

¹¹ The fourth *akshara* of this name may also be read as स्थ as remarked by the editor of *Ep. Ind.* The subscripts छ् and थ् are throughout alike; see यच्छेषाहि l. 4 and स्थितः, l. 11.

GAONRĪ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VĀKPATIRĀJA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1043

१ दाः सुहृत्पणः विषातमिलद्वयपनाथ्यात्समभ्युदयैर्ममकाकादिघटिनायाः
 २ सैदिकियायमाः द्याधुतद्विरिजाकायात्तुलिताः कश्चुरिकाविनुमासाः श्रीकृष्णकाठ
 ३ रक्तवरेतदाः श्यामिपुष्पुवृक्षायत्तुविदन्नुनानमुषितयुनादितश्चारित्ववरायन्नति
 ४ इन्ननसिमरमीपद्मनमनिगतायुषादिकणासैदसमपुरश्चासिन्नुताश्चासिन्नुतावाविस्त्रा
 ५ उरंभुरियाविस्त्रहृष्टुः उतः ॥ यरमन्तारकमदाराकाविराजयरमश्रीरुषराजदेत
 ६ यादावशात्परमन्तारकमदाराकाविराजयरमश्रीतिरिसिद्धदेवगादानुशातपरम
 ७ दारमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 ८ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 ९ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 १० रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 ११ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 १२ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 १३ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 १४ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 १५ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय
 १६ रमश्रीमन्ताराकाविराजयरमश्रीमीयकादेवयादानुशातपरमन्ताराकाविराजय

ii

[illegible]

- 10 ग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्यणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च वो(वो)-
 11 धयत्यस्तु वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथा । पूर्णपथकावस्थितैरस्माभिस्त्रिचत्वारिंश(रिंश)सम्व(संव)त्सरसहस्रे¹ माघे मासि
 12 उदगयनपर्वणि । पुण्याश्रसरिति स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवत्(न्त)मम्वि(म्बि)कापतिमभ्यर्च्य स(सं)सारस्यासा-
 13 रतां दृष्ट्वा ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणा-
 14 ग्नजलवि(वि)दु(न्दु)ममा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां
 15 श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः परम्फलम् ॥[४॥*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं सकलमिदमाकल-
 16 य्य । अयमुपरि समारोपितग्रामः ।² स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपय(यं)न्तः³ सवृक्षमालाकुल-

Second Plate

- 17 श्चतुष्कंकटवि[शु]द्धः समस्तभागभोगकरहिरण्यादायसमेतः ॥ मगधांत⁴पातिकणोपाग्रामविनिर्ग-
 18 ताय । स(सं)कृतिमगोत्राय व(व)ह्वचे आश्ला(श्वला)यनसा(शा)खाय । त्रिप्रवराय । दीक्षितलोकानन्दमु[ता]य । ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
 19 सर्वानन्दाय । पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्काणवक्षितिसम-
 20 कालं परया भक्त्या सा(शा)सनेनोदकपूर्वम्स(र्वः सं)प्रतिपादित इत्यवेत्यात्रत्यजनपदैर्यथा(थो)त्पद्यमानभा-
 21 गभोगादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैभू(भू)त्वा सदा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं⁵(व्यम्) ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बृध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) ।
 22 अस्मद्वंस(श)जैरन्यैश्च भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ व(व)ह्विर्वसुधा
 23 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य [य]दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[५॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्र-
 24 दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[६॥*] सव्वनिता-
 25 न्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयन्धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले
 26 पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[७॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयम् ।
 27 लक्ष्मास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बु(बुद्बु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥[८॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुवि(म्बुवि)-
 28 न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बु(बु)ध्वा(द्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त-
 29 यो विलोप्याः ॥[९॥*] सम्व(संव)त् १०४३⁶ माघ वदि १३ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

No. 8 ; PLATES VIII-IX

MODĀSĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1067

THE plates bearing the subjoined inscription were discovered, in 1944, by Shri R.P. Soni, a well known Gujarātī writer and a resident of Mōḍāsā, which was formerly in the Ahmedabad but now in the Sābarkānṭhā District of Gujarāt. The inscription was edited by Dr. Hari Prasad Shastri of the Gujarāt Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (Bombay), Volume V (1945), *Supplement*, pp. 37-40, with his own reading of the text, in Nāgarī, but without a facsimile. Some fifteen years after, the record was edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXXIII (for 1959-60), pp. 192 ff., with text in Roman characters (pp. 196-98) and Plates (between pp. 196-97), by Dr. D.C. Sircar, from photographs of the inscription received by him from Pandit Utsavalal Purani, through Dr. M.R. Majumdar of Baroda. Dr. Shastri again wrote an article on the inscription, which is printed in a Gujarātī magazine known as 'Mājūm' and published by the Arts and Science College at Mōḍāsā, in 1966 : and the Principal of the College was kind to supply to me, at

¹ Read त्रिचत्वारिंशदधिके संवत्सरसहस्रे, as suggested by Dikshit.

² This and some other punctuation marks below are redundant. समारोपित means delivered or consigned.

³ The sign of *visarga* appears to be inserted later on.

⁴ K.N.D. takes it to be a sign for *upadhmāniya*, but it resembles the sign for *sh*.

⁵ This *akshara* appears as *श्र*.

⁶ The form of this unit figure is dissimilar to the one that appears in the *tithi* that follows, and, on the other hand, very closely resembles that of 7 in the Mōḍāsā grant of the time of Bhōjadēva in No. 8. just below.

my request, a copy of the facsimile, which is illustrated. I have also received a set of photographs of the inscription from the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, and on the basis of all this material, I edit the inscription here.¹ The plates have been now procured by the said College where they are preserved.

It is a set of **two copper-plates**² which were found at a petty hamlet bearing the name **Kōkāpur** and situated in the vicinity of a bigger village Shinvād, about 10 kms. to the north of **Mōḍāsā**,³ now the chief town of a *tālukā* of that name in the Sābarkānṭhā District. The plates were first noticed by Shri Soni, with a widow of the mercantile caste, whose name is not known, nor could she remember how and under what circumstances they came to be with her. Each of the plates is 7·4" (c. 18·8 cms.) by 5·3" (c. 13·5 cms.) in size⁴ and both of them together weigh about 2½ lbs, i.e., 1·13 kilograms. Each of the plates bears writing on the inner side only; it is in a fair state of preservation. The first plate shows 15 lines of writing and the second only 6 lines. The lower margin of the first and the upper of the second has a hole pierced through it, for a ring to hold them together, originally; but the ring is not now forthcoming.

The **characters** belong to the eleventh century A.C. and bear a general resemblance to those of the Bēṭmā and Bāṅswādā plate inscriptions of Bhōjadēva, but they are not so carefully engraved nor do they show the symmetry or beauty in formation. To note the **palaeographical peculiarities** of the letters of the present inscription, we find that the initial *a*, which appears twice, in ll. 11 and 20, has been written as in modern Nāgarī; the initial *i*, which occurs three times, in ll. 7, 18 and 20, shows a similar formation in the first and third instances, whereas in the second, the loop below is replaced by a curve; the superscript form of *k* sometimes loses its loop as in *paksha* but not in *śukla*, both in l. 1; the medial *u* and the consonant *ḍ* do not show the curve of the end above, e.g., in *-adhikēshu*, l. 1, and *mōhaḍa* and *maṇḍalē*, both in l. 6. The letter *n* is without the top stroke; cf. *Brāhmaṇa*, l. 8; *t* is often without the vertical bar at its top. cf. *śatēshu*, l. 1; the tail of letters like *d*, *h* and *ś* is occasionally not carved, and in a number of instances the last of these letters is without the vertical on the right, cf., e.g., *śudi*, l. 2. The consonant *dh* resembles *v* but is without the top-stroke, as in *dhānya*, l. 11. The sign for *r* indicates all the different varieties noted previously, e.g., in *ravau-*, l. 2, it shows two strokes meeting at the top; in *parama* and *bhaṭṭāraka*, both in l. 4, it shows a wedge, and in *rāja*, l. 6, it has a loop partly drawn.

The **language** is Sanskrit; it is full of inaccuracies. In some places we have wrong cases, inappropriate verbal derivations and errors in spellings, and with all these, the occasional use of local words combined with slovenliness in the technical execution sufficiently exhausts the patience of one wishing to make out the reading. The record is wholly in **prose**.

The following **orthographical peculiarities** may be noted: (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *Vrāhmaṇa*, l. 8; (2) occasional doubling of a consonant preceding and following *r*, as in *kshēṭtra*, l. 10 and *vinirggata*, l. 11, but not in *dharma*, l. 12; (3) putting the dental sibilant for the palatal, e.g. in *paramēsvara*, l. 3; there are, however, at least two clear examples of the reverse; they are; *Mōhaḍavāśa*, l. 6, and *śuta* for *suta* in ll. 12, 14, 18 and 20, though *suta* is also found in l. 17; (4) the *anusvāra* appears generally for the appropriate nasal, as in

¹ It may be noted that there are some minor variations in the reading from the photographs and the facsimiles published with Shastri's article in the *Magazine* of the College, e.g., the photographs show *sapana*, *karēṇa* and *chētata* in ll. 8, 12 and 20 respectively, but in the facsimiles they appear *saṃpana*, *chārēṇa* and *chatata* respectively.

² While editing the record, Sircar has observed that it is inscribed on both the sides of one plate. In fact, the plates are two and not one, and the information supplied to him in this connection was incorrect, as I could ascertain from the authorities of the College where the plates are at present preserved. My visit to Mōḍāsā in February, 1972 enabled me to examine the original plates, due to the kind courtesy of the owner, and also to correct some of the readings in my previous transcript of the text prepared from the photographs. Moreover, besides knowing that they are actually two plates, and not one, they are thick and heavy, and the letters, which are not very deeply engraved, are not visible on the reverse side. Both the plates have raised rims and the letters, though carefully written, are often engraved without paying due attention to their exact form. Some of the *mātrās* are so thinly engraved as not to come out clearly on the photographs, e.g., that of *ni* in *vinirggatāya*, l. 11, and there are occasional redundant chisel strokes deforming the letters, e.g., of *v* in *Dantivarma-* in l. 14, appearing as *k*.

³ *Mōhaḍavāsaka* of the present inscription, situated in 23° 28' N. Long.; 73° 20' E. Lat. It is also mentioned as a *maṇḍala* in the Harsōlā grants of Siyaka, of V.S. 1005.

⁴ This is according to Shastri, whereas Dr. Sircar in his article in *op. cit.* states that the plate is "about 9 inches in length and about 6 inches in height" (p. 192).

maṇḍalē, l. 6 and *chaṇḍrikā*, l. 19 ; and (5) engraving medial *ē* and one of the components of medial *ō* as *ṇṛishṭha-mātrā* or *śīrō-mātrā* ; the former of these (*i.e.*, *ṇṛishṭha-mātrā*) occasionally appears only as a curved stroke, as in *dēva*, ll. 4 and 5, and *madhyē* in l. 10 ; and the latter (*i.e.* *śīrō-mātrā*) is sometimes seen with its top curved to the right so as to resemble the superscript *r* or a hook, cf., e.g., *maṇḍalē*, l. 6.

The inscription begins with the auspicious symbol for *Siddham*, which is followed by the date, specified both in words and figures, to be **Sunday, the first of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha**, in the (Vikrama) **Samvat 1067**, which, taking the year to be Kārttikādi, according to the practice current in Gujarāt, regularly corresponds to the **sixth of May, 1011 A.C.** Then are introduced four rulers of the **Paramāra** ruling house of Mālwa ; they are *Paramabhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Siṃyakaḍēva**, his successor the *P.M.P.* and illustrious **Vākpatirājadeva**, his successor the *P.M.P.* and illustrious **Sindhurajadeva**, and lastly, his successor the *P.M.P.* and illustrious **Bhōjadēva**. Then is specified the main **object** of the record where we are told that during the sovereignty (or in the kingdom)¹ of **Bhōjadēva** his subordinate ruler **Vatsarāja** issued a charter (*śāsana*) in the village of Śayanapātaka in the *Arddhāshṭama-maṇḍala* of Mōhaḍavāsaka, in favour of a Chāturjātakīya Brāhmaṇa of the name of Dēdda or Dēddāka of the Upānasya *gōtra* who had hailed from Harshapura. This charter was in honour of the gift of two *halas* of land worth growing *kōdrava* (a species of grain eaten by the poor), *mudga* (a kind of pules), *vr̥hi* (paddy) and *tila* (sesamum) and situated on the borders of the village and also inside it so as to include the corn in the threshing floor adjoining to the houses (ll. 6-13).

The language of the grant portion of the document, which is mentioned above, is rather ambiguous, and, as Dr. Sircar has rightly observed, "it may also indicate that it was the Brāhmaṇa Dēdda (*i.e.* Dēdda) or Dēddāka, who was the donor of the grant and that Vatsarāja merely ratified the transaction."² This view appears to be justified and more reasonable when we consider that the word Dēddāka with all its adjectives is in the sixth case, showing his ownership of the land, and the donee, who in that case must be taken to be the son of Gōpāditya (*Gōpāditya-sutāya*), is put in the fourth case, along with all the epithets governing the word *sutāya*. And the expression "*Dēddākasya dharma-hētavē*", to increase the religious act of Dēddāka, goes in support of this suggestion. The only difficulty in accepting this view, however, appears to be that the name of the donee is not mentioned here.

The grant is stated to have been made according to the rules (*śāsanāchārēṇa*, l. 12), and it is interesting to note the procedure, *viz.*, that the land was first examined by (the representatives of) the Vallōtakīya and Vāhīya Brāhmaṇas who were known to be the royal preceptors (*rājādhyakshas*), probably also constituting the majority of the residents of the village, *Thakkura Rāṇaka* and the *paṭṭakilas* Saṁvāka, Lallāka, Gōggaka and others ; then it was actually shown to the Brāhmaṇa donee, and finally, was given away in the presence of about half a dozen people whose names are recorded in ll. 16-19. Thereafter, we are told that the charter was written by Chhaḍḍaka, son of Amnaka (l. 20). In the end we have the **sign-manual** "*Śrī-Vachchharājasya*", who was evidently the same as Vatsarāja, mentioned above in l. 7. It is interesting to note that the king's signature is in Prākṛit and not in Sanskrit, as in l. 7 above, as is due to the composer of the record. Here the inscription ends, with the customary expression "*maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*."

It is difficult to identify Vatsarāja who is stated to have been enjoying 750 villages in l. 7 above. The expression used with his name here is *bhōtkāra-mahārājaputra* ; and Dr. D.C. Sircar, who has suggested that the word *bhōtkāra* may have been a mistake for *bhōkṛi*, is also inclined to hold that Bhōjadēva may have had a son bearing the name *bhōktāra*, whom we do not know.³ But unless we know about the existence of Bhōja's son with this name from any other source, this view appears to be hardly tenable, and what appears justifiable to us is that the word *bhōtkāra* is wrongly engraved for *bhōktāra*, which is an error for *bhōkṛi*. We have exactly a similar expression, *viz.* *grāmāṇāṁ bhōktāraḥ śrī-Yaśōvarma*, in l. 7 of the Kālvaṇ plate inscription of Yaśōvarman, as will be noticed below while dealing with that record : and when we know that

¹ The word in the original is *rājyē*, and Dr. Sircar observes that it is difficult to say whether it means 'during the sovereignty' or 'in the kingdom'. Here we may add still another meaning of *rājyē*, *viz.*, 'government administration of the kingdom', which too equally suits here. But from the use of the word *maṇḍala*, which just follows it, what appears to be the sense here is that of a kingdom.

² Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

³ *Ibid.*

the present inscription teems not only with grammatical but also with scribal errors, the only alternative that we can think of is that the word is to be taken in the sense of *bhōktrī*, which assumed the form *bhōktāra* due to error on the part of the composer of the record and is engraved as *bhōtkāra*, wrongly, by the scribe or may have been so written by the writer.

The only Vatsarāja who is known to us as flourishing in the period in question was a prince belonging to the Chālukya house, a son of Kīrttirāja and a great-grandson of Bārappā, the founder of the Chālukya house of Lāṭa. Kīrttirāja, who issued a grant on the Tāptī in Śaka 940 or 1018 A.C.,¹ was a contemporary of the Paramāra Bhōja; and, in view of this, Vatsarāja of the present record appears to be the homonymous prince, *i.e.* a son of Kīrttirāja; and it is not improbable that he was enjoying the said region where the inscription under study has been discovered, and may have been a feudatory of Bhōja,² who was then aggrandising himself at the cost of his inveterate enemy, the Chaulukya Mūlarāja, whose inscriptions are all found to the west of the Sābarmatī, in the region bordering to that of the Paramāra kingdom. It is true that the name of Vatsarāja's father is not mentioned in the present record; but we have a number of similar instances, *e.g.* those of *Mahārājaputra* Ajayapāla and *Rājaputra* Vaddiga in the Bhopāl pillar inscription of *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarman, as we shall see below (No. 41). It also appears that *mahārājaputra*³ was a title in those days, resembling *Rājaputra* (Rājput), *rāṇaka* and *mahārāṇaka*, and need not be taken strictly to denote a prince.

Fortunately all the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription can be identified with confidence. **Mōhaḍavāsaka** (l. 6), as seen above, is Mōḍāsā, the headquarters of a *parganā* of the same name in the *Sābarkāṇṭhā* District. **Śayanapāṭaka**, the village where the grant was made (l. 8), is evidently the modern Shenvād, lying about 10 kms. north of Mōḍāsā, and it is interesting to note here that the plates were found in a neighbouring village of the name of Kōkāpur. **Harshapura** of the inscription (l. 11) appears to be identical with Harsolā, the find-spot of the plates issued by Sīyaka, as seen above. This place is about 30 kms. south by west of Mōḍāsā, and its situation in Gujarāt favours this view, though, as suggested by similarity in names, its identification with Harsaudā where Dēvapāla's stone inscription was found,⁴ cannot altogether be precluded. The expression *Vallōṭaka* (l. 7) may perhaps have been a locality, the original place of the Valloṭakīya Brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscription. But we have no clue to identify this place.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम् ।⁶ संवत्सरणेषु दशशु(मु) सप्तषष्ट्य(ष्ट्य)धिकेषु ज्येष्ठ⁷शुक्लप[क्ष]प्रतिप-
- 2 दयां संवत् १०६७ ज्येष्ठ(ष्ट)[शु]⁸दि १ रवावद्येह समस्तवृ(बृ)हद्राजावली-
- 3 पूर्व(र्व)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रसीयकदेवपदनुध्यत⁹प-
- 4 रमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीवाक्पतिर(रा)जदेवपादानुध्य(ध्या)तपरमभट्टा-
- 5 रकमह(हा)राज(जा)धिराज¹⁰परमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीसिधुराजदेवप(पा)दानुध्य(ध्या)तपरमभट्टारकम-
- 6 ह(हा)राज(जा)धिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीभोजदेवराज्ये श्रीमोहडवाण(स)काट्ठाष्टममंडले
- 7 भोत्कार¹¹महाराजपुत्र श्रीवत्सराजो(ज) इहैव वल्लोटीकीयचातुर्जातकीय[श्रु]ताध्य-
- 8 यनसंपन(न्न)प्रवरत्रा(त्रा)हणदेहस्य¹² [श]यनपाटग्रामे प्रदत्तहलद्व-

¹ D.R. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1088.

² As also shown by P. Bhatia in *P.B.P.*, p. 90 n. 2. She relies on the evidence of his court-poet Nayanandin. The details, however, are not known.

³ Cf. *Rājaputra-śrī-Dēvadhara* in No. 38, l. 13, below.

⁴ No. 50, below.

⁵ From a set of photographs and the facsimile referred to above.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol. The curve following the symbol is the punctuation mark.

⁷ The subscript of this letter is carved as ऋ.

⁸ The vertical of this letter is not carved here and also in some cases below.

⁹ Read पादानुध्यत. The first two letters that follow this expression are damaged.

¹⁰ This letter was originally omitted and later on engraved below the line where it is to be supplied.

¹¹ As noted above, it appears to be an error for भोक्तृ.

¹² D.C.S.: देहस्य. But to me it appears that what he takes to be the superscript र् is a part of the letter just above. Shastri also reads it as देहस्य. Moreover, as indicated above, the sixth case is here used for the fourth, according to the rule सम्बन्धसामान्ये षष्ठी (?). *Chāturjātaka*=a high local officer. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 278.

MODĀSĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHĪJADĒVA:
(VĪKRĀNĀ) YEAR 1067

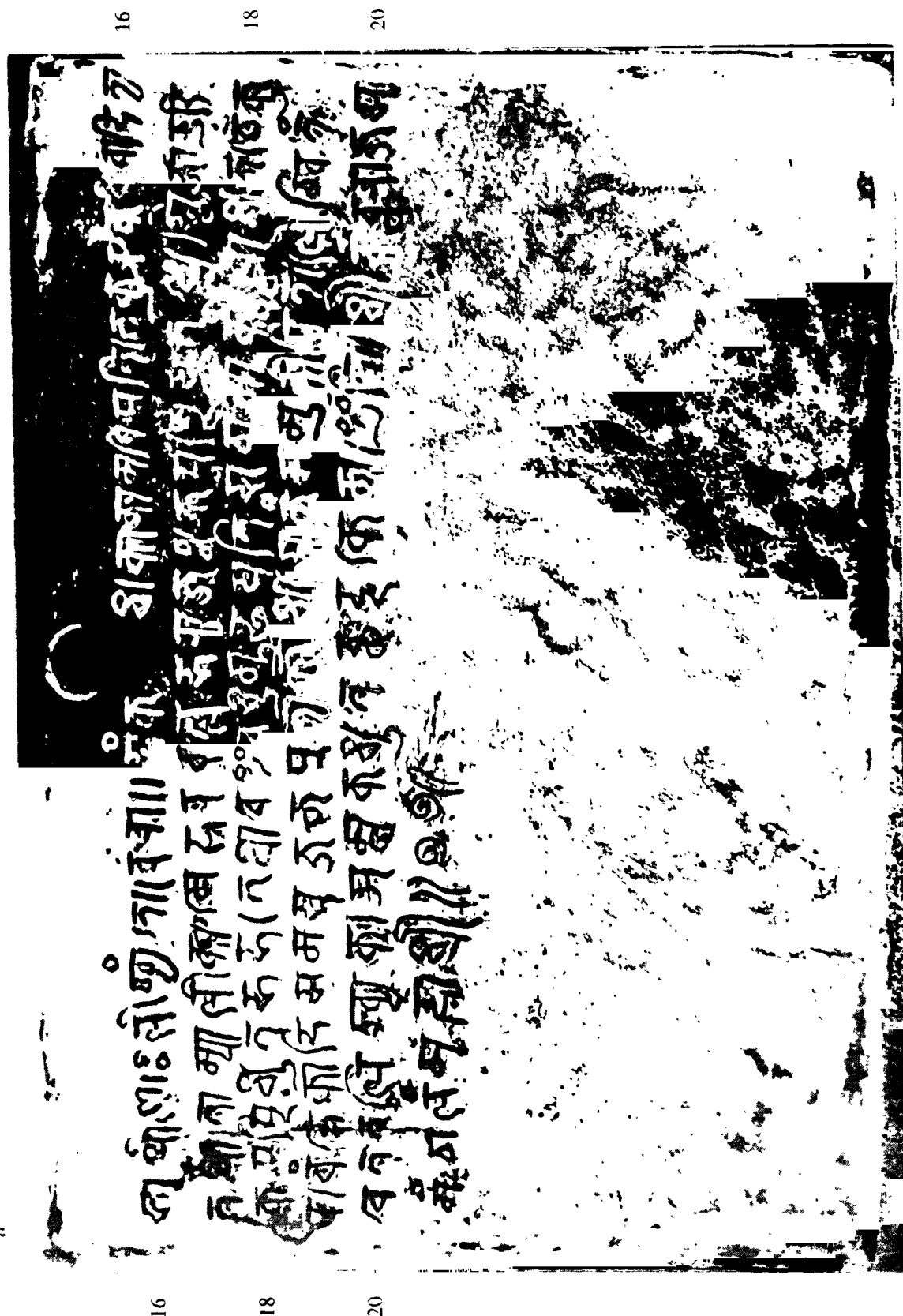
2 4 6 8 10 12 14

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
महाराजः श्रीमद्विजयवर्धनः ॥ २ ॥
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥
यस्य राज्यं विजयं ॥ ४ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ ५ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ ६ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ ७ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ ८ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ ९ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ १० ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ ११ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ १२ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ १३ ॥
सर्वत्र विजयं ॥ १४ ॥

From Photograph

MODĀSĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1067

ii



From Photograph

- 9 यभूमीसा(शा)सनं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)त्येवं यथा । [श]यनपाटग्रामे कोद्रवतिल । मुद्ग ।
 10 व्रीहि । कच्छिकादि¹क्षेत्रभूमी स्वचतुराशद्वययत्या² तथा ग्राममध्ये गृहखल-
 11 धान्यसमेता अस्य ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणस्य हर्षपुरविनिर्गताय उपानस्यसंगोत्त्राय³
 12 गोपादित्य[शु(सु)]ताय चातुर्जातकीयवी(वि)प्रदेहाकस्य⁴ धर्मा(र्म)हेतवे सा(शा)सनाचारेण⁵ प्रद-
 13 ता । भूमीपारशिका लख्यता⁶ [।*] राजाध्य[क्ष]विदित[।:] । व[ल्लो]टकीया ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा[।*] तातनाट⁷ ।
 14 ता(त)था पाहीय[।*] । ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगोवर्द्धन[।*] । केलादित्यः । दंतिसर्म[शु(सु)]त । ठकुर । राणक[।*] प[ट्ट]-
 15 किल । सम्वाक । लल्लाक । गोगकादिभि[।*] परिशकत्वा⁸ भूमी दर्शिता⁹ ।

Second Plate

- 16 सा[क्षि]णोः(णो) ली(लि)ख्यते ॥ तत्रा¹⁰ ॥ संकशकानामधिपति । ठकुरकेशवादित्य[।*]
 17 तथा ताम्पालीक[।*] । मेहरवल्लभराजः । कपण्डि(ण्डि)सुतश्रेष्ठि(ण्डि)जाउ(तु ?)डि[।*]
 18 कपण्डि(ण्डि)शु(सु)तभभ[।*] । तथा वेडव[शु] [।*]¹¹ गु(गू)ढयति[।*] संगमो¹² कीलाशु(सु)त । ठकु-
 19 र । चंद्रिकादिसमस्तजनप्रत्यक्ष[।*] शासनं समुकीरितं(तम्)¹³ ॥ लिखितं
 20 चेतत लिख्यका¹⁴ अ[म्न]¹⁵कशु(सु)तच्छडुकेन ॥ इति ॥ श्रीच(व)च्छ(त्स)राजस्य [।*]
 21 मंगलं महाश्री [।*] ॥ ॥¹⁶

No. 9 ; PLATES X-XI

MAHAUDĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHŌJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1074

THIS inscription which is engraved on two **copper-plates** was brought to notice for the first time by Shri V.S. Wakankar, an antiquarian of Ujjain, who wrote an article on it in a Hindi periodical known as *Ushā* (Bhōjāṅka), pp. 20 ff., published from Dhār, in Madhya Pradesh, and from a set of rubbings prepared by the same scholar, it was subsequently edited by Dr. D.C. Sircar,

¹ D.C.S. : कन्तिका (कणिका). But the subscript of the second of these letters is clearly छ. The word कच्छिका is a diminutive form of कच्छ meaning 'margin or boundary region.' The word भूमी is wrongly used here and below, with long medial ī. There is a redundant punctuation mark following each word here and also in ll. 16-19 below.

² What appears to be intended is संयुक्ता.

³ Sircar remarks that उपानस्य is a mistake for औपमन्यव.

⁴ Probably the fourth case-ending is intended here.

⁵ D.C.S. : क(का)रेण. But the fourth letter is clearly चा, with the verticals joined in the middle, as in the case of घ्रा. Shastri also read the letter as I do.

⁶ Read पाश्विका लिख्यन्ते. These persons were all known to the royal preceptor. Shastri restored the first of these letters to परीक्षिता.

⁷ D.C.S. took two names here, तात and नाट, whereas Shastri only one name and read तातनाय. To me it appears to be one name and the last *akshara* in the line is so formed as to be read either य or ट followed by a punctuation-mark. Similarly the first letter in the following name may be read either ण, as the photo shows, or as व, as in the facsimile.

⁸ Restore गोगकादीनां पाश्वकत्वे. Shastri restored the second of these words to परीक्ष्य. In these two lines each name is unnecessarily separated by a *danḍa*.

⁹ All the three letters are damaged and probably can also be read as दविता for दत्तेति.

¹⁰ D.C.S. : Better read यथा.

¹¹ It is difficult to say whether the intended name is वैवस्वत. Sircar observed that the intended reading may also be वैवसुत. But the whole can also be read as तथा च इवशु[।*]. The following letter गु is equally doubtful and it is not known if गृहपति is intended.

¹² Reading uncertain.

¹³ Read समुकीर्णम्.

¹⁴ Read चेतत् लेखकेन. It may be remarked here that the letter च shows a *prishṭha-mātrā* on the photograph but not in the facsimile.

¹⁵ The reading of the syllable in the brackets is not certain.

¹⁶ There are two spiral symbols between the double *danḍas*.

in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXXIII (for 1959-60), pp. 215 ff., with text in Roman characters (pp. 217-18), and Plates facing pages 218 and 219.

The copper-plates were found in the possession of Shri Ratansingh Saindhava, a resident of the village of **Mahauḍī** in the *Āshṭā tehsīl*¹ of Sehore District of the Bhopāl territory of the State of Madhya Pradesh. The find-spot and the actual circumstances under which they were acquired are not known; and nothing would have been known about the record also if Shri Wakankar had not incidentally heard about the existence of the plates with the possessor, who was not even willing to show them to anybody for fear of dispossession. Wakankar any how persuaded him to allow him to take a few rubbings and prepared a few sets with such means as could be made possible on the spot. One set of these rubbings he sent to the Director-General of Archaeology in India, from whom it was transmitted to the Government (now Chief) Epigraphist. On this set of rubbings Dr. Sircar's article, referred to above, is based; and the subjoined transcript I have prepared from the same. It is unfortunate that nothing more was possible to know in respect of the original plates which are now reported to have been lost!²

Each of the two plates measures about 34.9 cms. in breadth and 22.86 cms. in height and each is about .5 cms. thick. Two circular holes, each roughly of the diameter of about 1 cm. bored through a space below the writing in the lower margin of the first and the upper of the second, clearly show that originally the plates were held together by rings passing through them. But the rings are not now forthcoming. Each of the plates is inscribed only on the inner side, leaving the outer side blank. The first plate bears fifteen lines of writing, covering a space of 33.5 cms. in length and 18 cms. in height, and the second bears fourteen lines, the last eight of which are shorter by 9.5 cms. each, giving space for the figure of a **Guruda**, the emblem of the royal Paramāra house, carved in its lower margin on the proper right side. The figure is shown flying, with a circular object held up in the left hand, and the area occupied by it is 11.5 cms. high by 9.5 cms. broad. The letters are carefully carved and the writing appears to be well preserved. The average size of the letters is about 1 cm.

The **characters** are those of the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh century to which the record belongs. Observing the **palaeography**, we notice that a number of letters, e.g., the initial *a* and the consonants *ṇ*, *t*, *n*, *ph* and *bh* have undergone a change. The curve of the initial *a*, which is written as in modern Nāgarī, is joined to the top-stroke by a vertical, cf. *adrishṭa*, l. 15; The sign for *bh* has developed a tail in its left limb, as in *t*, see *vibhartti*, l. 1, and the rest of the letters mentioned here are somewhat developed so as to assume their modern forms. *Bh* in *bhaṭṭā-raka*, l. 3, is slightly differently formed. The letter *j* is in a transitional stage, both its forms being noticed side by side in *rājādhirāja*, l. 3. *Dh* has developed a horn on its left limb and the verticals of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a horizontal stroke, cf. *dhār-ādhārām*, l. 11. The consonants *p* and *y*, which had so far shown only a slight distinction in the formation, can clearly be distinguished, as in *kalpānta-samaya*, l. 2; letters like *t*, *d*, *r*, *h* and *s* show a fine tail below, and *ś* is transitional, its old form being noticed in *śirasā*, l. 1, and a developed one which is somewhat shows a fine tail but its *ch*-like form is generally first of the two instances), l. 3. *R* occasionally resembles *ch*, the best example of which is to be seen in *charāchara*, l. 8.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of two invocatory verses in lines 1-2, two of the customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 9-11 and five in ll. 19-27, the record is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the following points are worth nothing: (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, cf. *vibhartti*, l. 1; (2) doubling of a consonant following *r* in most of the instances, as in *sarggāya*, l. 1; (3) putting the dental sibilant for the palatal in *vinasvara* in l. 12, which is perhaps the singular example; (4) the tendency to use the class-nasal more than the *anusvāra*, as can be seen in *aindavīm* and *tanvantu*, both in l. 1, *piṅgalāḥ*, l. 2 and in *guruṇ-bhagavantaṁ* in l. 8; (5) the consonant *m* is wrongly changed to *anusvāra*, occasionally, at the end of the second and fourth foot of a verse, as in the second foot of v. 1, though we have *m* at the end of its fourth foot; (6) wrong use of the nasal is also to be found in *samvatsarē*, l. 8 and *samvat*, l. 28; *śarmmanāya* for *śarmmaṇē* in l. 15 is a grammatical error;

¹ The place was formerly in the *tehsīl* of *Jāwar*, situated in 23° 2' N. Long. and 76° 30' Lat., and about 1-2 kms. from the Dewās-Bhopāl road and about 64 kms. straight east of Dewās. Mahauḍī is about 8 kms. north by east Jāwar. The name is also spelt as Mahuḍī.

² From personal inquiry and also from information supplied by Wakankar. In his article Dr. Sircar has already stated the rubbings to be 'unsatisfactory', which is quite natural in view of the circumstances mentioned above.

(7) changing a letter or sign at the end of a hemistich in view of the one that immediately follows it ; e.g. in l. 11, *phalam*, the last word of v. 4 is joined with the initial *i* in l. 27 ; the *visarga* of the last word *vilōpyāḥ* of v. 9 is dropped in view of the following initial *i* which is the first syllable of a word ; and the *visarga* of *bhiḥ* at the end of a hemistich in l. 20 is changed to *r*, in view of the following *ya* which begins the third foot of the same verse.

The **object** of the charter is to record the donation made by **Bhōjadēva**, of the village of Dugāyī (Dugāryī ?)¹ which was situated in the western 52-village-group in *Bhūmi-grīha*, to Mārkaṇḍa-śarman, son of *Bhaṭṭa Śrīpati* and son's son of *Bhaṭṭa Gōkarṇa*, a religious student of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā* and belonging to Vatsa *gōtra*, with the five-fold *pravaras* and hailing from a place known as Śravaṇabhadra, situated in Gauḍa-dēśa. The donation was made on the occasion of **a lunar eclipse** which fell, as expressed in words only, on **the full-moon day of Śrāvaṇa of the year 1074**, which, of course, must be referred to the Vikrama era, and the corresponding Christian date, accordingly, is **30th July, 1018 A.C.** But according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, there was no lunar eclipse on the night, and, as pointed out by Dr. Sircar, the date must be taken to be irregular.² Sircar also observes that the week-day was Wednesday and not Thursday, as mentioned in the record.³ But in this respect it may be indicated that following the custom that the *parva*-day of a lunar eclipse when donations are made is always to be observed the next morning after the time of the eclipse is over, the announcement of the gift was made actually by the king in person on Thursday and thus the use of *gurau* can be justified. The use of the past participle also indicates that the eclipse was then already over.⁴

The inscription begins with two verses eulogising the god Śiva, under the names of 'Vyōmakēśa', or 'he who has the sky for his hair' (l. 1), and 'Smarārāti', or 'the foe of the god of love' (l. 2). It then introduces the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, meditating on the feet (was a successor) of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, who again, had meditated on the feet (was a successor) of the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva**, who, in his turn, had meditated on the feet (was the successor) of the *F.M.P.* the illustrious **Siyakadēva** (ll. 2-5). The following lines (5-15) describe the object of the record, as noted above.

The record proceeds to say that on this occasion, the king, who was then residing at Dhārā, took bath, and after performing the daily duties, announced his donation of the village before all the officials including the *paṭṭakila* and the people of the village and ordered them to render to the donee all the taxes in cash (*hiranya*), share of the crop produce (*bhāga*), periodical offerings and the additional taxes (*upari-kara*) and including all dues. The formal part of the grant is followed by five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (in ll. 19-27) ; and after this, the syllable *chha*, intended to express auspiciousness, is engraved three times. In l. 28 the charter records another date, in figures only, viz., **the fifth of the bright half of Āśvina of the (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1074**. Taking the year beginning with the month of Kārttika, this date corresponds to the **17th September, 1018 A.C.**, when the royal order was actually put on the plates which were handed over to the donee. Following this, in l. 28 it is stated that it was the order of the king himself ; and wishing great fortune and recording the **sign-manual** of the king and the name of Jāsaṭa who caused him to execute the grant, the record comes to a close.

The present charter is the first of those issued by a Paramāra king in the Bhopāl territory, whereas all the other grants made before this one were in the Gujarāt area or in the Ujjain region. Thus we know that this part of the region was included in Bhōja's kingdom before the date of the present grant, i.e., 1018 A.C., and even before 1020 A.C. when the Bēṭmā and the Bāṇswādā grants were issued, as to be seen below. The reason why the king visited the region mentioned in the present grant in 1018 A.C. remains unknown,⁵ though it may be surmised that he may have been leading an expedition against his enemies in the east, who were most probably

¹ Sircar reads *Dugāryī*, but I do not find the superscript *r* in the rubbing with me.

² Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See below, No. 44, l. 12, which shows that the gift was made after offering *arghya* to the moon, of course, after the eclipse time was over. The *śāstras* of course allow gifts to be made in the night on an eclipse, for which, see *H.D.*, Vol. II, Pt. ii, p. 583.

⁵ This view is based on the presumption of Bhōja's actual presence (by way of camp) in the region around the donated place, and in that case, the expression *Dhār-āvasthitair-* in l. 7 has to be taken to denote that it was his capital. But it is also possible that he may have issued the grant from the capital itself.

the kalachuris, as the latter part of the period of his reign was fully occupied in the west in his struggle with the Chaulukyas and in the north with his enemies in that direction.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Dhārā** (l. 7) is obviously Dhār, the Paramāra capital and now the headquarters of the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The village **Dugāyi** or **Dugāryi** (l. 6) I do not find in the maps at my disposal. It may, however, be observed here that a village of the name of Dōpariyā (also called Dōgariyā) lies about five kms. north of Āshṭā, the chief town of the *parganā* in which the plates appear to have been found; I am not sure if it can be the village mentioned in the inscription, though its situation favours the view. The expression *bhūmi-grīha-paśchima-* (l. 5) reminds us of similar expressions, *viz.*, *Nāgahrada-paśchima-* and *Ujjayinī-paśchima-*, respectively, of the Ujjain and Dēpālpur grants of Bhōja (to be edited below), and thus Bhūmigriha appears to be the name of a place as the other two, but I am unable to identify it. **Śravaṇabhadrā** (l. 13), which appears also in the Tilaka-wāḍā grant mentioned below, is in West Bengal.¹

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3 and 7 *Vasantailakā*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. *Śālīnī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 निद्वन्³ [1*] जयति व्योमकेशोमौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्तिं तां(ताम्) । ऐन्दवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्धी(द्धी)जांकुराकृतिम् । [१॥*]
नन्वन्तु वः
- 2 स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः [1*] कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिङ्गलाः । [१२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 3 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
- 4 वाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिधुराजदेवपादा-
- 5 नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली । भूमिगृहपश्चिमद्विपञ्चा-
- 6 शत्कान्तःपातिदुगार्यी⁴ग्रामे समुपागतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलज-
- 7 नपदादींश्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा । श्रीमद्वारावस्थितैरस्माभिश्चतुः[*]सप्तत्यधिका(क)दश-
- 8 तसम्ब(संव)त्सरे श्रावणसुदिपौर्णमास्यां गुरौ संजातसोमग्रहणपर्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुभगवन्त-
- 9 म्भवानीपत्यं(ति) समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यामारतां ज्ञात्वा तथा हि । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापा-
- 10 तमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [1*] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)दुस्मा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलो-
- 11 कयाने । [१३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः परं फलमिति । (लम् ॥४॥ इति)
- 12 जगतो विनस्व(श्व)रस्वरूपमाकलयोपरिलिखितग्रामश्चतुःसीमा⁵ गोचरयूतिपर्यन्तः सहिर-
- 13 ण्यभागभोगः सोपरिकरः सर्वदायममेतः श्रीगौडदेशान्तःपातिश्रावणभद्रस्थानविनिर्ग-
- 14 तवात्स्यगोत्रपञ्चप्रवरवाजस⁶नेयशाखाध्यायिने भट्टगोकर्णपौत्रभट्टश्रीपतिसुतपंडित-
- 15 [म]ावर्कण्डणर्मणाय(णे) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्य चंद्रावर्कण-

Second Plate

- 16 [व]भित्तिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा तन्निवासिप-
- 17 [ट्ट]किलजनपदादिभिर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रावणविधेयैर्भू(भू)त्वा स-
- 18 र्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) । मामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु(वु)ध्वास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभिभो(भो)क्तृभिर-
- 19 स्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमंतव्या(व्यः) पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व(व)हुभिर्व्वमुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
- 20 भिर्यं(भिः। य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् । [१५॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थ-

¹ For details, see below, No. 15.

² From a set of rubbings.

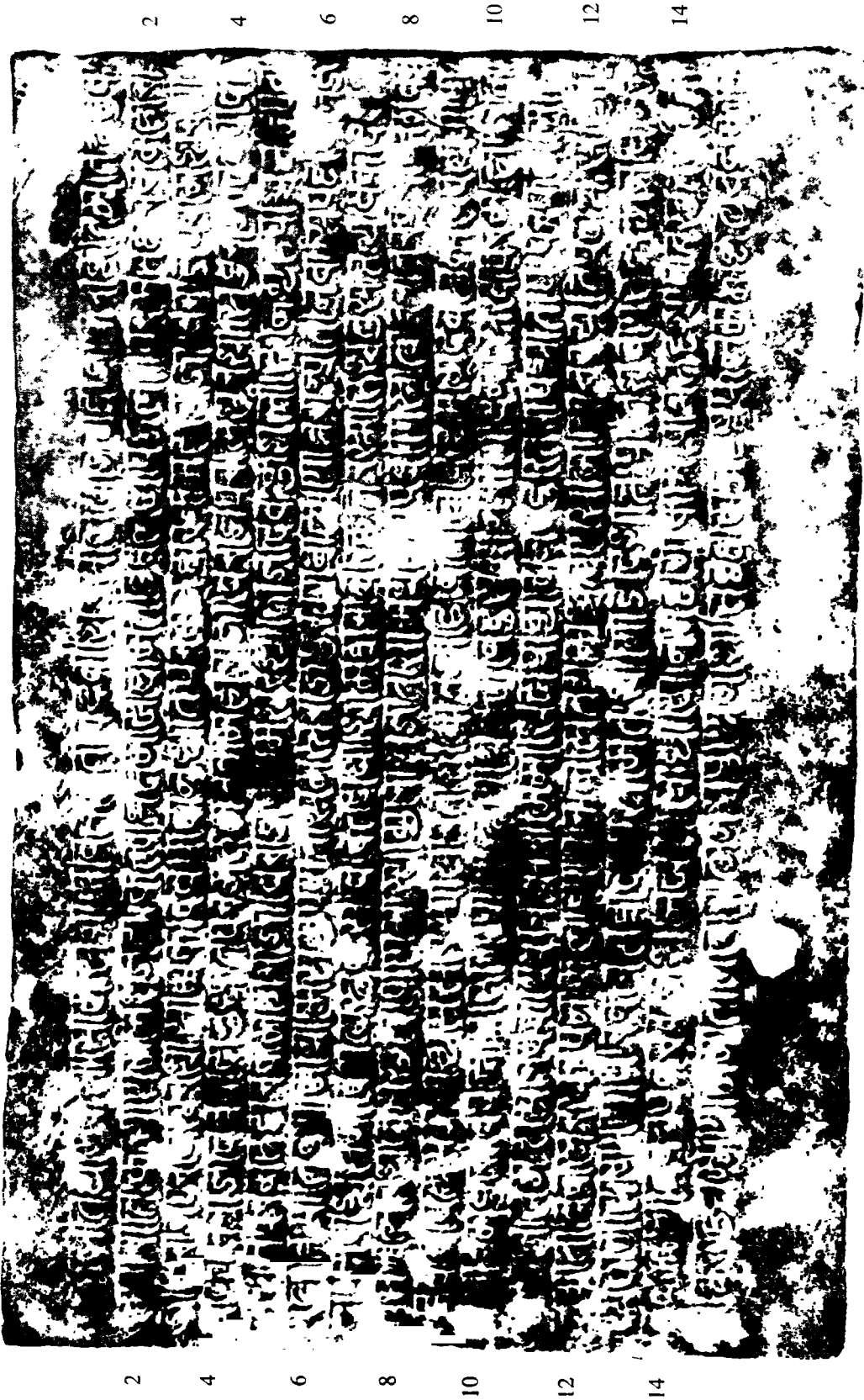
³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ The existence of the superscript र् is doubtful.

⁵ Reading चतुस्सीमा here, Dr. Sircar also noted the use of double dental sibilant in the orthographical portion of the record. The second of these letters is no doubt damaged (has not clearly come out in the rubbing ?).

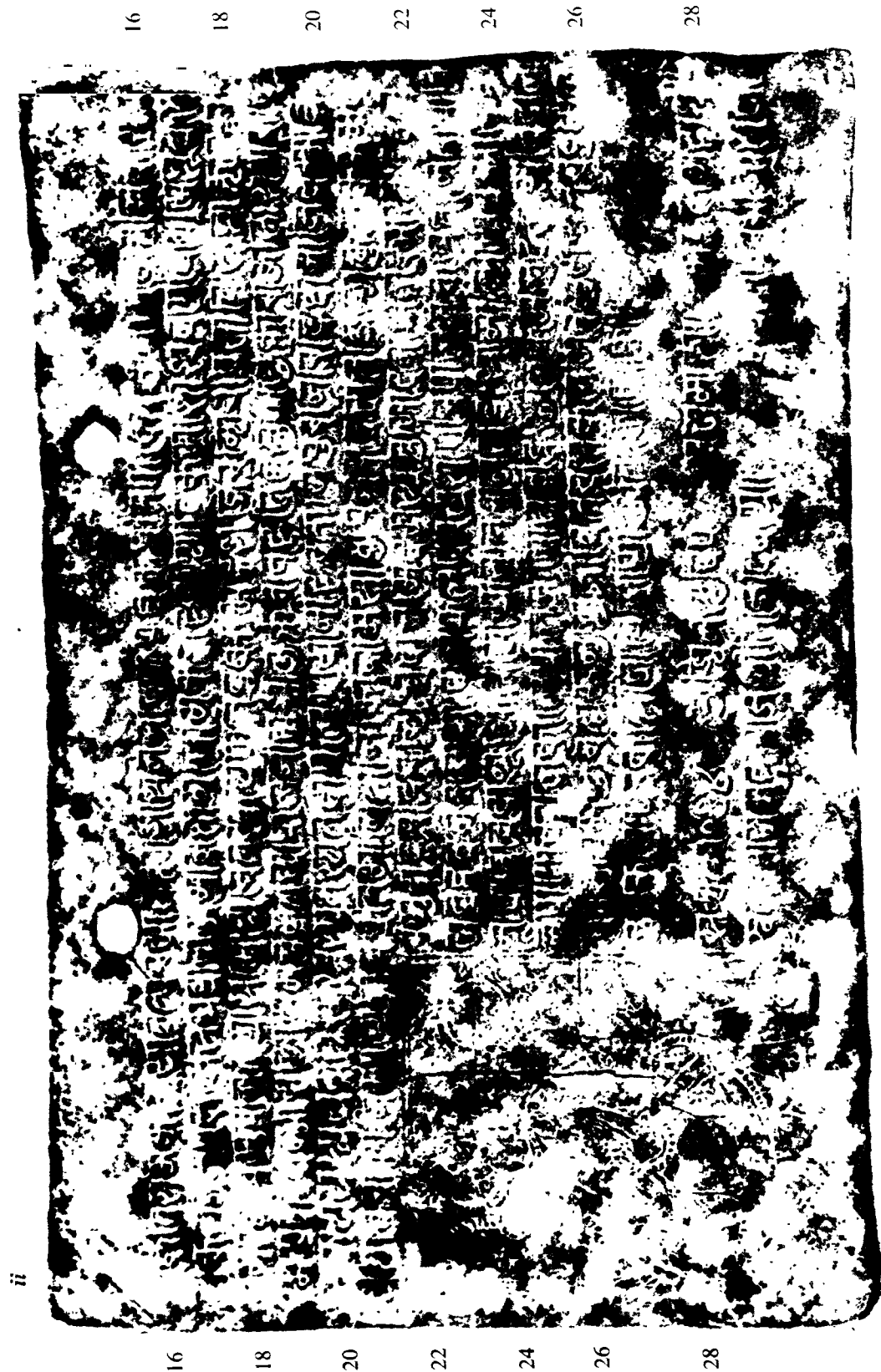
⁶ This *akshara* is so formed as to appear to be a combination of the palatai and dental sibilants.

MAHAUDĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHŌJADĒVA :
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1074



Scale: Seven-tenths

MAHAUDĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHŌJADĒVA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1074



Scale: Seven tenths

- 21 य[श]स्कराणि [1*] निर्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु[.] पुनराददीत ।[1६॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदा-
 22 रमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम् ।) लक्ष्मी(क्ष्म्या)स्तडिद्व[ल]-
 23 यवुद्रु(वुद्रु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ।[1७॥*] सर्वानितान्भाव-
 24 नः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतु-
 25 ऋपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [11८॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)दुलो-
 26 लां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न
 27 हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति (प्याः ॥६॥ इति) ॥ छ॥ छ॥ छ॥
 28 सम्ब(संव)त् १०७४ अ(आ)श्विनसुदि ५ [1*] स्वयमाज्ञा ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः [1*]
 29 स्वहस्तोयं महाराजश्रीभोजदेवस्य ॥ दापकोत्र श्रीजासट[.*] ॥

No. 10 ; PLATE XII

BĒTMĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHĪJĀDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1076

THE copper-plates on which this inscription is incised are said to have been found by a farmer, in the early years of the present century, in course of ploughing his field near **Bētmā**¹, a village in the Dēpālpur *parganā* in the District of Indore in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was first noticed by the late D. B. Diskalkar, in the *Annual Report* of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, for 1922-23, page 13 ; and the same scholar subsequently edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XVIII (for 1925-26), pp. 320 ff., giving his reading of the text in the Nāgarī alphabet (pp. 322-24), its translation (pp. 324-25) and facsimile plates between pp. 322-23. In the meanwhile the plates were acquired for the Museum at Indore where they are now exhibited. The inscription is edited here from the original plates.

The plates are **two** in number, each measuring 33·2 cms. in length and 22·2 cms. in breadth. They are thick and substantial and do not show the marks of the chisel on the other side. The edges of them were fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, with corresponding depressions inside, to protect the writing, which is in a good state of preservation. Both the plates are held together by two rings of copper, each of which is about ·8 cms. thick and approximately 5 cms. in diameter, and passes through one of the two holes bored in the lower margin of the first and the upper margin of the second, with an intervening space of 6·5 cms. Each of the holes shows its diameter to be about 1·4 cms. ; and excepting the one on the left side of the first plate, they do not disturb the continuity of the writing. In the lower left part of the second plate, in a rectangle about 5·5 cms. broad and 7·3 cms. high, formed by double lines interspaced by oblique strokes ending in acute angles, is the representation of **Garuḍa**, facing proper left and holding a cobra in the left hand. The weight of the two plates together with the rings is 2·96 klgms.

Both the plates are incised only on the inner side and the letters are deeply and beautifully formed. The writing covers a space measuring 29·5 cms. broad by 18·5 cms. high but the length of the last five lines is shorter by 6 cms. than that of the others as the initial portion of them is occupied by a part of the rectangular area containing the Garuḍa figure as stated above. The first plate contains 13 lines of writing and the second 14 lines, including a separate line of the **sign-manual** of the king engraved on each in the lower left corner. The average **size** of the letters is about 1 cm.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, prevalent in Mālwa in the eleventh century, bearing a general resemblance to those of the Bāṇswāḍā plates, edited just below. The initial *a* appears four times in ll. 14, 16, 18 and 21 ; of these the last one shows a slight variation from the others which are as in the Bāṇswāḍā plates. The initial *i* and the consonants *j*, *bh* and *ś* retain their antique

¹ This village is about 20 kms. south-southeast of Dēpālpur and 26 kms. west of Indore, on metalled road from Indore to Dhār. It is also called Bētmā.

forms ; see *iti jagataḥ*, l. 10 and *Śrī-Bhōjadēvaḥ*, l. 5. The loop forming the left limb of *k* is occasionally joined to the vertical by a horizontal stroke, as in *bhaktyā*, l. 16, and in rare cases it is replaced by the stroke itself, as in *kshiti* in the same line. Sometimes this letter is imperfectly drawn, its right limb being altogether omitted ; see *-kṛitim*, l. 1. *Dh*, which more often resembles *v*, has occasionally developed a horn on its left limb ; see *rājādhirāja*, l. 3 and *vidhēyaiḥ*, l. 17. The letter *p* is often confounded with *y*, as in *prati*, l. 6 ; and the letters *t*, *d*, *h* and *s* often end in a tail, a tendency not to be found in the Bāṅswādā plates. *R* as a latter member of a conjunct consonant appears in its full form engraved below the first member ; see *mātra*, l. 8, and *-agra*, l. 9, *gōtra*, *Viśvāmitra* and *pravarāya*, all in l. 14.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and with the exception of two stanzas in the beginning, two in the middle in ll. 8-10 and five imprecatory stanzas in the end, which are all identical with those of the Mahauḍi and Bāṅswādā grants, the record is composed in prose. The stanzas, as mentioned above, are not numbered.

The **orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as to be found in the other two grants, viz. (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, e.g. in *vimdu*, l. 9 ; (2) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *sirasā*, l. 1 ; (3) the reduplication of a consonant following *r* ; cf. *sarvvādāya*, l. 12 ; (4) dropping the *visarga* after *vilōpyāḥ*, ending a verse before the following initial *i* in l. 26 ; (5) the use of *anusvāra* at the end of a hemistich, with certain exceptions, as in *tāṃ* but not in *kṛitim*, both in l. 1 ; (6) the general use of the *prishṭha-mātrā*, with a few exceptions. It may be noted here that this and some of the former tendencies are more developed in the present than in the Bāṅswādā plates. (7) Errors in spelling are to be noted in *triṇāgra* for *Triṇāgra*, l. 9, *triḥ pravarāya* for *tripravarāya*, l. 14, and *anya* for *anyā*, l. 18.

The inscription is one of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, whose pedigree mentioned here is practically identical with that in the preceding grant and who therefore can safely be taken as belonging to the Paramāra house of Mālwa. The **purpose** of the charter is to record the grant of a village, as we shall presently see.

Like the other two inscription, as seen above, the present one too opens with the auspicious symbol, followed by two *anushtubh* verses glorifying Śiva ; and then appears the genealogical portion, which too is identical, as we have seen. The new portion that the present record has is about the grant. Lines 6 ff. state that Bhōjadēva, after he had performed the daily duties and worshipped the venerable Bhavānī-pati, announced before all the royal officials and the other residents of the village of **Nālatadāga** falling in the territory of **Nyāyapadra**-seventeen, that the village was perpetually donated by him to Paṇḍita Dēlha, a son of Bhaṭṭa Thaṭṭhasika of the Kauśika *gōtra* with three *pravaras*, viz. *aghamarshaṇa*, *viśvāmitra* and *kauśika* and belonging to the Mādhyandini *śākhā*, who had come from Sthāṇviśvara and whose forefathers were residents of Viśāla-grāma. The special occasion of the grant is stated to be *Kōṅkaṇa-grahāṇa-vijaya-parvva* (l. 15), the significance of which we shall discuss below. Thereafter, in ll. 17-19, closes the address, as usual ; and finally appear the customary imprecatory and dedicatory verses, which too are the same as in the preceding inscription.

In l. 26 of the grant is mentioned the date, in words, which is the **fifteenth day of the bright half of Bhādrapada** of the (Vikrama) **Saṃvat 1076**. We have no further details by which the date can be verified ; however, taking the year as commencing with the month of Kārttika, as indicated by the custom prevalent at the time¹, the month and the year correspond to **September 1020**. If the line of thought followed here is correct, we are justified in agreeing with the editor who observed that the present grant is about nine months later than the Bāṅswādā grant, which was issued on the fifth of the bright half of Māgha in the same year and which corresponds to 3rd January, 1020. This view, however, does not seem to be conclusive for we do not know that the custom of taking the year as commencing from Kārttika was then equally prevalent in both the different regions around Bēṭmā and Bāṅswādā. Moreover, the day on which the Bāṅswādā grant was issued was sacred to the goddess of Learning, and it may have specially

¹ The practice is known best from the Ujjain grant of Bhōja himself (No. 12, below), which states that the donation was made in Māgha in 1078 but the charter was actually handed over to the donee in Chaitra in 1078. This clearly shows that the month of Māgha preceded Chaitra in the same year ; and this is possible only when we hold the year commencing with Kārttika. That this was then the current practice is shown by Nos. 9 and 10.

been chosen to celebrate the victory of Bhōja who was a fervent devotee of that goddess, and the *tithi* of the Betmā grant, which appears to be more specific, may be taken to have been the day when he won the victory and thus it has to be taken earlier. Thus we cannot be dogmatic on the point.

The occasion when the present grant was issued is stated, in l. 15, to be *Kōṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya-parva*, as seen above, whereas that of the Bāṇswādā grant is mentioned as *Kōṅkaṇa-vijaya-parva* (text l. 10). This is obviously a reference to Bhōja's victory over Arikēsarin (c. 1015-1025 A.C.), the Śilāhāra prince of Northern Kōṅkaṇa.¹ But both these expressions are so worded as to invite a discussion among scholars. The late Dr. Hultsch, who edited the Bāṇswādā grant, translated the expression appearing therein as 'the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa.'² This means that the region of Kōṅkaṇa was vanquished one year before the date of the grant. But here we are to note that the word *parvan* means a 'festival' and not 'anniversary'; and hence Hultsch's interpretation of the expression cannot be accepted. D. R. Bhandarkar, who too edited the same record, probably gives a correct translation of the expression, *viz.*, 'on the festival day (*parvanī*) in consequence of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa.'³ D. B. Diskalkar who edited the present grant agrees with Bhandarkar and also suggests that "the expression in the Bāṇswādā grant means that Bhōja conquered Kōṅkaṇa and that in the Bētmā grant means perhaps that he occupied it".⁴ Here it may however be pointed out that the expression used in the present grant is *-grahaṇa-vijaya-*, and if it is to be interpreted as suggested by Diskalkar, it would mean that Bhōja's occupation of Kōṅkaṇa took place first and its conquest afterwards. It appears therefore that what Diskalkar suggested was not intended by the composer of the inscription; and the expressions used in both the grants, though with a slight difference in the meaning, point to one and the same incident. And being an important event, this conquest probably continued to be celebrated at most of the places in the Paramāra kingdom for the whole year — on a different date at a different place.⁵

Of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Sthāṇviśvara** is obviously the same as the modern Thānesar situated in the Karnāl District of the Punjab. The gift village **Nāla-taḍāga** has been identified, by Diskalkar, with the modern Nār or Nāl in the Kairā District, and the **Nyāyapadra** sub-division in which it was situated, with the town of Nēpāḍ in the same District. While proposing these identifications, Diskalkar himself was aware of the difficulty, *viz.*, that both these places are at a long distance from Betmā where the plates were discovered. Kairā is about 180 miles (290 kms.) straight west of the find-spot of the plates. And, taking it for granted that the dealer from whom the plates were purchased by the Indore Museum furnished a correct information regarding their find-spot, we have to be satisfied with the assumption that the donee himself or some one of his descendants may have subsequently migrated to the region of Mālwa. There is, however, a suggestion here. The map at my disposal does not show any locality in the region as situated near the find-spot of the plates, excepting Nālchhā, lying in Lat. 22° 26' N. and Long. 75° 29' E.; it is about 16 miles or 26 kms. straight south of Dhār, on Dhār-Māṇḍū road, and about 40 miles or 64 kms. straight south-west of Betmā. The place contains some archaeological remains and there is a big tank (*taḍāga*). But besides its situation in the locality, we have nothing definite to identify it with Nāla-taḍāga; and there is no place in this locality bearing a name resembling Nyāyapadra. **Viśālagrāma**, the ancestral place of the donee, is also not known to me. Viśālā is of course identical with Ujjain⁶, but like Thānesar with which it was associated, it must be sought somewhere in the Punjab.

¹ For details, see *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II (1935-36), pp. 408 f.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 181.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, p. 201.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 321.

⁵ Any territory is known to have been occupied by the conqueror immediately after its conquest and not later as taken by Diskalkar in the present case. Moreover, he takes Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa as referring to the long-drawn war between the Paramāras and the Chālukyas, but from the word 'Kōṅkaṇa' used in the expression, it has to be taken exclusively as referring to Bhōja's relation with the king of that region, particularly so if we hold with Mm. V.V. Mirashi that Bhōja's invasion of Kōṅkaṇa may be due to oust Chhittarāja and place a son of Arikēsarin, who was his father's friend, upon the throne. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 107.

⁶ *Mēghadūta*, I, 31, Also see *Skanda-Purāṇa*, *Rēvā-khaṇḍa* Ch. 47.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1-2 and 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3 and 7 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. 8 *Śālīnī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सगर्गाय वि(वि)भर्ति तां(ताम्) । ऐंदवीं सि(णि)रसा लेखां जगद्बी(द्वी)जांकुराकृतिम् ॥[१॥*] तन्वन्तु वः
- 2 स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः [1*] कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहा-
- 3 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 4 श्रीवा[क्प]तिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिधुराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥ न्यायपद्रसप्त-
- 6 दशकान्तःपातिनालतडागे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(त्रा)हृणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादी-
- 7 श्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितम् ॥ यथास्माभिः स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य
- 8 संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा वाताश्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ॥ (1)
- 9 प्राणास्त्रि(स्तृ)णाग्रजलविं(वि)दुसमा नराणां³ धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्र-
- 10 धाराधारासिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलम् ॥[४॥*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं
- 11 स्वरूपमाकलय्योपरिलिखितग्रामः स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यन्तः सहिरण्यभागभोगः
- 12 सोपरिकरः मर्वादायसमेतश्च ॥⁵ विशालग्रामविनिर्गतपूर्व[जा]य । स्थाण्वीश्वरादागताय ।⁶
- 13 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [1*]

Second Plate

- 14 कौसि(णि)कगोत्राय । अघमर्षणविश्वामित्रकौसि(णि)केतिविः(ति)प्रवराय । माध्यंदिनशाखाय । भट्ट-
- 15 ठट्टसिकसुताय । पंडितदेह्याय । कोंकणग्रहणविजयपर्वणि मातापितोरात्मश्च पुण्यय-
- 16 शोभिवृद्धये । अदृष्टफलमं(गी)कृत्य चंद्राकर्णविक्षितिममकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शाश(स)नेनोदक-
- 17 पूर्वं प्रतिपादित इति ॥ तन्मत्वा यथा दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-
- 18 भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं⁷(व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) अस्मद्विश्वैरर्ण्यै(न्यै)रपि भाविभो-
- 19 क्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मा⁸दायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च ॥ व(व)हृभिर्द्वसुधा भुवता राजभिः
- 20 सगरादिभिर्यं(भिः)यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[५॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेर्दृष्टानि
- 21 धर्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[६॥*] अस्मत्कु-
- 22 लक्रमुदारामुदाहरद्भिरर्ण्यै(न्यै)श्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयम् । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिच्छ(त्स)लिलवृद्ध(वृद्ध)दचन्च(ञ्च)-
- 23 लायाः⁹ दानं फलं परयसः(शः)परिपालनं च ॥[७॥*] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भू-
- 24 यो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८॥*]
- 25 इति कमलदलांबुविं(बुवि)दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । श(स)कलमिदमुदाह-
- 26 तं च बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः[1॥६॥*] इति ॥ सम्ब(संव)त् १०७६ भाद्रपद शुदि १५ स्वय-
- 27 माज्ञा ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [1*]

¹ From the original plates.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The punctuation mark is redundant.

⁴ The vowel mark appears below the letter as in the case of any other consonant, and not in a line with it.

⁵ The punctuation marks are redundant, as some others below.

⁶ The sign-manual below this line should not be taken to break the continuity of the writing.

⁷ The sign of *anusvāra* has disappeared, leaving only some traces.

⁸ See my note on the same word in the text of the *Bāṇswādā* grant, below, No. 11. The word *धर्मादाय* is current in *Mālava* even to this day. The prefix *आ* may here mean "with all surroundings."

⁹ Here the *visarga* is not dropped, as required by the rules of *sandhi*.

No. 11 ; PLATE XIII

BĀNSWĀḌĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHĪJĀDEVA

[Vikrama] Year 1076

THE plates on which this inscription is incised are stated to have been found some time in the third quarter of the last century, by the late Pandit Gauri Shankar H. Ojha, who was then the Superintendent of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, in the possession of the widow of a *ṭhaṭhērā* (copper-smith), living at **Bānswāḍā**, the headquarters of a District of the same name in Rājasthān. Ojha briefly noticed the inscription in the *Annual Report* of the Museum, for 1910-11, pp. 1-2, and the record was edited by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XLI (for 1872), pp. 201 f. From an inked impression prepared by Ojha and transmitted to him by the Government Epigraphist, the inscription was again edited by E. Hultzsch, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XI (for 1911-12), pp. 181 ff., with the text in the Nāgarī script (pp. 182-83) and facsimile reproductions. It is edited here from a set of excellent inked impressions supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist, and from a set of fresh photographs prepared and sent to me, at my request, by the Director of Archaeology and Museums in Rājasthān. The plates are now exhibited in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer.¹

It is a set of **two substantial plates of copper**, each measuring $13\frac{1}{4}$ " (33.65 cms.) in breadth and $9\frac{3}{4}$ " (24.76 cms.) in height. Their rims are raised to protect the writing, which is in an excellent state of preservation. Both the plates were originally held together, as is generally the case, by two rings, passing through holes of the diameter of 1.5 cms. each and boared in the lower margin of the first and the upper margin of the second, separated by an intervening space of 14 cms. But the rings are not now forthcoming. Both the plates bear writing on the inner side only, the first showing fifteen lines which cover a space measuring 27 cms. broad by 19 cms. high, while the second bears seventeen lines measuring 27.5 cms. broad by 20 cms. high. The last line on the first of the plates measures only 7.5 cms. in length and it is wholly devoted to the **sign-manual** of the king ; whereas on the second, the last five lines are shorter than the others by 7 cms., as their initial space is occupied by the representation of a flying **Garuda**, with the body of a man but the head of a bird, with a cobra in the proper left hand and the right being raised above, as if to strike it. This device is noticed on most of the plates issued by the rulers belonging to the Paramāra house of Mālwā ; and the area occupied by it measures 8 cms. broad by 6 cms. high. The plates are well preserved, and being thick, do not show the marks of the engraving on the reverse. The letters in the first seven lines are slightly bigger than in the rest and the **height** of an individual letter varies from .8 to 1 cm.

The **alphabet** in which the inscription is written is Nāgarī of the eleventh century, as prevalent in Mālwā and Rājasthān, and bears a close resemblance to that employed in the Gaonrī grant of Vākpati-Muñja, of V.S. 1043. Some of the palaeographical peculiarities exhibited in the present inscription, however, may be noted here. The vowel *a* appears in two forms which are slightly different from each other ; cf. *adṛishṭa*, l. 19 and *asmat*, l. 26. The initial *ē* is triangular in shape, with its arms slightly bent and with a tail below ; see *aīndavīm*, l. 1. The consonant *k* has two different forms : the ordinary form, e.g. in *paralōka*, in l. 13, and the other one in which the loop is joined to the vertical with a horizontal stroke, as in *chakrāgra* in the same line. Still another form of this letter is noticed in *-kṛitīm*, l. 2. The lower part of the left limb of *kh*, *g* and *s* is formed of a loop which is somewhat angular, cf., e.g., *lēkhām*, *sarggāya* and *śirasā*, all in l. 1. The tail of the left limb of *t* and *s*, that of *h* and the loop of *n* are occasionally not developed ; cf. *vrāhmaṇōttarān-prati*, l. 9 and *mahārājā*, l. 3. *Th* shows two unopened loops vertically placed, as in *yathā*, l. 10. There is little distinction between *dh* and *v* ; the first of these is devoid of the top-stroke, and the vertical of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a horizontal stroke ; cf. *vasudhā*, l. 24 and *vudhvā*, l. 31. Among conjunct consonants, the subscript forms of *chh* and *th* are alike ; see *Chhinchhā-sthāna*, l. 18 ; *ṇ* as a subscript appears as *l*, as in *-arkkārṇṇava*, l. 19, and the subscript *r* is written in its full-fledged form added below the first consonant, as in *vātābhra*, l. 11.

¹ In my visit to the Museum at Ajmer I also examined the plates and supplemented my writing wherever necessary, particularly scrutinising the names of places mentioned in l. 8.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and, excepting two verses in the beginning, two in ll. 11-14 and five imprecatory and benedictory in the end, which are all customary, the record is composed in prose. — The **orthographical** peculiarities of the record are as follows : (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, *e.g.* in *vibhartti*, l. 1 ; (2) the consonant following *r* is doubled, as in *sarggāya*, l. 1, but there are certain exceptions, *e.g.* *narēndrair* = *dānāni*, l. 25 ; (3) the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal perhaps only in a singular instance -*yaso-*, l. 19, whereas the palatal for the dental occurs as many as four times, *viz.* *śamupagotān*, l. 8, *śnātvā*, l. 10, *Vaśiṣṭha*, l. 18 and *śāśanēna*, l. 20 (excluding two instances in *saṁsārasy* = *āsāratām*, l. 11, where a combination of both the sibilants is to be seen) ; (4) medial diphthongs denoted both by *mātrās* at the back and above the consonant, the latter being used not less than two dozen times ; (5) the *avagraha* is improperly used to indicate the merging of *a* into *ā*, in ll. 10 and 22, though better instances to show this have been ignored, *e.g.* in *vṛiddhayē adyishṭa*, l. 19, where *sandhi* is not performed ; (6) the tendency to use *anusvāra* in place of class nasals, even at the end of the second and the fourth feet of a verse, see ll. 1 and 2. Occasionally the *daṇḍa* is ornamental, assuming the form of *r* ; see the first of the *daṇḍas* after *jaṭāḥ* and *piṅgalāḥ*, ll. 2 and 3 respectively.

The inscription is one of the **Paramāra Bhōjadēva** of Dhārā. The **object** of it is to record the donation of one hundred *nivarttanas*¹ of land, mentioned both in figures and in words, in the village **Vaṭapadraka**, situated in the **Ghāghradōra** (or Ghāghradaura?)² *bhōga* (district) of the **Sthali Maṇḍala** (province), by Bhōjadēva, to a Brāhmaṇa of the name of **Bhāilla**, who was the son of Vāmana and of the Vasishṭha *gōtra*, Vājimādhyandina *śākhā* and one *pravara*, and whose ancestors had hailed from Chhiñchchhā-*sthāna*. The occasion when the grant was issued is stated to have been *Koṅkaṇa-vijava-parvva*, *i.e.*, on the event of his conquest of Kōṅkaṇa (l. 10), the full significance of which has been discussed above, while dealing with the Beṭmā grant which immediately precedes and which too contains somewhat similar expressions.

To note the contents of the inscription, its initial and concluding portions are completely identical with those of the Mahauḍī and Beṭmā grants, dealt with in the preceding pages, and the variation is to be noticed only in the lines mentioning the details of the grant and the date. Like both these inscriptions, the present one, after paying obeisance to Śiva under the name of Vyōmakēśa and Smarārāti in two stanzas, in *anushtubh*, goes on to mention the genealogy of the house (of the Paramāras giving the names of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Siyakadēva**, the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Vākpatriājadēva**, the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva** and the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Bhōjadēva** (ll. 3-7), in succession. Then the record mentions the details of the grant, as noted above, and after this we have the five customary and benedictory stanzas, exactly the same as in the Mahauḍī inscription. This portion of the record is followed by the mention of the **date**, in line 31, which is the **fifth of the bright half of the month of Māgha in the year 1076** (expressed in decimal figures only) of an unspecified era. The date must evidently be referred to the Vikrama era as in the case of the other Paramāra records. It cannot be verified, but taking the year 1976 to be kārṭtikādi expired, as we find in the Ujjain grant of the same king,³ it corresponds to **3rd January, 1020 A. C.**⁴

In l. 32 of the record it is stated, as in the other charters issued by Bhōjadēva, that the announcement was made by the king in person. This is followed by words meaning "auspicious, great fortune," and here the inscription ends, with the facsimile of the royal signature. It is of interest to note that this sort of facsimile appears also at the end of the first plate of the record in l. 15, a practice that is being observed even to this day when we find every paper of an important document bearing the signature.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, the territorial division **Sthali** (l. 8) is generally taken as roughly corresponding to Vāgaḍa, the common name given to the region comprising the modern districts of Bāṁswāḍā and Dūṅgarpur in Rājasthān⁵. The *maṇḍala* was so known probably after the place Thālī (Sthālī) which lies about 2 kms. straight north by east of

¹ See n. 9 below, in the text. One of these villages is mentioned as Vaṭapura and Vaṭanagara, below in No. 61, ll. 12-13 and 15, respectively. It lies in the same region.

² For the reading of the name, see text, n. 5.

³ Below No. 12.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 181.

⁵ *I.G.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 380.

Arthūṇā, which was an important centre under the Paramāras and which, with the hamlet Thalī, was then one and the same place. **Vyāghradōra**,¹ mentioned in the same line as a *bhōga*, appears to me the modern Bāgidōrā, the head-quarters of *tehsīl* in the Bānswāḍā District, about 45 kms. due south-west of it and at almost the same distance north-west of Thalī. **Vaṭapadraka** where the land was donated is probably the modern village of Barōdiyā, situated about 10 kms. north of Bāgidōrā or another village of the name of Barliyā which lies about double the distance to the south-west of Bāgidōrā.² And finally, **Chhiñchhā**, from where the donee's ancestors had emigrated (l. 18) is the modern big village of the name of Chheenah, lying about 10 kms. straight north of Bāgidōrā.

TEXT³

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv 3,7 *Vasantatilakā*; v. *Indravajrā*; v. 8 *Śālinī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate ; Second Side

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [॥*] जयति व्योमकेशौ(शो)सौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्तिं तां(ताम्) ॥ ऐदवी शिरसा लेखां ज-
- 2 गद्दी(द्वी)जांकुराकृतिं(तिम्) ॥[१॥*] तन्वतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ॥(१) क-
- 3 त्यांतसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 4 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[सी]यकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
- 5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
- 7 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली ॥
- 8 स्थलीमंडले व्याघ्रदो⁵रभोगांतःपातिवटपद्रके श(स)मुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-
- 9 रुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्यणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिजनपदादीश्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) ॥
- 10 यथाऽस्माभिः कोंकणविजयपर्वणि श्ना(स्ना)त्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं
- 11 समभ्यर्च्य सं[स]ारस्या[स]⁶रतां दृष्ट्वा ।⁷ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमा-
- 12 त्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)दुस्मा नराणां ।⁸ धर्मः सखा
- 13 परमहो परलोकयाने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्)⁹ । प्राप्य ये न
- 14 ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) ॥[४॥*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलयोपरि¹⁰-
- 15 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य ॥[५॥*]

Second Plate ; First Side

- 16 लिखितग्रामात(द्) भूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं⁹ नि १०० स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यंतं हिरण्या- ।¹⁰
- 17 दायसमेतं सभागभोगं सोपरिकरं सत्वादायसमेतं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभाडलाय वामन-
- 18 सुताय वशि(सि)ष्ठसुगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय च्छिच्छास्थानविनिर्गतपूर्व-
- 19 जाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)भिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्रावका(वर्का)र्ण-

¹ For the reading of the name, see *n.* in the text.

² This view is not certain since there are some other villages with similarly sounding names in this *tehsīl* and also in the adjoining *tehsīl* of *Garhī*.

³ From inked impression and photographs.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ As remarked by Hultsch, this letter may also be read as *dau*. But I do not agree with him in reading the first *akshara* as *Ghā*. The *akshara* is damaged but the initial curve of *y* is clear in the photograph; and it also appears that the engraver first cut a part of *gh* and without scratching it, corrected it to *v*. Thus I take the reading as *Vyāghradōra*, which is also justified by the modern name of the place, as seen above. I am convinced about my reading of the name from the original also. The name also appears in No. 84, l. 49.

⁶ This and the preceding bracketed letter is each so formed as to show the combination of the palatal and the dental sibilants.

⁷ The *danḍa* is redundant.

⁸ This line is continued on the next plate.

⁹ *Nivartana* is a measure of length, being equal to 400 sq. rods (yards) according to the *Līlāvātī* (I, 6), or 900 sq. yards, according to *Kautilya* (II, 20), and it is not known which of the two is intended here.

¹⁰ The *danḍa*, which has faintly come out in the photograph but is clear in the impression, is redundant.

- 20 वक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शाश(स)नेनोदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादितमिति मत्वा त-
 21 त्त्रिवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-
 22 भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा)ऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यै-
 23 रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च । व(व)-
 24 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[१॥*]
 25 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवातिप्रतिमानि
 26 तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[६॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमि-
 27 दमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्बु(बुद्धु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपाल-
 28 नं च ॥[७॥*] सर्व्वानेता[म्भा]विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥(१)
 29 सामान्योऽयं धर्मसेतुनृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८॥*] इति कम-
 30 लदलांबु(बु)वि(वि)दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य^२ मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमु^३दा-
 31 हृतं च बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः[॥१६॥*] इति ॥ संवत् १०७६ माघ शुदि ५ [१*]
 32 स्वयमाज्ञा । मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोऽयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

No. 12 ; PLATE XIV

UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHŌJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1078

THE plates on which the subjoined inscription is engraved are said to have been found by a farmer, some time in the third quarter of the last century, in course of ploughing his field, in the vicinity of **Ujjain** — the Ujjayinī of ancient times, which is now the chief city of a district of the same name in the Mālava region of Madhya Pradesh. The record was published by Nilkanth Janardana Kirtane, in 1877, in the *Indian antiquary*, Volume VI, with text in Nāgarī characters (pp. 53-54) and translation (pp. 54-55), accompanied by a photo-lithograph. Kirtane's article was common to three inscriptions, and naturally his treatment was limited. This article was thereafter referred to a number of times but it has not been critically edited so far. The whereabouts of the plates too are not known today, they appear to have sailed out.⁴ I edit the inscription on the basis of my own transcript prepared from the facsimile appended to Kirtane's article referred to above.

It is a set of **two** copper-plates, originally held together by two rings passing through two holes bored in the lower margin of the first and the upper margin of the second plate. Each of the plates is stated to measure 12" (30.48 cms.) by 8" (20.32 cms.). Their weight is not known. In the lower proper right corner of the second plate, as to be seen on the other Paramāra grants, there is a representation of a flying **Garūḍa**, with a snake in the left hand and the right is raised up as if to strike it. The design is enclosed in a rectangle of double lines inter-spaced with oblique strokes. The technical execution is neat and clean, as can be seen from the facsimile.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the tenth century A.C., to which the record belongs. Compared with the writing on the grant of Vākpatirāja, the initial *a* and the consonants *k* and *n* are slightly advanced in form ; cf., *e.g.*, *atīta*-, l. 8 and *nāga*-, l. 6. The forelimb of *kh* has assumed the shape of the modern *g* and its latter limb appears in its full-fledged form, see *lēkhāṇ*, l. 1. The sign for *ṇ* continues to appear without the dot, and consonants such as *t* and *h* are engraved with

¹ Hultzsch corrected this word to *dharmmadāya* but we find the word also in some other records of the house; and it may also be observed here that the word *dharmmā*- is more common in Mālwa even to this day.

² This letter is not properly formed and the upper curve of the *mātrā* of the preceding letter is not engraved.

³ Originally यु, corrected to मु, later on.

⁴ This presumption is based on the fact that the plates bearing Vākpatirāja's Dharampurī grant (No. 4, above), found almost at the same time and edited by Kirtane in the same article along with the present record, are now in the India Office Library, London.

a tail of the fore-limb, as in *vibhartti tāṃ* and *sirasā*, both in l. 1, and *mahārāja* in l. 5. The form of *bh* is transitional ; its different forms may be noted in *vibhartti*, l. 1, *bhaṭṭāraka*, l. 3 and *asmābhiḥ*, l. 10. The consonant *y* is occasionally confounded with *s*, as will be noted from the reading of the text below.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is partly in prose and partly in poetry. There are nine verses ; they are not numbered.

In respect of **orthography**, we have to state that (1) the sign for *v* denotes *b* as well, as in *vibhartti*, l. 1 ; (2) the dental sibilant is wrongly put for the palatal in *sirasā*, l. 1, *vansa*, l. 21, *yasas-*, l. 23 and l. 25 ; (3) *taḍichchhalila* is wrongly put for *taḍitsalila*, l. 25, *ṇunya* for *ṇunya*, l. 18 and *parayasashparipālanam* for *parayaśaḥparipālanam*, l. 25 ; (4) The *visarga* at the end of *vilōpyāḥ*, the last word in a verse in l. 29, is dropped in view of the following *i* in *iti* ; (5) the tendency to use the *parasavarṇa* more, even wrongly in some instances, e.g., *aṇḍavīnsirasā*, l. 1, *bhagavantanbhavānīpatim*, l. 10, *idam-vasudhā*, l. 11, *sansāra*, l. 13 and *samvat*, l. 29 ; (6) occasionally the use of the sign for *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence or a hemistich, as in *tām*, l. 1, *phalam*, l. 14 and *samupanētavayam*, l. 20 ; (7) in three instances in ll. 12, 15 and 22 the *visarga* is changed to *s* when followed by the same letter ; and (8) no *sandhi* is made in the lines showing the details of the donee in ll. 17-18 where punctuation marks are often inserted.

As is the case with some of the **Paramāra** charters, the present one opens with the auspicious symbol which is followed by two stanzas in praise of *Vyōmakēśa* and *Smarārāti* (both meaning *Śiva*). It then introduces the donor, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, the successor of the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Sīndhurāja**, the successor of the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Vākpatirāja**, who was the successor of the illustrious **Sīyakadēva**. The **object** of the record is to issue the grant by Bhōjadēva, from his stay at Dhārā, of the village of Vīrāṇaka,¹ situated in the *Nāgahrada-paśchima-pathaka* (ll. 6-7), to Dhanapati-bhaṭṭa, a son of Bhaṭṭa-Govinda,² a *Karṇāṭaka Brāhmaṇa* of the *Āśvalāyana śākhā*, *Agastī gōtra* and three *pravaras*, who had hailed from Śrīvaḍa, situated in Vēlluvalla (ll. 16-18).

The **date** of the record is expressed in words, in ll. 8-9, to be *atīt-āshṭasaptaty-adhika-sāhasrika-samvatsarē māgh-āsita-tṛitīyāyām = udagayana-parvvaṇi*, i.e. on **Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the Māgha of the (Vikrama) year 1076**, when there was the *parvva* known as *Udagayana*. The calculation of the Christian equivalent of the date presents a problem, as already shown by Kielhorn ; and taking the V. 1078 expired, *pūrṇimānta*, when the third *tithi* of the dark half commenced on Sunday, he observed that "the ceremonies commenced with the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti*, which took place late on Saturday, had to be deferred to the Sunday, and were permitted to be performed on the day even after the commencement of the third *tithi* ; and the Sunday may, therefore, have been joined here with the (third) *tithi* which commenced on it", at 3 h. 24 m., after mean sunrise. But as the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti* took place during the second *tithi* when Sunday also was civilly the second, the same scholar also held that the third *tithi* may have been put erroneously for the second.³ Of both these alternatives, we prefer to take the first, as it does not involve any error, and the corresponding Christian equivalent would be **24th December, 1021 A. C.**

The genealogy given in the record adds nothing new to our knowledge and no new historical information can be gleaned from the contents of the charter. After mentioning the usual terms, as to be found in the previous charter, there are five imprecatory stanzas, as in the other cases, in ll. 22-29 ; and after mentioning the second of the dates, as seen above, the document is concluded with the words meaning 'ordered by self, prosperity and great fortune (may attend)' and the **sign-manual** of the king and with another date when the plates were issued.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Dhārā** (l. 10) is evidently the *Paramāra* capital Dhār, the headquarters of a District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. **Nāgahrada** (l. 6) is apparently the same as *Nāgjhirī*, a stream flowing in the vicinity of Ujjain and included within the *Pañchakrośī-yātrā* around this city. This identification is corroborated by the fact that the plates bearing the present record are said to have been dug out in a field adjoining to this stream, as stated in the beginning of this article. *Nāgahrada-paśchimāpathaka* thus

¹ The *halas* of which were settled (measured) before. See n. 9 appended to the text below.

² In this case the name of the grandfather is not mentioned.

³ Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361, No. 169 and *f.n.*

appears to be a territorial unit lying to the west of this stream, as Ujjayinī-*paśchima-pathaka* of the Dēpālpur grant of Bhōja, which we shall see below. The gift village **Virāṇaka** (l. 7), as stated by Kirtane in his article, “no longer exists in Mālwa”,¹ but the map at my disposal shows a place Berwan, which is situated about 30 kms. straight north-west of Ujjain and now a railway-station near Nāgdā; it is not known if Virāṇaka of that time may have changed to this name through the intermediate step of Vīraṇ. Śrīvāḍa and Vēllavalla from where the donee is said to have hailed (l. 17) cannot be identified for want of any clue.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-2 and 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3 and 7 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. 8 *Śālīnī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 मिद्धम्³ [1*] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भ⁴ति तां(ताम्) । ऐन्दवीन्मि(वी जि)रसा लेखां जगद्दी(द्वी)जांकुराकृतिम्
11[911*]
- 2 तन्वतु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः [1*] कल्पान्तसमयोदामतडिद्वलय-
- 3 पिङ्गा(ङ्ग)लाः 11[211*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादा-
- 4 नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेव-
- 5 पादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
- 6 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशली 11 नागहृदपश्चिमपथ-
- 7 कांतःपातिवीराणके [स]मुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्यणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टिकि-
- 8 लजनपदादींश्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः [सं]विदितं(तम्) 11⁶ यथा अती⁷ताष्ट[स]प्तत्यधिकसाह[स्रि]क-
- 9 सम्ब(संव)त्सरे माघासिततृतीयायाम्⁸ रवाबुद[ग]यनपर्वणि कल्पितह-
- 10 लानां लेख्ये⁹ 11 श्रीमद्वारायामवस्थितैरस्माभिः स्नात्वा [च]राचरगुरुं भ[ग]व-
- 11 न्तन्भ(तं भ)वानीपति समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदम्ब(दं व)सुधाधिपत्य-
- 12 मापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [1*] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मस्स-
- 13 खा परमहो परलोक्याने 11[311*] भ्रमत्सन्ता(संसा)रचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न
- 14 ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) 11[411*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्योपरि-
- 15 लिखितग्रामः स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यन्तस्सहिरण्यभागभो— स्वहस्तोय(यं) श्रीभोजदेवस्य¹⁰

Second Plate

- 16 गः मोपरिकरः सर्वदायसमेतः ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणधनपतिभट्टाय भट्टगोविन्दसुताय व(व)-
- 17 हवृचाश्वलायनशाखाय । अगस्तिगोत्राय । त्रिप्रवराय । वेल्लवल्लप्रतिव(व)द्वश्रीवाडा(ड)विनिर्गतरा-
- 18 धसु¹¹रसंगकर्णाटाय । मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्य(प्य)शोभिवृद्धये । अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य च-

¹ Kirtane, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

² From photolithographs facing pp. 52-54 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ This *akshara* appears as न.

⁵ By scribal error this *akshara* appears as द.

⁶ The *danḍas* are superfluous.

⁷ The curve of the *i-mātrā* is not carved and *sandhi* is not made with the preceding आ.

⁸ This and some other *danḍas* below are redundant, which need not be mentioned separately.

⁹ What is intended here by the word कल्पित is not definitely known. This term occurs also in the Kadamba-padraka grant of Naravarman of V.S. 1110 and in his son Yaśovarman's grant of V.S. 1192; and while publishing the former of these, in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, N.P. Chakravarty remarked that possibly the word has to be taken in the sense of 'settled or fixed'. And the whole expression may perhaps here refer to the donated village, the *halas* of which were fixed and also entered in लेख्य *i.e.*, the government documents. I am, however, unable to explain, in this case, the use of the seventh case in the word लेख्य.

¹⁰ The sign-manual, which is engraved on the right corner of the first plate, should not be taken to break the continuity of the writing.

¹¹ The meaning of this word I cannot make out. Kirtanē translates it as 'inhabitant of साधसुरसंग—', but to me it appears to be a mistake for धरासुर, a Brāhmaṇa, or, as Hultzsch has suggested, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 184, n. 4, we may have to read here विनिर्गत(11)भूसुरसंग. For the double *danḍas* which are as carved here, cf. above, l. 2. after जटाः.

UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHĪJADĒVA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1078

१ ऊयनिगमाकजोमोयःमर्गोयविनर्त्तिमोपेवरीभिरमालेगंङ्गहीजंजुराकृतिम्॥
 २ तवुंउवःम्वरारातःकल्याणमनिमंऊयःकल्याणममायाशामनडिहंतये
 ३ पिज्ञोलाः॥परममहारकमदाराजाविराजपरमेश्वरशीमीयकददपादा
 ४ बुधानपरममहारकमदाराजाविराजपरमेश्वरशीवान्तिराजदर
 ५ पादाबुधानपरममहारकमदाराजाविराजपरमेश्वरशीमिबुराजदरपादाबुधान
 ६ परममहारकमदाराजाविराजपरमेश्वरशीमिऊरेवःकुजती॥नागइदपश्चिमपक्ष
 ७ कंतःपातिदीराणकयमुपगतायमगराऊपुरुषाद्धाणात्ररान्पुतिनिशमिपडुके
 ८ लऊनपदादीशममादिजसमुवःगंदिदिनं॥यथाश्रुताताष्टयपूतदिकसादष्टक
 ९ मम्वरारमापासितृनीयायामोरवातुदययनपद॥एकलित्तनद
 १० लानांलिगुग॥शीमदारायामरमिगुतिरम्यानिःआवानरावरमुसुनवावे
 ११ नूनतानोपतिंयममृजुंममारम्यामारनांदृष्टावानाउविनमभिरमृगुवविपत्ति
 १२ मापानमात्रमपुराविषयापदोगःप्राणाश्रुणागुलविशुयमानराणावर्माश्री
 १३ ग्वापरमादापनलाकद्यान॥उममम्यारवजायकससमिमोशिंयाप्राप्रायन
 १४ रदुस्रिषापश्रापःपरंपर॥उतिऊगताविनमृगुंस्तुपमाकल्योपरि
 लिखितमामःसमीमाहएलागरयनियमनशीद्विरएभोगादा

ii

१६ वाःशेषविकरःमर्वा रायसामनःशर्माणवनपतिमराम नहशोविरुमुनायव
 १७ दुवास्ततायनशाकायाश्रुवोश्रियोशयासिप्रवरायापुल्लुम्वेपुसिरहशीवायवितिमुंतु
 १८ वसुसंशकपुंटायामानापिरोराभनेगुपुन्यमोकिहृद्वामाश्रुहृष्टफलमवीधमर
 १९ शर्कापुवक्तिममकांलंवावत्यरयातमृषाश्रीननोदकुपुष्टपुतिपादितऊतिमवा
 २० यथारीयमानतायमोवाकुरदिरएयादिकमाडाश्रुवराशिवायकृमवमममसमुपनतश
 २१ सामान्येतिगुपुष्टफलमृषाद्वयजिगलेरपिमाविमार्कभिरममगुरन्वर्मावायय
 २२ मनुमन्त्रशःपालनीयश्राऊकंरवदुलिर्वमुवडंश्रागडिगारादिदिनयमृषाश्रुवरा
 २३ नृमिसमृषातमयमंयानीरुदत्रानिपुरानरदिदोनानिवमोवयमममराशिनिमाल
 २४ वातिप्रतिमाविनानिकोनामसावुःपुनरादरीन॥ममकलकममदापुमुदादरदिरलीश
 २५ रानमिरममृनुमादनीयालकासदिहृलिलेवदुदवंरलायादानंफलपवयसश्रुपिया
 २६ लनवा॥मवोनितामविनःपाविदश्राद्वयोहृयायमतममदः
 २७ सामाज्यायवर्मासउमृपाणाकालेकालेयाननीयोवद्विनी॥मृक
 २८ मलदलावृविद्वालाजीविमनुविद्वमनुश्रीवितवमवलमि
 २९ दद्वसादनववृकनतिपुषावेगारकोत्रयोतिनोए॥ममृ११
 ३० परेउश्रि१४मृयगाहुमंगलंममृशीः॥मृसीयशीनोभदेव



- 19 न्द्रावर्काणवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शा[स]नेनोदकपूर्व(व्व) प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा¹
 20 यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) ।
 21 सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलम्बु(म्बु)द्वास्मद्वन्स(द्वंश)जैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोय-
 22 मनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
 23 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[१॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि । निम्मा(र्मा)त्य-
 24 वान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[६॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च
 25 दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिच्छ(त्स)लिलबुद्दु(बुद्दु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयसप्प(शःप)रिपा-
 26 लनं च ॥[७॥*] सर्वानितान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [१*]
 27 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८॥*] इति क-
 28 मलदलाम्बुवि(म्बुवि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमि-
 29 दमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[९॥*] इति ॥ सम्ब(संव)त् १०-
 30 ७८ चैत्र शुदि १६[१*] स्वयमाज्ञा[१*] मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [१*]

No. 13 ; PLATE XV

DEPĀLPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHĪJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1079

THE plates bearing this inscription were found, in 1931, in the possession of Kishore Singh Kanungo, a resident of **Dēpālpur**, which is an ancient town situated about 40 kms. to the north-west of Indore and included in the District of the same name, in Madhya Pradesh.² The exact circumstances and the year of the find are unknown. However, the plates were purchased from the owner for the Indore Museum, by Shri R. G. Ojha, who was then the Curator of the Museum and who edited the inscription engraved on them, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Volume VIII, pages 305 ff., with transcript in Nāgarī (pp. 311-13), English translation (pp. 314 f.) and facsimiles facing pp. 306 and 312. The inscription is edited here from the original plates which are now preserved in the Indore Museum, as just remarked.

As stated above, the plates are **two** in number, each varying from 33·5 to 33·6 cms. in length and from 22·2 to 22·7 cms. in breadth. They are well preserved but portions of their surface are corroded here and there by rust, and the writing on the first plate is more or less worn at many places. The edges of the plates have been fashioned thicker and are raised into rims, to protect the writing. They are held together by two circular rings of copper, which pass through two ring-holes, each of about 1·6 cms. diameter and separated by an intervening space of 14·5 cms., made in the lower margin of the first and the upper margin of the second, disturbing the continuity of the writing in that line. The rings have their ends open. Each of them is 0·9 cm. thick and 5·7 cms. in diameter. The plates with the rings weigh 3·28 kilograms.

Both the plates are inscribed only on the inner side. The letters, which vary in **size** from 0·8 to 1·2 cms, are well formed but they are not cut deep and the plates, being fairly thick, do not show the marks of engraving on the other side. The inscription consists of 30 lines of writing, each plate bearing 15 lines which include the **sign-manual** of the king in the end, in letters which are smaller, about one-third of the size of the others. The length of the last six lines of the main record (ll. 24-29) is shorter by 10 cms. than that of the other lines, as an area (10·5 square) in the left lower corner of the second plate is occupied by a rectangle containing the figure of a **Garuda**, the emblem of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa and generally to be found on their copper-plate charters. The figure is flying and facing left.

¹ This *akshara* is followed by a small hollow circle.

² The place lies at 22° 51' N. Lat.; 75° 37' E. Long. and appears to be associated with Paramāra king Dēva-pāla. For the antiquities found at this place, see *Prog. Rep. of A.S.I., W.C.*, for 1919-20, p. 102 ; also see *Indore State Gaz.*, Vol. II, p. 13.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī **characters** of the eleventh century A.C., which, though resembling those of the Bētmā and Bāṇswādā plates of the Paramāra king Bhōja, who was also the donor of the grant under study, are rather crudely formed and are not so elegant as on them, issued only three years earlier. The technical execution is rather sloven and very often the letters show redundant chisel strokes, transforming their shapes. The letters are also inconsistent, e.g., the letter *k* appears in ligatures in *kalyāṇa* and *kalpānta*, both in l. 2, but in the several other instances, as in *Vākpati*, l. 4 and *bhukti*, l. 19, the loop forming its left limb is joined to the vertical by a stroke; and its curve on the right is occasionally omitted, as in *kṛitīm*, l. 1. Some of the letters are visible only in traces, e.g., *Ātrēyasa-*, l. 14. These errors are all due to the carelessness of the engraver.

With reference to **palaeography** of the letters in the inscription, we may note that *ch*, *dh* and *v* have often the same form, an instance of which is afforded by the expression *vadha-prāyaśchitta* in l. 8, where all these three letters are to be found. *Bh* and *ś* continue their antique forms; cf. *vibhartti*, l. 1 and *śrī*, l. 3; *j* appears in its transitional stage, both the antique and advanced forms thereof appearing side by side in *mahārājādhirāja*, l. 3; and the letter *r* often has an additional horizontal stroke so as to make it assume the form of *y*, e.g., in *para-yasaḥ*, l. 24. The old form of this letter, resembling a vertical bar with a horizontal stroke attached to it in the middle on the left, also survives in a very few instances, as in *punar* = *ādadīta*, l. 23.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of two verses in the beginning, two in the middle in ll. 9-12 and five of the imprecatory and dedicatory verses in the end (ll. 21-28), it is composed in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note that (1) the sign for *v* is throughout used to denote *b* as well, see *vibhartti*, l. 1; (2) a consonant following *r* is generally doubled, as in the same instance; (3) *s* is wrongly put for *ś* in *sirasā*, l. 1, and *ś* for *s* in *śāśana*, l. 18, and in the word *jaśa* in ll. 17 and 22, where we also have an instance of the local pronunciation of the word. (4) Excepting in a few instances, the use of the *ṛishṭha-mātrā* is common; and (5) there is a tendency to put the sign of *anusvāra* instead of a class-nasal, even at the end of a sentence or a hemistich, though sometimes we also find the use of the dental nasal, as in *samupagātān* = *samasta-rāja-purushān*, ll. 6-7 and in *bhagavantam*, l. 9. Redundant use of the *anusvāra* is also to be seen as in *dṛishṭvām*, l. 9, and of the *visarga*, as in *bhūmēḥ* = *ścha*, ll. 12-13, which appears to be the engraver's error; *trīṃśat* in l. 13 is spelt as *trūṃśat*; *buddhvā*, appearing twice in ll. 20 and 28, is spelt as *vuddhā*; *yaśas* as *jaśas*, in l. 22. There are four instances where rules of euphony have not been observed. They are (a) the *m* at the end of v. 4 (l. 12) is combined with the following *i* of *iti*; (b) the sign of a *visarga* occurring at the end of a hemistich in l. 21 is changed to *r*, in view of the following *y*; (c) the same sign after *Rāmabhadra*, which again is at the end of a hemistich, is changed to *s* in view of the following *s* which begins the next foot of the v. 8 in l. 26; and (d) the medial *i* of *ti* in *iti* which is followed by beginning a verse is changed to *y* (l. 23). The change of *visarga* to *s* before *s* in ll. 21 and 26 is also noteworthy.

The inscription is a royal charter issued by the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva**, who again, had meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Siyakadēva** (ll. 3-6). The genealogy is already known to us and the text of the inscription is practically identical with that of the other charters issued by Bhōjadēva, e.g. the Bētmā grant, differing only in respect of the grant portion and the date.

After two verses in praise of Śiva in the form of Vyōmakēśa and Smarārāti, followed in prose by giving the genealogy of the donor, as we have just seen, the charter proceeds to record the **object**, which is the perpetual bestowal of some land by him in the village **Kirikaikā**, situated in the region to the west of **Ujjayanī**¹ (the well-known Ujjain), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Vachchhala, son of *bhaṭṭa Sōśvara*,² and well versed in Vedic studies. He was of the Ātrēya *gōtra* with the three *pravaras*, Ātrēya, Ārchanānasa and Syāvāśva and belonged to the Bahṛicha *śākhā*. He had hailed from Mānyakhēṭa. The property granted to him consisted of thirty-four *aṃśas* (parts) of level ground of the ordinary land and excluding that which was being enjoyed by

¹ It is interesting to note the spelling Ujjayanī.

² It is possible that the name may have been Sōmēśvara, and the second letter thereof may have been omitted by the writer on the plate.

Brāhmaṇas. While editing the inscription in the *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Ojha has rightly drawn our attention to the fact that herein we do not find mention of any *parvan*, as in the other plates of Bhōjadēva, nor do we have any special occasion for granting the land; and the long phrase *pāra-dvi(gavi)-prabhṛiti-prāṇi-vadha-prāyaśchitta-dakṣiṇāyām* suggests an indirect reference to the river Chambal (old Charmaṇvatī) and brings to our mind the legend of its origin.¹ Agreeing with him in his statement that “the composer of the inscription was anxious to display his pedantic skill by alluding to the Chambal through a round about reference to the origin of this sacred river” appears to have been made here probably also to serve another purpose, *viz.*, perhaps to show the occasion of the present grant. It is possible to hold tentatively that this grant was issued by Bhōja in course of his return from a successful invasion in which he had killed a large number of his enemy warriors and the donation was by way of an expiation of the same on the Chambal. This presumption gets some support from the fact that the village of Kirikaikā in which the land was donated is obviously the same as the modern village Karkī which is situated on the Chambal, about 10 kms. from Dēpālpur, the find-spot of the plates.

After the stipulations laid down for the perpetual enjoyment of the grant by the donee (ll. 18-21), we have four of the customary imprecatory verses; and then the inscription records the **date** in figures only, **as the fourteenth day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1079**. Ojha has calculated the date, according to the *Chaitrādi* reckoning, as equivalent to **19th March, 1022 A.C.**² But as we have seen in a number of instances, the year mentioned in the grants made by Bhōjadēva has to be taken as beginning with Kārttika,³ and following the same practice, the year of the present grant has to be taken as corresponding to 1023 A.C. We have to admit, however, that the record contains no further details for verifying the date. Then, with the mention of the usual expression *maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ*, followed by the sign-manual of Bhōjadēva, the record comes to an end.

Of the **place-names** mentioned in the inscription, **Ujjayinī** (l. 6) is the well known city of Ujjain; and **Dhārā**, where the king is stated to have stayed, *i.e.*, which was his capital (l. 6), is the modern town of Dhār, which too, like Ujjain, is the headquarters of a District. **Kirikaikā** (l. 6), as we have seen above, is the modern village of Karkī, situated about 10 kms. from Dēpālpur. It is on the Chambal, about 65 kms. from Ujjain, and was thus included in the western district of the Province of Ujjain.

TEXT⁴

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3, 7 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. 8 *Sālīnī*; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 ओं⁵ [॥*] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्ति तां(ताम्) । ऐदवी सि(शि)रसा लेखां जगद्वी(द्वी)जंकुराकृति(तिम्)
॥१॥*
- 2 तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिमं(ं) जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिगलाः ॥२॥*
- 3 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
- 4 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
- 5 परमेश्वरश्रीसिधुराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदे-
- 6 वः कुशली ॥ श्रीमदुज्जय(यि)नीपश्चिमपथकान्तःपातिकिरिकैयां समुपगतान्ममस्तराजपु-
- 7 रषान्ना(न्ना)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादीश्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदिनं(त्म्) ॥⁷ यथा
- 8 श्रीमद्धारारस्थितैस्माभिः पारद्विप्रभृतिवृत्तप्राणिवधप्रायश्चित्तदक्षिणायां स्नात्वा चराचरगु-

¹ *Mbh.*, *Drōṇā-parva*, Ch. 67. Also see *Mēghadūta*, *Pūrva-mēgha*, v. 47, where the river is stated to be “*Ranti-dēvasya kīrti*.”

² *Op. cit.*, p. 310.

³ As in the Ujjain grant of the same king, for which see above, No. 12. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 361, No. 169, n. 4.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Ojha read this letter as णे and corrected it to णो; but the sign of medial ā is distinct on the plate.

⁷ These strokes are redundant.

⁸ It may also be read as गवि.

- 9 रं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वां(वा) [11*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्य-
 10 मापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [1*] प्राणास्तृणग्रजर्लवि(वि)दुस्मा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो
 11 परलोकयाने [1311*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः
 12 परं फलमि(म्) [114*]इति जगतो विनश्यत् स्वरूपमावलयोपरिलिखितग्रामात् ग्रामसामान्यभूमेः(मे)-
 13 श्चतुस्तुं(त्रि)शत्यंशप्र[स्थ]कं हलचतुष्टयसंवत्तो¹ स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यन्तं सहिरण्यभोगभो-
 14 गं सोपरिकरं सत्त्वादायस्मेतं च² श्रीमान्यखेटविनिर्गताय । आदेयसंगेताय । आदेयाचर्चना-
 15 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [1*]

Second Plate

- 16 नसस्या(श्या)वाश्वेतित्रिः⁴प्रवराय । व(व)ह्वृचशाखाय । भट्टसोऽवरस्तुत्रा(त्रा)हृणवच्छलय । श्रुताध्यय-
 17 नसंपन्नाय ॥ (1) मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्यज(य)शोभिवृद्धये अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चन्द्रार्कवर्णवक्षिति-
 18 समकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शाश(स)नेनोदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादितमिति मत्वा यथादीयमानभारभोगक-
 19 रहिरण्यादिकं देवत्रा(त्रा)हृणभुवितवर्जमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(यम्) ॥ सा-
 20 मान्यं चि(चै)⁶तत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) अस्मद्विशर्जरन्यैरपि भाविभोवत्भिररमत्प्रदत्तधर्मदयोयमनुमतव्यः
 21 पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च ॥ (1) व(व)हृभिर्वसुधा भूवता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य(भिः)यः दरय ददा भूमिरतरय तरय तदा
 22 फलं(लम्) ॥ [11*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थं(ज)(य)स(श)स्कराणि । निर्मात्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि
 23 को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [1611*] इत्य(इति) अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिः रयैश्च दानमिदमनुमो-
 24 दनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलबुद्धु(बुद्धु)दचंचलायाः⁸ दानं फलं परयसः(शः)-
 25 परिपालनश्च(नं च) ॥ [1711*] सत्त्वानिताभाविनः पाथिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते
 26 रामभद्रस्ता(द्रः)सा मान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भ-
 27 वद्भिः ॥ [1811*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवि-
 28 तं च । स[क*]लमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या[1111*]
 29 इति ॥ सम्ब(संव)त् १०७६ चैत्र शुदि १४ स्वयमाज्ञा ॥ मंगलं महा-
 30 श्रीः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [11*]

No. 14 ; PLATE XVI-A

BRITISH MUSEUM SARASVATĪ IMAGE INSCRIPTION

[Vikrama] Year 1091

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by K.N. Dikshit who published its transcript in the January Number of the *Rūpam* (1924), a quarterly *Journal* of Calcutta. It was again transcribed by some other scholars also.⁹ It is incised on the pedestal of an image of

¹ Read संवृत्तं I am not definite but the whole phrase possibly means 'from the ordinary (level) land of the village, a *prastha* (a kind of measure) consisting of thirty-four shares and worthy to be tilled by four ploughs'. The use of संवृत्तं is not quite clear. Should we take the word derived from *vr̥it*, to turn (to plough?).

² This and some of the following *dandās* are redundant.

³ Following भो, a letter appears to have been originally formed but left uncarved. The sign-manual need not break the continuity of the writing.

⁴ The *visarga* is redundant.

⁵ Ojha: चद्रा(चंद्रा); but the sign for न् is faintly visible.

⁶ Originally चि was engraved and subsequently the *ūrdhva-mātrā* was also carved without scoring off the unnecessary parts.

⁷ Originally प, later on corrected to फ.

⁸ The *visarga* is not dropped here.

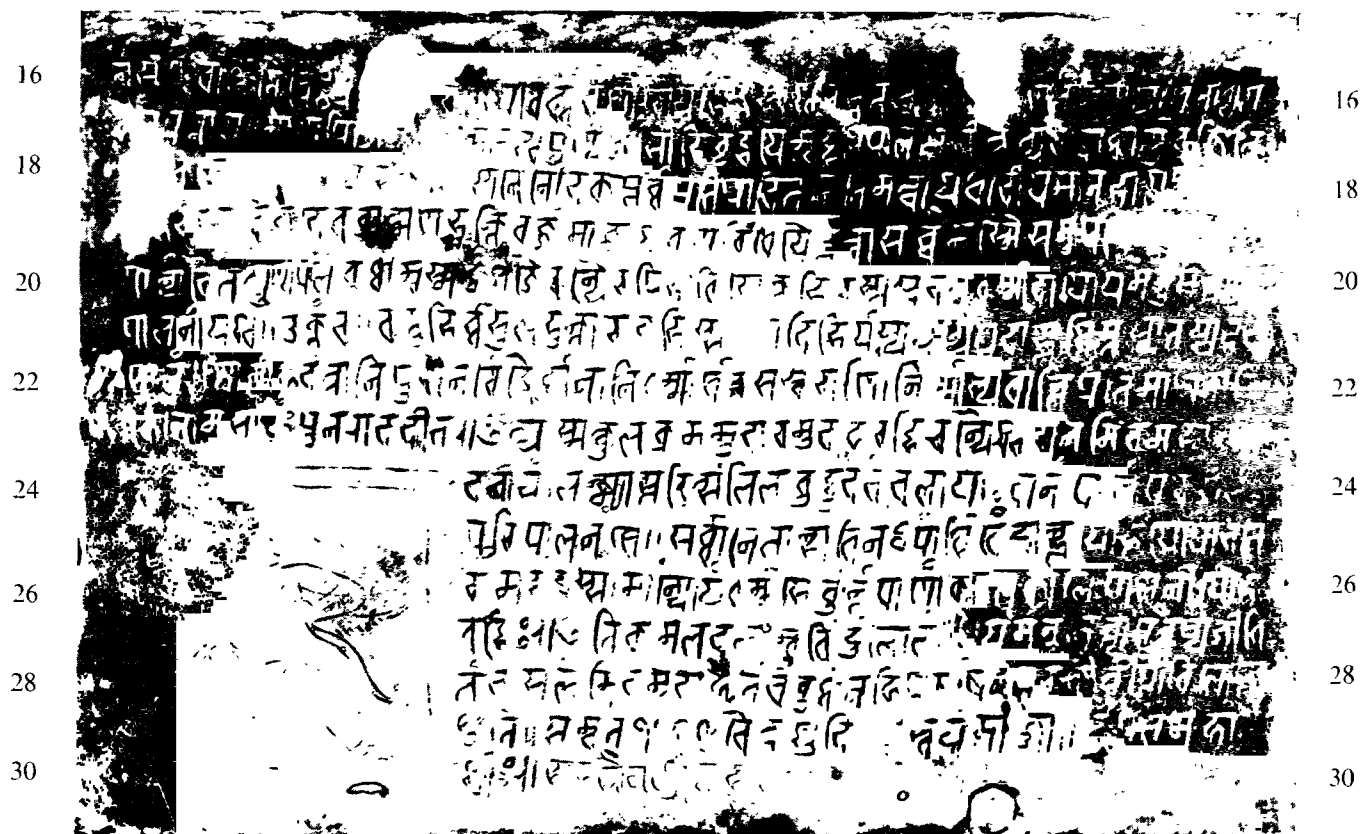
⁹ For example, by V.S. Wakankar of Ujjain, who visited the British Museum in August, 1961, and who read an article on the image in the Bhōja Seminar held in 1970 at Ujjain. The article is still unpublished but the writer favoured me with a type-script of it, for which I am thankful to him. The dimensions of the slab bearing the inscription are as given in his article.

DĒPĀLPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF BHŌJADĒVA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1079

i



ii



Scale: One-half

Vāgdevī (Sarasvatī), made of “grey sand stone”, which is now preserved in the **British Museum**, London, and is a “typical specimen of Hindu art in the medieval period when it had reached a high standard of perfection”.¹ The inscription is edited here from a photo-copy supplied kindly by the authorities of the Museum, at the request of the Chief Epigraphist, to whom my thanks are due.

The inscription consists of 4 lines, the last of which is only about one-sixth of the others in length. No record as to how the image reached the British Museum is now available, except that it was presented to it by a British officer who obtained it about a hundred years ago in the ruins adjoining to the *Bhōja-śālā* at Dhār,² the former capital of the State of that name and now the headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh. The technical execution of the record is good but it has suffered a good deal from small abrasions here and there, particularly on the proper left side in ll. 1-3, and an oblique crack on this side has damaged one or two letters in each of the lines. The base on which the record is incised measures 30.48 by 10.16 cms. The **script** is Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.C. to which the record belongs. The initial *i*, occurring only once in *iti*, l. 3, is shown by two curves and placed one below the other; *dh* is often formed as *v*, e.g. in *sūtradhāra*, l. 3; the letter *t* occasionally resembles *n*, see *-nagarī*, l. 1, and *-suta*, l. 3; and finally, the curve of *v* is angular, as in *yōsā*, l. 1.

The record is in Sanskrit and consists of a dedicatory verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, with the portion giving the name of the sculpture and that of the writer and the year in figures in prose, in the end. The **orthography** calls for the usual remarks, e.g., that a consonant following *r* is doubled and that the dental sibilant is throughout used for the palatal, for which see *nirmamā* and *Śiva*-, respectively in l. 3. We may also note the throughout use of the *anusvāra* sign and the *prishṭha-mātrā*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Bhōjadēva** who is called in it ‘the moon among the kings’ and who has been identified with the great literary person of that name and the king of Dhārā. The purpose of the inscription is to record the installation of the image of Vāgdevī, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The year of the record, as mentioned in figures only and without any further details thereof, is 1091, which is equivalent to 1033-1034 A.C. The sculpture was engraved by Maṇathala, son of the mason Sahira, and the inscription was written by Śivadēva.

As we know from the *Tilakamañjarī*, the palace of Bhōja or Bhōja-śālā as it is now popularly known, was then called *Bhāratī-bhavana* or *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*;³ and the image under reference may have been installed in it, in a prominent place, by Bhōja himself, who was a zealous devotee of the goddess Sarasvatī.

TEXT⁴

[Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

- 1 ओं(ओम्) ॥ लौ⁵(श्री)मङ्गोजनरेन्द्रनगरीविद्याधरी - U⁶ धीः यो [सा ?] नाम U - [सस्म*]⁷ खलु सुखं प्रस्थाप्यतां ■
- 2 या[प्स]राः [।*] वाग्देवी[-] प्रथम[-]⁸ विधाय जननीं यस्याज्जितानां त्वयी --- U फलाधिकां वर(रुचि?) मूर्तिं सु[शु]भां नि-⁹
- 3 म्मे [।*] इति सुभं(शुभम्) ॥ सूत्रधारसहिरसुतमणथलेण(न)¹⁰ षटितं(तम्) ॥ वि. नि.¹¹ सि(शि)वदेवेन लिखितमिति ॥
- 4 संवत् १०९१ [।*]

¹ See R.P. Chanda, *Med. Ind. Sculptures in the British Museum*, London, 1936, p. 46. For the description of the image, see Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 377; and S. Shivaram Murti, *Indian Sculptures*, pp. 106 f.

² As stated by Wakankar in his article referred to above.

³ *Introduction*, p. 5.

⁴ From a photograph. It also shows two letters in the corner just beside the proper right top, both of the same time as the inscription.

⁵ The subscript *r* of this *akshara* has not come out on the photograph and it is possible that if at all engraved, it was not deep enough.

⁶ Both these *aksharas* are mutilated, but as there is space for one only, it appears that they may have been crisped into each other. Conjecturally to be restored as संसु. Also, perhaps नरेन्द्रनन्दनकरी was intended.

⁷ Mutilated. Adopted from Dikshit's reading. सौख्यायामरसंसदः(?)

⁸ This and the preceding sign of *anusvāra*, which have not come out on the photograph, are perhaps clear on the original.

⁹ These three *aksharas* have been restored from the traces left; and the reading is uncertain.

¹⁰ At both places in the name the nasal is lingual and not dental as taken by Dikshit.

¹¹ The first of the letters in this word is mutilated and the second is illegible. Perhaps what was intended here is विज्ञानिक, as shown by the traces. The reading of नि is not certain.

TILAKWĀDĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1103

THE plates bearing this inscription are stated to have been discovered in May, 1917, and the record was first brought to light by the late J. S. Kudalkar, then the Curator of the Baroda State Libraries, by reading an article on it at the First Oriental Conference held in Poona, in November 1919. This article was published in the Proceedings of the Conference, in Volume II, pages 219 ff., with his reading of the text, in Nāgarī (pp. 324-25) and a translation, but not accompanied by a facsimile ; and it was again printed in his own *Journal* (now extinct), called *Library Miscellany*, Volume VI. Later on, in 1931, the late D. B. Diskalkar contributed a note on the historical bearings of the record, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXI, pp. 157-59. The plates are now preserved in the Oriental Section of the Baroda Central Library, and the inscription is edited here from my reading of the text from a set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist at Mysore.

It is a set of **two copper-plates** found at **Tilakwādā**, the headquarters of a small *parganā* of the same name, which is a minor part of the other contiguous *parganā* of Sāṅkhēḍa in the former Baroda territory in Gujarāt and situated on the Narmadā at its confluence with the river Manā, Menā or Menī, as it is called. As observed by Kudalkar himself, the plates were found "in the bed of the river Narmadā at the spot called 'Nānā Owārā' (smaller bathing ghāt) near *Dhōbī shālā* (washerman's depot).....while swimming and diving in the waters of the Narmadā."¹

The plates which were discovered formed the last two of the (apparently) three plates which made up a complete grant. The first of the extant plates measures, as stated by Kudalkar, $8\frac{3}{4}$ " (i.e., 22.22 cms.) by $5\frac{1}{2}$ " (i.e., 13.97 cms.) and the second 9" (i.e., 22.86 cms.) by $5\frac{1}{4}$ " (i.e., 13.33 cms.) and both together weigh about 2 lbs. (i.e., 0.91 kgs.). The first plate is missing, and it is also stated that all efforts to find it out at or about the spot have failed. The first of the plates which are obtained is engraved on both the sides, showing twelve lines of writing on its obverse and ten on the reverse, and the second bears the inscription only on the inner side, consisting of seven lines. Probably the lost plate was engraved only on the inner side, like the third one and as we can surmise from the matter of the inscription as a whole. Both the plates have a hole bored through the centre of the upper margin, showing that originally they (along with the first plate which is not forthcoming) were held together by a ring which too is lost, along with the seal, if any.

The **writing** which covers a space of about 19 cms. by 11 cms. on both the sides of the first (in fact second) plate and about 19 cms. by 8 cms. on the third, has suffered an injury from water and sand, especially on the obverse of the second plate. The average **size** of the letters is about .5 cms. The engraver has fared very slovenly in his task and the expected shapes of the letters are often altogether transformed, a number of them also receiving the arbitrary touch of his chisel. For example, the ninth letter in l. 2, which was intended to be *ttru*, appears as *kra*, due to the joining of the forelimb at the very beginning. The initial vertical stroke of *ma*, the sixth syllable in l. 1, is left in carving and thus it appears as *na*. It may also be noted here that the writing is more sparse on the last two sides than on the first.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century to which the record belongs. The initial *a* shows two forms, one as in *anumatīm*, l. 8, and the other, as in *āchchhētā*, l. 23. The initial *i* is constituted of three dots, two above and one below ; cf. *iti*, l. 2 ; the sign for the medial *u*, when short, resembles *r* in the subscript form and when long, the sign for medial *ri*, both being noticed in *bhūbhujām*, l. 5 ; and the initial *ē* is almost a triangle with the vertical point below, cf. *ēvaṁ*, l. 5. Of the consonants, *k* occasionally assumes its full-fledged form, as in *upakārāya*, l. 15, but more often the two other forms, viz., one in which the lower extremity of its vertical is taken up to form the loop e.g. in *chakāra*, l. 3, and the other in which the loop is only a dot joined to the vertical by a horizontal stroke, as in *kṛitvā*, l. 11, are also to be found. The con-

¹Kudalkar, *P.T.O.C.*, Poona, p. 319.

junct *gga* is engraved as *gna*, e.g., in *mārggē*, l. 12, and *ṇṇa* as *lla*, as in *svaṇṇa*, l. 24. *Dh* and *v* are similar in form, as in *vrataadhara*-, l. 16, and the verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined by a horizontal stroke, as in *pradhāna*-, l. 8, where the loop of *dh* is triangular. *Bh* sometimes resembles *k*, as in *bhuvi*, l. 1, and occasionally also *h*, as in *vibhūtayē*, l. 15. The loop of *r* is triangular, but occasionally its tail is not carved, e.g. in *upakārāya*, l. 15. *ś* is sometimes devoid of the slanting stroke below, as in *ghaṇṭēśvara*, l. 13; and the dental sibilant appears often without the tail of its left limb, so as to resemble *m*, for example in *śikhinā*, l. 2.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of *Maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ* in the end, it is all composed in verse. **Orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as to be found in the contemporary records, e.g. (1) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* as well, cf. *vabhūva*, l. 1; (2) mostly putting the dental sibilant for the palatal, as in *dēsa*, l. 8; (3) use of the palatal for the dental sibilant, of which there are perhaps only two examples, viz., *vinīśruta*, l. 4 and *sahaśra*, l. 22; (4) the general use of *anusvāra* at the end of a second or fourth foot of a stanza, which is wrong; (5) wrong use of the *sandhis*, and occasionally not observing the same even when necessary, for example in *kṛishṇa-sarp-ābhijāyantē*, l. 26 and *niḥkaṇṭakam*, l. 3, respectively. The record contains a number of grammatical and other errors, e.g., the word *parākrama* is used in neuter in l. 9, *gururanujñātaḥ* is put for *guruṇā* (or *gurubhiḥ*) *anujñātaḥ*, l. 11, *rājabhiḥ* is written as *rājānaiḥ*, l. 21, and *yōdhān* is spelt as *yōdhām*, l. 5. Wrong versification is also to be frequently found. All these and the other blemishes are pointed out in the text or foot-notes appended to it.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Jasōrāja (Yaśōrāja), of a village of the name of Viluhaja (?) along with a plot of land consisting of one hundred measures (*bhūmēḥ śataṁ*) with its boundaries specified, in the village of Ghaṇṭāpallī, for the worship of Ghaṇṭēśvara-dēva, enshrined in a temple standing on the confluence of Manā (with the Narmadā) and locally known as of *Dakṣiṇa-mūrti* Maṇēśvara (ll. 12-14). The recipient of the grant was a Śaiva ascetic of the name of Dinakara, who is said to have been the incarnate Śaṅkara, and the donor **Jasōrāja** (Yaśōrāja), who was a son of Sūrāditya (Śūrāditya?) and born in the lineage of the Śraṇabhadrās, was then enjoining maintenance in *Saṅgamakhēṭaka-Maṇḍala*, which is obviously the Sāṅkhēḍā region in which the plates were found.

The **date** of the record, which is expressed only in words, is **Monday, the full-moon day of the month of Mārga** i.e., Mārgaśīrṣha) of the **Vikrama Samvat 1103**, which is equivalent to the **17th of November, 1046 A.C.**¹ The writer of the inscription was Sōhika, a son of Kāyastha Aiyala of the Vālabhya family (ll. 26-27), who is stated to have composed it at the request of the king.

To review the contents of the record, the first of the two extant plates begins with the description of a king of the name of **Bhōjadēva** who slew numbers of the soldiers of his enemies by his valour and enjoyed a long reign. This statement is only in general terms and has no historical value. The name of the family of this ruler along with those of his predecessors appears to have been mentioned in the first plate which is lost; but it is not difficult to know that he was no other than the homonymous **Paramāra** king who issued the Mahauḍi and the other charters edited here and whose kingdom included in it the Sābarkāṇṭhā-Ahmedabad region, as we know from his grandfather Sīyaka's grants of the Harsolā plates and from one of his feudatories at Mōḍāsā, which have been dealt with above.²

The inscription then introduces the name of Bhōja's feudatory³ **Sūrāditya**, who had migrated from Kānyakubja (Kanauj) and who had been born in the family of the Śraṇabhadrās. This hero is further stated to have killed his overlord's enemy warriors and thus rendered the sovereignty of the latter firm. One of these enemies against whom he helped Bhōja actively is mentioned

¹ Here the reading is *sōmē sōmasya parvvaṇi* (l. 11). The dictionary meaning of *parvvaṇi* is 'full or new moon day', and thus we have taken into account the full moon day of the month of the year, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*. It is, however, not known, how Diskalkar takes the expression in the sense of *amāvāsya* and calculates this *tithi* to be equivalent to Monday, the 11th November, 1045 A.C. See his *n.* on p. 159, referred to above. In my calculations Dr. Sircar agrees with me. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 196.

² The question why these plates do not contain the relief of Garuḍa, as the other grants of the Paramāras, need not at all arise here, as Diskalkar has raised and answered, for it is not a Paramāra grant but was issued by one of the feudatories of the house, as the Mōḍāsā and the Kālvaṇ grants (Nos. 8 & 16).

³ Cf. *tat-pāda-kamala-dhyātaḥ* (l. 3).



to be Sāhavāhana and as a reward he was enjoying the grant of the feudatory rulership over *saṃgama-khēṭaka-Maṇḍala* which was continued in favour of his son Jasōrāja.

For want of sufficient data it is not possible to be sure about this opponent of Bhōjadēva, though Diskalkar, in his note referred to above, would have us believe that Sāhavāhana no doubt stands for the word Chāhamāna, as the change of *sa* to *cha* and *va* to *ma* is common.¹ Maintaining that the Chāhamānas of Nāḍōl were hereditary enemies of the Paramāras, and enumerating, among others, the instance of the Chāhamāna Aṇahilla who killed Bhōja's general Sāḍha, the same scholar holds that Bhōja might have waged a war with the Chāhamāna king and defeated him with the help of Śūrāditya of our inscription. But it is difficult to agree with him; for, besides the fact that there is nothing to support Bhōja's invasion of Alhaṇa's kingdom after Sāḍha was killed, we find no philological connection between the two words Sāhavāhana and Chāhamāna, as suggested by him. The suggestion of the use of *vāhana* for *māna* can hardly be justified. However, it may not be impossible that the word Sāhavāhana, which appears to be the same as Sātavāhana² may have been used by the composer of the inscription in its general significance to denote the southerners; and this at once brings to our mind the Western Chālukyas who were then ruling over the Deccan as successors of the Sātavāhanas and who are known to have been the hereditary enemies of the Paramāras. Following this line of thought it is not impossible to hold that this allusion may have a reference to Bhōja's war with the Chālukya Jayasīṃha, who is represented in one of his inscriptions as "the moon of the lotus which was king Bhōja"³, or it may refer to Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa as referred to in his Bēṭmā and Bāṇswāḍā grants, as seen above. But owing to the absence of any reliable source of information, the precise significance of the term Sāhavāhana cannot be definitely known. It is, however, certain that Bhōja succeeded in extending the southern boundaries of his kingdom.

The other enemies who are not mentioned in the inscription by name against whom Śūrāditya is stated to have helped Bhōja in his wars may have been the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt and Lāṭa, and the Chāhamānas of Nāḍōl and Śākambharī and such others with whom the latter was engaged in long-drawn contests.

From the inscription we also know that Śūrāditya belonged to the family of the Śravaṇabhadrās and was a native of Kānyakubja. The Gaonrī grant of Vākpati Muñja mentions two Brāhmaṇa donees (No. 6, ll. 28 and 39) hailing from this locality which may have been in Uttar Pradesh, as the present grant establishes some relation between the Śravaṇabhadrās and that region. It is also likely that like the Brāhmaṇa donees just referred to, Śūrāditya may have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family⁴ hailing from Kānyakubja and settled in Gujarāt, like many others doing the same from the age of the Pratīhāras of Kanauj who were sovereign lords of Gujarāt for some time.⁵

It is also stated in the record in ll. 8-9 that at the time when the grant was made, Śūrāditya's father Jasōrāja (Yaśōrāja) had retired and was leading a religious life on the banks of the Narmadā in the Sāṅkhēḍā *tālukā*, probably at Tilakwāḍā itself. This account is followed by the details of the grant, as stated above. Then there are six of the customary imprecatory verses, which are followed by one verse giving the name of the composer and some other details about him, and another, with a request to excuse him for the mistakes that may have occurred in the composition; and finally, with the usual expression *maṃgalaṃ mahā-śrīḥ* the inscription is brought to an end.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, some of them have already been identified above. Thus **Kānyakubja** (l. 3) is Kanauj, **Saṃgamakhēṭaka** (l. 7) is Sāṅkhēḍā and **Manā** (l. 12) is the modern Māna, a small stream which flows into the Narmadā. **Ghaṇṭāpalli** (l. 13) is identified by Kudalkar with the modern village of Ghaṇṭōlī, which is a station on the Gayakwad's Motipura-Tankhātā railway line. He also informed us (in 1919 when he wrote) that the remains of the temple known as Ghaṇṭēśvara are still (were then) to be seen there. The gift village **Viluhaja** suggests its identification with Velpur, which is about 3 kms. from Ghaṇṭōlī. About **Śravaṇabhadrā**, we have said enough in the foregoing paragraphs.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 159.

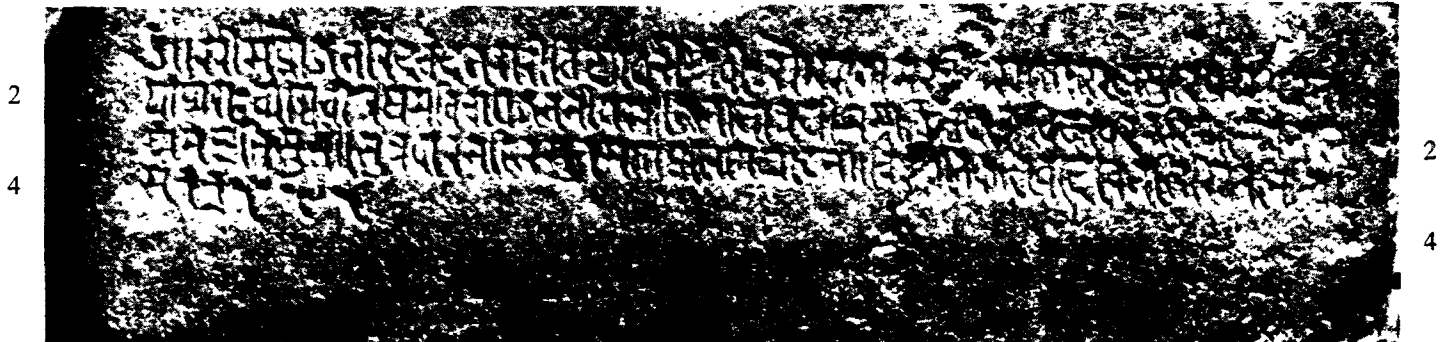
² It is also possible that the second letter of this word was intended to be *ta* but the writer or the engraver may have written or cut it as *ha*.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17. For details see *E.H.D.*, pp. 141-42.

⁴ This appears to be only probable. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 159 where he is shown to be a Kshatriya.

⁵ See Wāḍhwan plates of the time of Mahipāla, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 183 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 1.

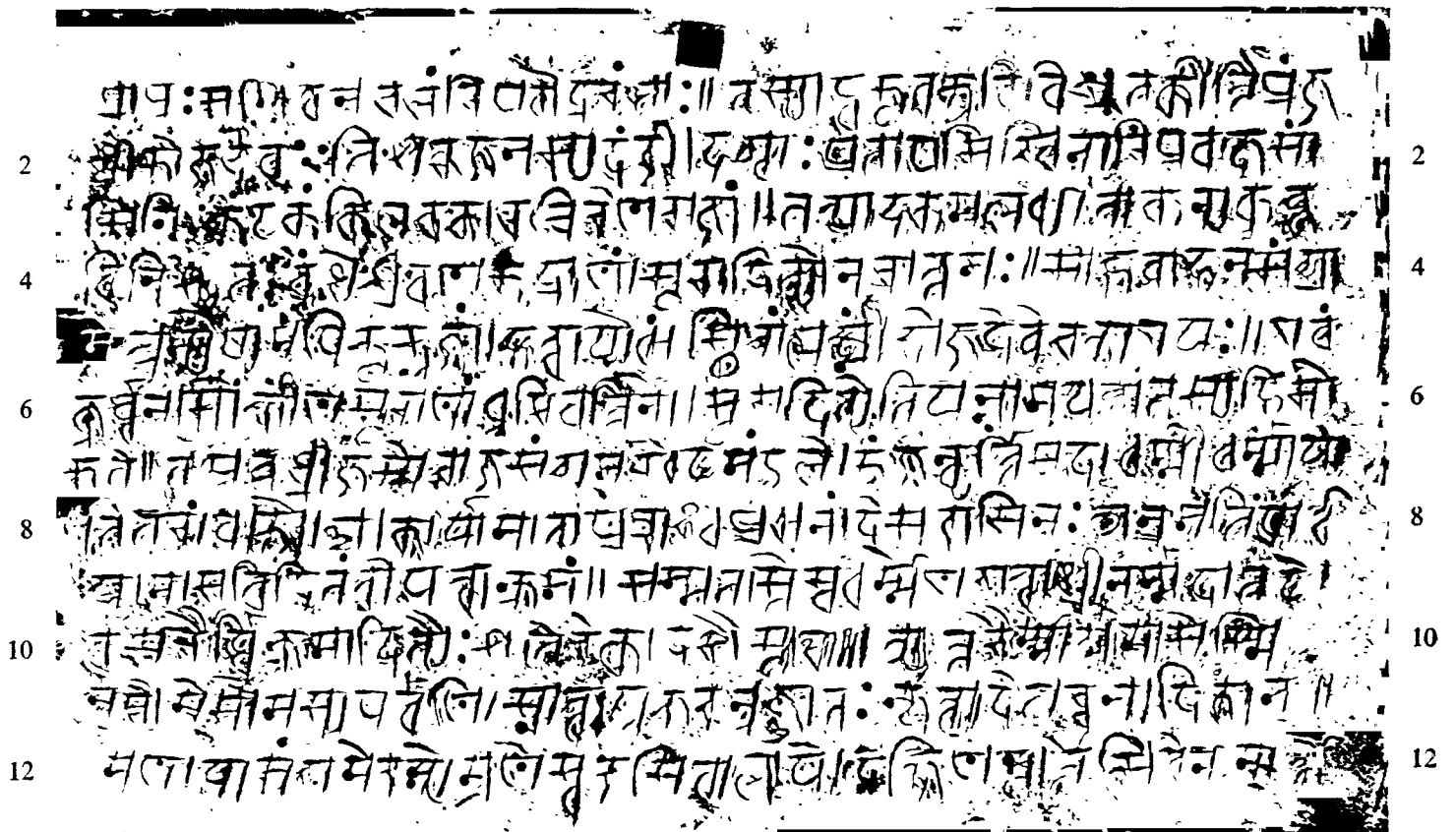
A— BRITISH MUSEUM SARASWATĪ IMAGE INSCRIPTION
OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1091



From Photograph

B— TILAKWĀḌĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE
TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1103

i (a)



From Facsimiles

TEXT¹[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 2 *Indravarjṛā* ; vv. 3-14, 16-21 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 15 *Śālīnī*].

First Plate (extant) ; First Side

- 1 प्रापुः सखित्वन(म)चलं रिपवो दुरंताः ॥ [१॥*] तस्माद्द्व(द्व)भूव भुवि विश्रुतकीर्त्तिपुंज[:*]
- 2 श्रीभोजदेव इति शक्र(तु)जनस्य दंडी²। दग्धाः प्रताप[सि(शि)]खिना रिपुवक्षसां³-
- 3 सि निःकं(निष्कं)टकं किल चकार चिरेण राज्यं(ज्यम्) ॥ [२॥*] तत्पादकमलध्याता क(का)न्यकुब्ज(ब्ज)-
- 4 विनिश्रु(निःसृ)तः [१*] वंशे श्रवणभद्राणां सूर्यादित्यो⁴ न[रो]त्तमः ॥ [३॥*] साहवाहनसंग्रा[म]-
- 5 (मे) अ⁵न्येषामपि भूभुजां(जाम्)। हत्वा योधां(धान्) स्थिरां लक्ष्मीं भोजदेवे चकार यः ॥ [४॥*] एवं
- 6 कु[र्व]न(न्न)सौ क्षीणसूराणां⁶ धु[रि]र्वर्त्तिना। सूर्यादित्येति यन्नाम यथा[?] तस्य हि सो(शो)-
- 7 भते ॥ [५॥*] तत्पुत्र[:*] श्रीजसोराज[:*] संगमखेटमंडले⁷। भुंजन्वृत्ति सदा धर्म्मी धर्म्माय[ः]-
- 8 तितरां व(ब)भौ ॥ [६॥*] आकार्यामात्यपुत्रांश्च⁸ प्रधानां(नान्) देस(श)वासिनः [१*] अनुमतिं प्रार्थ-
- 9 यामास⁹ विदितं वो प[रा]क्रमं⁹ ॥ [७॥*] सम्मतस्तै[:*] स्वधर्म्मेण गत्वा श्रीनर्म्मदातटे।
- 10 वस(त्स)रै¹⁰व्वक्रमादित्यैः शतैरेकादशैस्तथा ॥ [८॥*] व्युत्तरैर्म्मार्गमासेस्मि-
- 11 न् सोमे सोमस्य पर्वणि। स्नात्वा गुरुभिरनुज्ञातः¹¹ कृत्वा देवच्च(वाच्च)नादिकान् ॥ [९॥*]
- 12 मणाया[:*] संगमे रम्ये मणस्व(श्व)रसि(शि)वाल[ये]। दक्षिणमूर्त्तिसि(शि)वेन⁷ मार्ग-

First Plate ; Second Side

- 13 णोदकपूर्वकं(कम्) ॥ [१०॥*] श्रीघटेश्वरदेवाय ग्रामं विलुह(जं?)ददौ। घंटा-
- 14 पल्यां तथा ग्रामे शतं भूमेः सुसो(शो)भनं(नम्) ॥ [११॥*] चतुराघाटनोपेतं दा-
- 15 नमेतद(द्)दौ स्थिरं(रम्)। उपका[र]ाय सर्व्वेषामक्षयाय विभूतये ॥ [१२॥*] उ-
- 16 दकग्राहकः तत्र¹² महाव्रतधरो मुनि[:*]। दिनकरो नाम यः साक्षा⁷-
- 17 त्कपालीव सं(शं)करः⁷ ॥ [१३॥*] एतद(द्)त्तं मया दान(नं) पालनीयं नरोत्तमैः [१*]
- 18 सि(शि)वस्य धर्म्ममिच्छद्भिः कल्याणमिह जन्मनि ॥ [१४॥*] सामान्योयं
- 19 धर्म्मसेतुः नृपाणा(णां)¹³ काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः। सर्व्वा-
- 20 नेतान्भाविन[:*] पार्थिवेन्द्रान्¹⁴ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [१५॥*]
- 21 व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजानैः¹⁵ सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य
- 22 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥ [१६॥*] (ष)ष्टिः¹⁶ वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि

Second Plate

- 23 स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भूमिदः। आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत(त्)। [१७॥*]
- 24 स्वर्णमेक(कं) गवामेकां भूमेरप्येकम(मं)गुल(लम्)। हरन्नरकमायाति

¹ From photographs and impressions. The plates are numbered here as they were found.

² It is an epithet of Yama, and here it means inflicting torture on his enemies.

³ Read वक्षसि, but it would not suit the metre. The first word of this quarter may better be restored to दग्धा.

⁴ Kudalkar : सूर्यादित्य ; but the medial vowel attached to the first *akshara* of this name is long, as to be used in some other instances in this inscription, e.g. in l. 6, below.

⁵ This vowel ought to have been dropped, as required by the rules of *sandhi*, but it would not suit the metre.

⁶ What is probably intended is क्षीणसूराणां, in the sense of 'one who destroyed his enemies' ; and accordingly, the name of the hero appears to be सूर्यादित्य, i.e. shining like the Sun amongst the brave.

⁷ This *pāda* offends against the metre.

⁸ Probably अमात्यं or अमात्यान् and (स्वीयान्) पुत्रान् is intended and not 'sons of (his) ministers', as Kudalkar translates on p. 324. च is misplaced.

⁹ Read विदितो वः पराक्रमः.

¹⁰ This letter, if amended to वै, would remove the difficulty of the wrong use of the plural number here.

¹¹ Restore to गुरुभिरनुज्ञातः, but this would offend against the metre.

¹² Read -ग्राहकस्तत्र.

¹³ Read धर्म्मसेतु नृपाणां.

¹⁴ Thus punctuation mark is redundant.

¹⁵ Read राजभिः.

¹⁶ Read षष्टिवर्ष or षष्टि वर्ष or षष्टिवर्ष.

- 25 यावदा[भू]तसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥[१८॥*] विध्याटवीप्वतोयासु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासि-
 26 नः [१*] कृष्णसर्पा[भि]जायन्ते [भू]मिहर्ता नराश्च ये ॥[१९॥*] वालभ्यान्वय-
 27 संभूतकायस्थ^२ ऐयलात्मजः [१*] सा(शा)सनं सोहिको^३ नाम राजा[भ्य]र्थ-
 28 [न*]याकरोत् ॥[२०॥*] ऊनातिरिक्तमज्ञानाल्लिखितं सा(शा)सनेत्र यत् । प्रमाण-
 29 मेव कर्तव्यं संतः सर्वसहायतः^४ ॥ [२१॥*] मंगलं(लम्) [१*] महाश्रीः ॥

No. 16 ; PLATES XVIII & XIX-A

KĀLVAN PLATE-INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA

(Undated)

THE plates bearing this inscription were found near **Kālvan** in the north-west part of the Nasik District of the Bombay State, some time in the first quarter of the present century, and the record was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1921-22, pages 118-19. It was edited by the late R. D. Banerji, then the Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Survey, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XIX (for 1927-28), pp. 69 ff., with his reading of the text thereof, in Roman characters (pp. 71-73), translation (pp. 73-75) and facsimiles (Plate No. 8) between pages 72-73. The story of the discovery of the plates is interesting and is quoted here in Banerji's own words:

"It (the record) was brought to the notice of Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I.C.S., then Collector of the Nāsik District, by Mr. Gajanan Gopal Joshi, a teacher at a school at Kālvan, who also read portions of the inscription. In the first instance, only the first two plates were recovered from a Bhīl, but on a reward being announced the third plate was also found at the same place. The plates were purchased for the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, through Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I.C.S., who spared no pains to obtain them for that institution."⁵

The inscription is edited here from inked impressions supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist.

It is a set of **three plates** of copper, each measuring 25.40 cms. by 14.60 cms., with their edges fashioned somewhat thicker than the inscribed surface, to protect the writing, which is in a fair state of preservation. A few letters here and there are slightly damaged by rust, but it is possible to restore them. The interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. In the middle of the lower part of the first plate and the upper part of the rest two there is a hole of the diameter of about 1 cm., for a ring to hold them together ; but the ring, with any seal that may have been attached to it, is not now forthcoming. The **weight** of the plates is not known.

The first and the third plate are inscribed on the inner side only and the second on both the sides. The writing on each side covers a space of 23.5 cms. broad and 12.5 cms. high. The **size** of the letters varies from .5 to 1 cm.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī of the eleventh century and bear a general resemblance to those of the Bāṇswādā and Bēṭmā plates, dealt with above, making it probable that the inscription is of about the same time. But the technical process is rather crude and slovenliness is frequently apparent. The inscription teems with errors of engraving ; strokes or limbs of letters

¹ Read कृष्णसर्पा अभिजायन्ते. Sandhi is wrongly observed here for metrical exigencies. Also read भूमिहर्तारः in the last *pāda*.

² This letter should be long. The word वालभ्य appears to be connected with वलभी. It may also be interesting to note that the sign for *bh* used here varies from that of the same letter in the name of the composer in the following line. For the two forms of this letter, see my remarks above in the palaeographical section of this article.

³ To be restored to शोभिक (?).

⁴ The last quarter of this verse is merely a *pāda-pūrti*. The construction too is wrong.

⁵ *Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 69.

have been omitted and the arbitrary touch of the chisel has transformed the shapes of some of the letters beyond recognition. For example, in l. 3 the word *śatru* has been engraved as *śatta*, by wrong chisel strokes; in line 5 *sindhu* appears as *sēndhu* by omitting the vertical before *sa*; in l. 14 *scha* has become *sya*; and in l. 26 *vishaya* is carved as *vishasa* by marking a tail to the forelimb of the third letter. There are several such blemishes, which, along with the errors of grammar and composition, *e.g.*, wrong case-endings and verbal derivations, false genders and want of concordance, make the task of restoring the text somewhat difficult. At two or three points the reading is uncertain, of major importance being the one of the name that follows *nagara* in l. 7; it is also damaged.

To note the palaeographical features, the initial *a* and the consonant *j* are almost modern in form, *cf.* *Amma*-, ll. 9 and 10 and *viṣṭa*-, l. 4; the initial *ē* is triangular in shape, with the vertical point below, see *ēvaṃ*, ll. 19 and 23; *k* occasionally appears in ligature, *e.g.* in *kakadāḥ*, l. 19; the end of *ḍ* is not bent upwards and thus this letter resembles *r*, as in the same instance; *th* is formed of two loops, the upper one left open and the lower one resembling *v*, *cf.* *hathā-vāḍa*, l. 18; and *ch*, *dh* and *v* are almost alike in form, *cf.* *Chēdyādhipa*, l. 6 and *dhaivalita*, l. 7. The only peculiarity in the formation of *dh* is that it is devoid of the top-stroke. The verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined by a horizontal bar, as in *dhārāyāṃ*, l. 1. *Chh* and *th* in their subscript form are alike, *e.g.* in *chchhatraṃ* l. 35 and *susthaṃ*, l. 42. *P* is often confounded with *y*, see *alpaṃ*, l. 40, which is engraved as *alyaṃ*. Two forms of *r* are noticed; the one in which the letter is shown by a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle on the left, and the other in which the vertical is slightly bent to the right in its lowest extremity, both the forms to be seen side by side in *sāgara-taraṃga*, l. 13.

The **language** of the text is barbarous Sanskrit; and excepting the eight customary imprecatory verses in the end, it is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the points that call for notice are: (1) *v* does the duty for *b* throughout, as in *vala* (for *bala*), l. 5; (2) frequently putting the dental for the palatal sibilant even in common words like *yaśa(s)* (used as *yasa* five times in the record) in ll. 2, 4, 7, 8 and 14, *subha*, l. 11, *disā*, l. 18, *saṃkha*, l. 35 and *śasi*, l. 39; and *sahasra* spelt as *sahaśra* all the three times when it occurs in the record in ll. 8, 33 and 37; (3) reduplication of a consonant following *r*, as in *nṛddārīta* and *vargga*, both in l. 6; (4) a confusion between the medial *ṛi* and *r*; see *truṃśat* for *triṃśat*, l. 22, *riṣhīṇām* for *riṣhīṇām*, l. 26 and *truvidha* for *triuidha*, l. 32; (5) no distinction between the use of *mātrās* between before and above a letter. It may also be noted here that the *ā-mātrā* of *haṭṭās-* in l. 23 is engraved as a crescent following the top-stroke; (6) the general tendency to put *anusvāra* for the final *m* at the end of a sentence and a hemistich; and (7) violation in observing rules of *sandhi* for which see *śrī-Ammadēva*, l. 10 and in instances in v. 6 which is full of errors. Grammatical errors are throughout common, *e.g.*, *amvūṃ* for *ambu*, l. 15, *chaturdaśaṃ* for *chaturdaśa*, l. 23, *jāyati* for *jāyatē*, l. 41 and *rājābhīḥ* for *rājabhiḥ*, l. 43. Elements of Prakrit are also to be found occasionally, *e.g.* *paṃvāra*, l. 1, *paṃchavīṃsa*, l. 20, *tailaghāṇaka* and *puḥṭa*, both in l. 22, *jinālaḥ*, l. 25 and *jōgasvara*, l. 44.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the presentation of certain pieces of land, oil-mills, shops for merchants and 14 *drammas* to the Tīrthaṅkara Muni-Suvratadēva in the sacred and illustrious *tīrtha* of Kalakalēśvara, by the *Sāmanta*, the illustrious *Rāṇaka* Amma who “was the mark on the forehead of the Gaṅga family” (ll. 8 ff.). This donation is stated to have been made, as expressed in words only, in ll. 12-13, on the **amāvāsyā of Chaitra, on the occasion of a solar eclipse**. But this statement does not serve any purpose as the year is not mentioned. It is not known how in the *List of Inscr. of N.I.*, No. 2085, the corresponding Christian date is given as 17th March, 1048 A.C.

After the introductory blessing, *svasti*, the inscription furnishes the genealogy of the **Pravāmra** (Paramāra) rulers (of Mālwa), naming **Siyakadēva**, his successor **Vākpatirājadēva**, his successor **Sindhurājadēva** and his successor **Bhōjadēva**, all in general terms and supplying the only historical information that Vākpatirājadēva was a poet of high rank (l. 3) and also that Bhōjadēva had vanquished the rulers of Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Gūrjjara, Chēdi and Kōṅkaṇa (l. 6). Bhōja's success over the Karṇāṭakas obviously refers to the long-drawn war which began from the time of Vākpati-Muṇja and Tailapa. Tailapa was succeeded by Satyāśraya (997-1008 A.C.), Vikramāditya V (1008-1018 A.C.) and Jayasīṃha II (1018-1040 A.C.); and one of the Chālukya inscriptions which is dated 941 Śaka, *i.e.*, 1019-20 A.C., styles Jayasīṃha “the moon to the lotus

which was king Bhōja," and also states that he "put to flight the confederacy of Mālwā."¹ From this it is evident that Bhōja was the aggressor, and this is confirmed by Mērutuṅga who in his *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* informs us that when Bhōja was planning to attack Gujarāt, he was, by a drama, reminded of the end of Muñja and invaded the Chālukya kingdom.² In this attack he was ultimately defeated, as we know from the Chālukya inscription, but may have gained some initial success, which seems to be referred to in the inscription under study.

Bhōja's contemporaries on the Chaulukya throne of Gujarāt were Chāmuṇḍarāja (995-1009 A.C.), his son Durlabharāja (1009-1022 A.C.) and the latter's son Bhīma (1022-64 A.C.). It is well known that Bhōja had humiliated Chāmuṇḍarāja to give up his royal robes while passing through Mālwā to Vārāṇasī and the latter's son Durlabharāja maintained a hostile attitude towards him. Most probably it is this incident that is referred to in the present record. We also know that Bhīma later on invaded Mālwā, in confederacy with the Kalachuri Karṇa; but this happened in the last days of Bhōja and it cannot find place in the present inscription, particularly when Bhōja's kingdom had to suffer a reverse. What we have concluded here can be reconciled with the writings of Mērutuṅga, who tells us that while Bhīma was engaged in the conquest of Sindh, Bhōja sent an army against Anhilwād and the town was taken³. Hēmachandra's silence over the defeat of the Gurjaras is quite natural as he was a court-poet of the Gurjara throne.

As to the defeat of the Chēdis by Bhōja, we have no definite evidence except that the Kalachuri Yuvarāja II was vanquished by Vākpati-Muñja some time in the last quarter of the tenth century; and this feud may have again broken up as it is also referred to in the Udaipur *praśasti*. But this description is merely poetic and the incident can hardly have reference to the Chaulukya-Kalachuri confederacy for the reason stated above.

We know that Lāṭa or Southern Gujarāt had suffered a reverse at the hands of Sīyaka, Vākpati II and Sindhurāja. Bhōja's contemporary on the throne of Lāṭa was Kīrttirāja (1018 A.C.), grandson of Bārappā. We have no definite evidence in support of the statement, but it is not improbable that in his western expedition Bhōja may have come into a clash with Kīrttirāja's army, though it was not a regular contest so as to leave any permanent effect.

The inscription also refers to Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa, which is evidently the same as referred to in the Bēṭmā and Bāṅswādā copper-plate grants of V.S. 1076 or 1020 A.C., which is almost the time of Jayasīṃha Chālukya's inscription referred to above. It would thus appear that Bhōja's struggle with all his enemies mentioned in the present record has reference to his warfare effected during the time between the Bēṭmā and Bāṅswādā grants and that of Jayasīṃha at whose hands he had to suffer a reverse. At any rate, it may be taken to have been much before Bhōja's last days when he had to suffer a reverse at the hands of most of his enemies. Incidentally it may also be noted here that Bhōja's warfare with all these enemies and some others is also mentioned in the Udaipur *praśasti*, edited below.

Editing this inscription in the *Ep. Ind.*, Banerji observes that "the very fact that an ordinary feudatory chief dares to make a grant of land without referring the matter to his sovereign shows that the power of the Paramāras of Mālwā had weakened considerably at the time of the issue of the grant".⁴ But are we to follow the same line of thought and conclude that the Paramāra power was on its wane in about 1011 A.C. and also in 1046 A.C. when the Mōḍāsā and the Tilakwādā grants were respectively issued by the others of his feudatories? Both these inscriptions too do not contain a word about the imperial king. On the other hand, if Bhōja's conquest of Kōṅkaṇa is to be placed some time between 1018 and 1020 A.C., the former being the year of his Mahauḍī grant which does not mention this achievement and the latter of those found at Bēṭmā and Bāṅswādā which are explicit on the point, it is obvious that his power was then rather increasing; and knowing from history that he had to suffer only towards the end of his rule in the combined attack on his kingdom by the Chaulukyas and the Kalachuris and some time before, at the hands of the Chālukyas, it is difficult to agree with Banerji in his conclusion. Thus the present grant appears to have been issued much earlier than the disaster of the Paramāra kingdom which has already been discussed above.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

² *P.C.M.*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 70. Also see *C.G.*, p. 50.

To resume the thread of the contents of the record, ll. 7-8 introduce a ruler of the name of Yaśōvarman, who was enjoying, due to the favour of Bhōja, one half of the town of Sēlluka (?) along with 1,500 villages. The record is silent about the lineage of this prince and his name appears here only to indicate that the grants, the details of which are noted below, were made in his province¹, by *Rāṇaka* Amma, who is stated to have been a *Sāmanta*, but his overlord's name is not mentioned here. Lines 10-12 and 15-17 inform us that *Rāṇaka* Amma, while in the village of Mukṭāpalli in the Audrahādi *Vishaya*, which consisted of eighty-four rent-free villages, having heard *dharmma* and *adharma* from the illustrious Śvētāmbara Ammadēv-āchārya (and) being made to understand by him, by words,² that no other *dharmma* except that of the Jina is capable of providing good results in this world and in the next, made certain grants to the sage, after washing his feet with water poured from a *kamaṇḍalu* by his lawful wife, the queen Chachchāī, who was born in the Chālukya family.

According to ll. 17 ff., three plots of land, having well-defined boundaries, were granted as a permanent endowment to the illustrious *Muni-Suvratadēva*. They are as noted below :—

1. Forty *nivarttanās*³ at Mahishavu(bu)ddhikā, at the holy *tīrtha* of Kalakalēśvara, in the north of Mukṭāpalli, to the north of the village of Māhuḍalā. The plot was bounded by a river (?) in the east, by the uncultivated boundary-land of the village of Hathavāḍa in the south, by the descent in the west and by the hill in the north (ll. 17-19).

2. Twenty-five *nivarttanās* on both the sides of the precipitous hill on the north (*kumārikā-stana-dōṅgara*)⁴ which had been previously donated by Kakkapairāja (ll. 17-19).

3. Thirty-five *nivarttanās* in the vicinity of the town of Saṅgāma, beginning from the town of Baka-aigala and others (ll. 21-22).

In addition to these pieces of land, certain other objects of gift are also mentioned. They are two *nivarttanās* of land for flower gardens, fourteen shops of merchants (*vaṇik-haṭṭa*) and fourteen *drammas*, to defray the expenses of worship (*pūjā*), sprinkling (*abhishēka*), offering of eatables (*naivēdya*), *Chaitra-pavitṛaka* (festivals) and clothing of the Jaina monks (*āchchhādanēshu*). All these donations were made to *muni-Suvrata* in the Jaina temple situated in Mukṭāpalli, which too was repaired (ll. 22-26). We are further informed that this order was passed in the presence of royal officials at that locality, *viz.*, *Dēsilaka*, *Grāmaṭaka*, *Gōkulika*, *Chaurika*, *Śaulkika*, *Daṇḍapāsika*, *Prātirājyika*, *Mahattama*, householders, and some others (ll. 27-28).

This account is followed by a prose portion stating that it is a royal command that the grant is perpetual (ll. 29-31), and then in ll. 32-44 are quoted eight customary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, all numbered and ascribed to Vyāsa (*uktaṁ cha bhagavatā Vyāsēna*). In the end we are told that the inscription was composed by the minister of Peace and War, the illustrious Jōgasvara (Yōgēśvara) of the twice-born race (ll. 44-45).

The inscription is important as it indicates that Bhōja's kingdom included in it the region around Nāsik and also for the reason that it is sectarian, belonging to the Śvētāmbara sect, as a very few Jaina grants are so far known.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Dhārā** (l. 1) and **Karṇāṭa**, **Lāṭa**, **Chēdi** and **Koṅkaṇa** (l. 6) are all well known. **Kalakalēśvara** *tīrtha* (l. 12) has already been identified by Banerji with the place which is about 16 kms. west of Kālvaṇ where the temple of Śiva exists. Of the rest of the names, some have been identified by D.B. Diskalkar, *e.g.*, **Selhuka** (l. 7) with the modern Satane, near Kālvaṇ : **Mukṭāpalli** (ll. 8 and 17) with Mohadi in

¹ The text here uses the word *vishaya* twice, in l. 8 (*tasmin vishayē*) and again in l. 9 (*Audrahadi vishayē*). From the language used it is not known if the latter has to be taken here as signifying a smaller territorial unit (*upa-vishaya*).

² In ll. 10-11 the reading is *prabōdhita-chihēna*, which, as it appears to me, has to be restored to *-chittēna*, *i.e.*, whose mind has been awakened or enlightened. Banerji's reading is *-chihnēna*, and he translates the expression as 'by words as well as by signs.' (*op. cit.*, p. 74); but while printing the article in the *Ep. Ind.* the editor remarks that '*chittēna* would be more likely' (p. 72, n. 4). As far as I think, the vertical of the sixth letter *tt* is broken in two parts and wrong combination thereof makes it appear as *hē*, as actually read by Banerji.

³ The dictionary meaning of *nivarttana* is 20 rods and one rod is equal to 6 feet, 7½ inches, *i.e.*, about 2.44 metres. See S. K. Maity, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, p. 36. Also see No. 11 above. The measure intended here, however, appears to be of 40 *daṇḍas* on either side, *i.e.*, 1,600 square *daṇḍas*, as we find in the Abhonā plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, coming from the same *tāluka* of Kālvaṇ in which the present plates were discovered. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 43, n. 6.

⁴ It is not known to me if the name used here has been sanskritised or has to be taken in its figurative meaning.

the Dindori *tāluk* ; **Mahishabuddhikā** (l. 12) with Mahasarula near Nāsik ; Hathāvād (l. 18) with Halasagaḍh ; and finally, **Samgamanagara** (l. 21) with Sungane, capital of a petty Bhīl State on the border of the Nāsik and Sūrāt Districts.¹ In this respect Dr. D. C. Ganguly observed that “none of these equations seems satisfactory”:² but he did not show any reason for this remark. I, however, agree with Diskalkar in proposing these identifications, in view of the fact that all these places are situated in the same locality. The remaining two places, *viz.* **Audrahādi-vishaya** and **Vakaigala-nagara**, I am unable to identify.

TEXT³

[Metres : Vv. 1-5 and 8 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 6 *Sragdharā* ; v. 7 *Upajāti*].

First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीमां⁴ धारायां मेरुमहागिरितुंगशृंगोपमे प्रवांरान्वये⁵ अनेकसमरसंघट्ट[सा]⁶-
- 2 धितशत्रुपक्षविस्तृतयस(शो)धवलितदिगंतरालः⁷ श्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातः सर[स्व]-
- 3 तीमुखतिलकभूतः कृतकाव्यमुक्तसायकधूर्मा(र्णा)यितसि(शि)रःकविजनशत(तु)पक्ष-
- 4 श्री⁸वाक्पतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातः अनेकमहाहवविजितारिजनप्रथितयस(शो)निर्मली-
- 5 कृतसकलधराधराजलक्ष्मीमा श्रीसे(सि)धुराजदेवपादानुध्यातः महाव(व)लप्रचंडरि-
- 6 पुपक्षनिर्द्वारितकर्णाटलाटगूर्जरचेद्या⁹धिपकौकणस(श)प्रभृतिरिपुवर्गनिर्द्वारित-
- 7 जनितत्वासयस(शो)धवलितभुवनत्रयः श्रीभोजदेवप्रसादावाप्तनगरसे[ल्लुकाट्ट]¹⁰-
- 8 सार्द्धसहस्र(स्र)ग्रामाणां भोक्तारः¹¹ श्रीयसो(शो)वर्मः(र्मा) । तस्मिन्विषये मुक्ता[प]ल्यां चतुरासी(शी)-
- 9 तिमान्यकपट्टाउ¹²द्रहादिविषये सामंतो गंगकुलतिलकभूतः(त)-श्रीअ[म्म]रा-
- 10 णकेन ।¹³ स्वे(श्वे)तांव(व)रश्रीअम्मदेवाचार्यमुखाख्यातधर्माधर्मागमवाक्यप्रवो(वो)धित-
- 11 चिहे(त्ते)न मुक्त्वा जिनधर्ममन्ये धर्मा इह परलोके¹⁴ सु(शु)भफलदा न इति विचिं-

Second Plate; First Side

- 2 [त्य] जातमनसा महिषवु(बु)द्धिकायां ।¹⁵ श्रीकलकलेस्व(श्व)रे पुण्यती[र्थे] चै-
- 13 त्रमासामावास्या[य।*] सूर्यग्रहणे¹⁶ सागरतरंगचंचलजीवलोकच्छा-
- 14 यासमा लक्ष्मीः¹⁷ फेनोपमं जीवितमवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनस्य(श्च) पुण्ययस(श)[ः ?]-

¹ *Journ., Ind. Hist.*, Vol. II, Pt. III, p. 326.

² *H.P.D.*, p. 87.

³ From a set of estampages supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

⁴ R. D. Banerji corrected this word to श्रीमान्, taking it to be an adjective of यशोवर्मः(र्मा) in l. 8 below, while N. P. Chakravarti remarks that we should expect श्रीमत्यां, as this word goes with धारायां (*Epi. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 71, n. 1). I agree with Chakravarti as the adjective is just before the name of the place.

⁵ The correct form is परमारान्वये.

⁶ After ट्ट, a letter which was originally engraved has totally disappeared, leaving some traces and a clear *anusvāra* above. The context shows that probably सं was put here.

⁷ Banerji proposes to cancel the *visarga* here. But with the *visarga* this word can as well be taken to be an adjective of the word यशोवर्मः(र्मा) in l. 8, below. See n. 4 above. व in धवलित shows a redundant additional stroke to make it appear as वा.

⁸ This letter shows a combination of both the palatal and the dental sibilants. And the horizontal stroke of क् is also used as a part of the following प.

⁹ Read चेट्धिप in the sense of ‘the lord of the Chedis’.

¹⁰ The letters in brackets are damaged and the reading is not certain.

¹¹ Read भोक्ता.

¹² Read औद्रहादि. The second of these letters is damaged and possibly some other letter was engraved originally and later on corrected.

¹³ The *daṇḍa* here denotes a paranthesis, to connect the preceding word राणकेन with दत्ता in l. 17 below. *Sandhi* in श्रीअम्म is not made, as also in same other instances below.

¹⁴ A word like च or वा is required here.

¹⁵ The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

¹⁶ The *mātrā* is clear with some signs of rubbing around.

¹⁷ The sign of *visarga* appears to have been inserted subsequently.

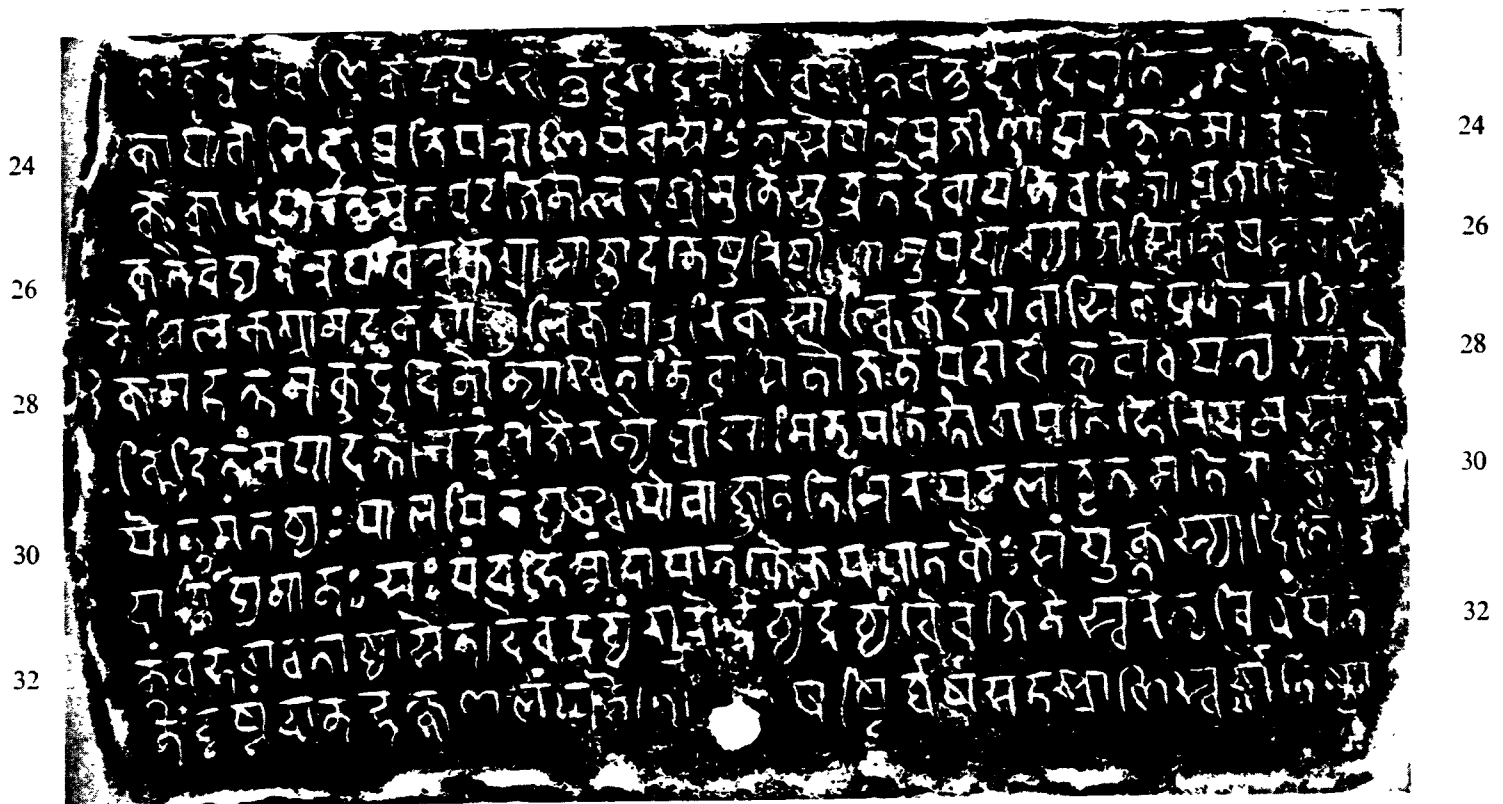
KĀLVAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA:
(UNDATED)

1 सुविद्यो गोपनीयं ज्ञानं कर्म ह्येति त्रिंशत्तमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥
 2 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ २ ॥
 3 त्रीमुखा तिलकद्वयः ॥ ३ ॥
 4 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ ४ ॥
 5 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ ५ ॥
 6 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ ६ ॥
 7 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ ७ ॥
 8 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ ८ ॥
 9 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ ९ ॥
 10 तत्रात्रापि च विष्णुतयस्य दन्तिरपि गन्तव्यं ॥ १० ॥

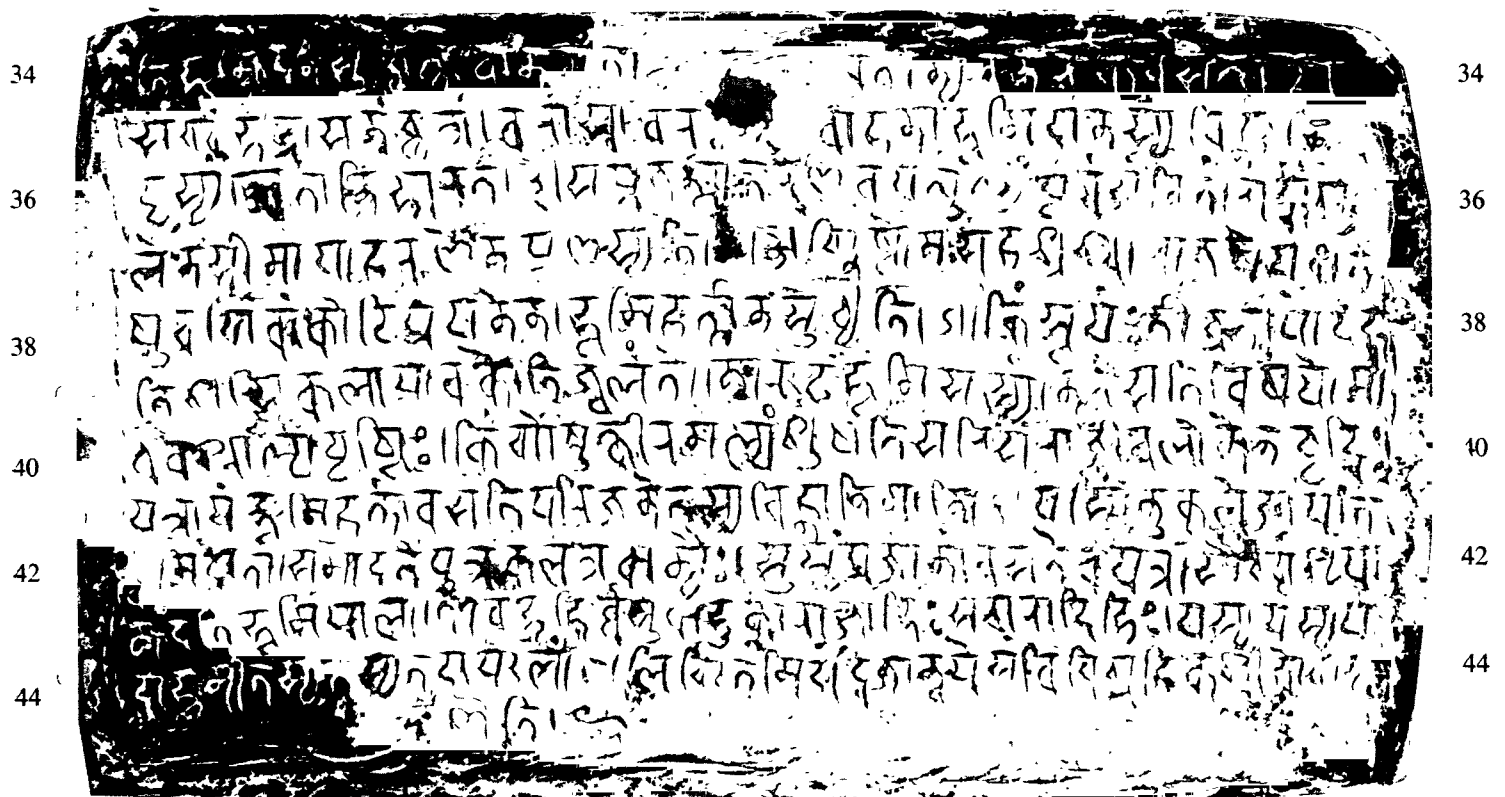
$$ii(a)$$
[illegible]

A — KĀLVAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA:
(UNDATED)

ii (b)



iii



From Facsimiles

B — BHŌJPUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA:
(UNDATED)



Scale: One-thirds

- 15 श्रीवृद्धये सोपवीतेन पाणिना पुण्योत्तमतीर्थे अंबु(बु) गृहीत्वा सुपुण्येन क-
 16 मंडलुना चालुव्या(क्या) न्वयप्रसूतधर्मपत्नीश्रीचच्छाई¹राजीकरगृहीत[निक्षिप्त]-
 17 जलेन पादौ प्रक्षाल्य भूमि[रि]यं दत्ता मुक्तापल्या उत्तरेण माहुडलाग्रामोत्तर-
 18 दिमा(शा)यां भूमी(मि)निवर्त्तनानि चत्वारिंसा(शद)स्य सीमा पूर्व नदी दक्षिणे हथावाडग्रा-
 19 मसीमा ककडः पश्चिमे गत्ता उत्तरे पर्वते(तः)² एवं चतुराघाटविसु(शु)द्धा भूमी(मि)[रि*]यं त-
 20 था कुमारीस्तनडोंगरिकाउभयतटे श्रीकक्कपैराजदत्तभूनिव[³*]त्तनानि [पं]च-
 21 वीस(विंशत्) तथा श्रीवक्कगेलप्रभृतिनगरेण³ संगमनगरसीमापार्श्वे [च]डई-
 22 लीवटे निवत्त(त्तं)नानि पंचत्(त्ति)श[त्*] पुःप(प्प)वाटिकाभूमिनिवर्त्तनद्वयं तैल[घा]-

Second Plate; Second Side

- 23 णकद्वयं वणिक्(क्)हट्टाश्च⁴तुर्दश द्रम्मा एव(वं) शात्र(चात्र) चतुर्दशं(श) ददाति [।*] अट्टालि-
 24 कायां वोलि[कां ?]⁵ प्रतिपत्ताणि पंचास(श)[द्]इत्यसे(शे)षं लुप्तजीर्णोद्धारं कृतं आचंद्रा-
 25 कर्ककालं या[वत्] श्वेतपटजिनालए(ये)⁶ श्रीमुनिसुव्रतदेवाय निव(वे)दिता । पूजाभिषे-
 26 कनैवेद्यचैत्रपवित्रकग्रासाच्छादं(द)नेषु रि(ऋ)षीणामुपयोग्या [।*] अस्मिन्विषस(य)वासी(सि)-
 27 [दे]सिलकग्राम[ट]कगोकुलिकचाउ(चौ)रिकसौ(शौ)लिककदंडा(ड)वा(पा)सि(शि)कप्रातिराज्य-
 28 'कमहत्तमकुटुंबि(बि)नोन्यांश्च तन्निवासिनो जनपदादीन् वो(वो)धयत्य[स्तु] वो
 29 विदितं मया दत्तं(त्तम्) । मद्रंशजैरन्यैर्वर्गागामिन्पतिभोगपतिभिरियमस्मद्वा-
 30 योनुमंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च । यो वाज्ञानतिमिरप[ट]लावृत्तमतिराच्छिद्य[।]-
 31 दाच्छिद्यमानः⁸ सः पंचभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैः संयुक्त[ः*] स्यादिति । उ-
 32 क्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । देवद्रव्यं गुरोर्द्रव्यं द्रव्यं चैव जिनेस्व(श्व)रे [।*] तृ(त्रि)विधं पत-
 33 नं दृष्टं दानभक्षणलंघने । १। षष्टिर्व्व(ष्टि व)र्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठा(ष्ठ)-

Third Plate

- 34 ति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । २।
 35 सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च्छ[त्तं]⁹ वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवाहना[।*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि
 36 दृश्यं(श्य)न्ते तानि भारत । ३। सप्तजन्मांतरेण(णै)व यत्पुण्यं पूर्व्वसंचितं(तम्) । अर्द्धाणि-
 37 लेन सीमाया हरणेन प्रणश्य(श्य)ति । [४]। अग्निष्टोमः(म)सहस्र(स्र)श्च । ९ वाजपेयशत(ते)-

¹ R. D. B. : चच्छाई.

² Above the first three of these letters there are redundant chisel strokes. The word ककड appears to have been put here in the sense of कड्डट.

³ The editor of the inscription translated this expression as 'Vakaaigala and others of the town'; but Barnett has pointed out that *nagara* is a regular term in the south for 'a commercial community'. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 864, n. 2. Also see p. 72, n. 1 of *Ep. Ind., op. cit.*, where it is remarked that Yaśōvarman was a feudatory of Bhōja. In this respect, also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 320, n. 1.

⁴ A sign for superscript र् was originally carved on this letter and subsequently scored as redundant. The *mātrā* of the preceding ट्टा is crescent-shaped.

⁵ The letters are damaged and the reading is uncertain.

⁶ Banerji read *Śvētāpada* and identified it with the northern part of the Nāsik District. But the last *akshara* of the name is definitely *ṭa* as taken here and as also read by D. R. Bhandarkar, to which our attention has been drawn by Prof. V. V. Mirashi in his *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxi, n. 8, and p. 385, n. 4. Here the word means *śvētāmbara* which also appears in 1. 10, above.

⁷ This *akshara* is preceded by what looks like a snake. *Dēsīlaka* used in this expression is perhaps in the sense of *dēsika*, a local officer, or in that of *dēśi* (also found as *dēsi*) which probably means the foreman of a guild, for which see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 195, n. 6. *Grāmāṭaka* is probably used for *grāmakūṭa*, meaning a nobleman (in the village). *Gōkulika* may have been the head of cowherds and *Chaurika*, one in charge of the grazing ground (from *char*). *Śaulkika* and *daṇḍapāśika* are officers in charge of customs and police, respectively, and *prātirājyika* was, as the meaning of the word suggests, an officer of the neighbouring kingdom.

⁸ Better read आच्छिन्दमानं वानुमोदेत.

⁹ The punctuation mark is redundant, as same others below.

- 38 पु च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन (।) भूमिहर्ता न मु(शु)ध्यति ।१। किं सूर्यः^१ तीव्रतापो दह-
 39 ति शसि(शि)कला[.] पावकोतिज्वलते । नो रुढं भूमिमस्य । न वसति विषये ॥ मा-
 40 धवश्चाल्पवृष्टिः । किं गोषु क्षीरम[ल्पं] शृषति सरिसरा(रो) जीवलोकने वृद्धिः
 41 यत्रा[यं] भूमिहर्ता वसति परिजने तस्य चिह्नानि मा(ता)नि ।६। यस्मिन्(न्)कुले जायति^२
 42 भूमिदाता । स मोदते पुत्रकलवधान्यैः । मुस्थं प्रजाना वसते च यत्र सौख्यं शृ(श्रि)या
 43 [नं]दति भूमिपाला(लः) ।७। व(व)दुर्भिव्वमुधा भुक्ता राजाभिः^३ सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य य-
 44 दा भूमी(मिस्)तस्य तस्य तदा फल(नम्) ।८। लिखितमिदं द्विजान्वयेन [मा]न्ध्रविग्रहिकश्रीजोगस्व(गेश्व)-
 45 रेणेति ।

No. 17 ; PLATE XIX-B

BHŌJPUR FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJADĒVA

(Date probably lost ?)

THIS inscription was discovered in 1959-60 by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist, who also edited it, with two others,⁴ in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, p. 185 ff. It is edited here from an inked impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.⁵

The record, which consists only of two lines, is engraved on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara in an old Jaina temple at **Bhōjpur** in the Goharganj *tehsil* of the Raisen District in Madhya Pradesh.⁶ Both of its lines are fragmentary. The first line, which is about 53·40 cms. long, contains letters of about the height of 1·5 cms., while the second, which is only 38 cms. long, shows the letters of a slightly smaller size. While editing the record, Sircar has remarked in a general way that the extant part of the epigraph contains about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the original writing. A fair estimate of its original breadth, however, can be made from the portion lost in the beginning, which consisted of 12 *aksharas* of the first foot of a verse in the *Vasantatilakā* metre and which, to judge from the length of equal number of letters in the line, appears to show the length of about 15 cms., and accordingly, the original length of the whole line was about 68 cms. Calculating in the same way, the second line was, in all probability, about 52 cms. long, originally ; and it is not unreasonable to conclude that this line was engraved not from where the first line starts but in the middle, leaving an almost equal space vacant on either sides.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.C., resembling those of the inscriptions of the time of the Paramāra king Bhōja (c. 1000-1055 A.C.). The letters *t* and *n* are much alike : cf. *-nāmā* and *Nēmi-*, both in l. 2 : *dh* has not developed a horn on its left limb : see *vidadhē*, l. 2 : and due to the carelessness of the engraver, *m* occasionally resembles *s*, e.g., in *-asama-*, l. 1, where both these *aksharas* appear. The language is Sanskrit and the extant portion of the record contains only two verses. The **orthography** calls for no remark except that the *prishtha-mātrās* are used throughout and the sign of *anusvāra* on *ch* in l. 1 is ornamentally treated. The extant portion of the record does not bear any date, as far as I can make out from the impression. If at all engraved, it is lost.

¹ Here the *visarga* is not changed to *s*, as required by the rule ; and this stanza is full of some other errors, e.g., the root *jval* is wrongly used in plural and in the *Ātmanēpada* ; the past participle *rūḍha* is put to denote the present tense ; *sushati* is used in place of *śushyati* ; and its use with the plural *sarisarah* (for *saritsarāṇi*) and *chihvānīmāni* for *chihvānīmāni* is again wrong. The whole verse may be rectified as follows :—

किं सूर्यस्तीव्रतापो दहति, शशिकलाः पावको वा प्रदीप्तः भूमौ रोहेन्न मस्य न च जनवसतिर्मेषकालेऽल्पवृष्टिः ।

गोषु क्षीरं शृष्येज्जलमपि च तथा कृपवापीनदीनां यस्मिन् भूमिप्रहर्ता निवसति विषये तत्र दोग्धमेतत् ॥

² Read जायते, but it would not suit in the metre.

³ Read राजभिः.

⁴ Below, Nos. 32 and 58.

⁵ His No. B-252 of 1959-60.

⁶ The village is situated in Lat. 23° 6' N. and Long. 77° 38' E.

The first of the verses which is in the *Vasantatilakā* metre, as already stated, eulogises *Chandvārdha-mauli* (i.e. the god Śiva) and **Bhōja**, who is called [*Rājādhi*]rāja and *Paramēśvara*. The deity and the monarch may have been introduced, as already pointed out by Sircar, by a word like *jayati*, which cannot be traced in the extant portion of the inscription. But the palaeography and the titles of the king go to suggest that the record refers to the **Paramāra king Bhōja I**. The second verse which is in the *Upajātī* metre, mentions the **object** of the record. It states that the image, evidently the one on the pedestal of which the inscription was noticed, was installed by a person of the name of Sāgaranandin and also that the installation ceremony was performed by the learned Jaina monk Nēmichandra.

The record is of interest as it shows that while installing a Jaina image it invokes the god Śiva in its beginning, and thus it goes to show that the person who installed the image was equally devoted to both these faiths. We have some other instances of the type, for which reference is invited to the Arthūṇā stone inscription of the time of Chāmuṇḍarāja, dated V. 1159,¹ which begins with paying homage to *Īṭarāga* but the very first verse of it is indirectly also applicable to the god Śiva.

In view of the fact that the record containing the name of Bhōja was found at a place associated with his name, it appears probable, as also observed by Dr. Sircar, that the place was named after the king.

No **geographical name** occurs in the existing portion of the record.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 2 *Upajātī*].

- 1 -----³ [का]रे चद्राद्वैमोनिस्वनः सम - U-U [१^४] -- U-UUUमङ्गलकी[त्ति] --⁴; --U नञ्जयमेश्वरभोजदेवः ॥[१॥*]
2 ----- रः सागरानदिनामा । म नेमिचन्द्रो विद्वे प्रणिष्टा⁵ [मु]दुर्लभः सा(जा)तिजिनम्य [सुरिः] ॥[२॥*]

No. 18 ; PLATE XX

MĀNDHĀTĀ GRANT OF JAYASIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1112

THIS inscription is incised on **two plates of copper** which are said to have been found at or near **Māndhātā**,⁷ an island in the Narmadā in the East Nemād (Khaṇḍwā) District of Madhya Pradesh. The record has been edited before, from an impression prepared by Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, by F. Kielhorn, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume III (1894-95), pp. 46 ff., with text in Nāgarī characters (pp. 48-50) and facsimiles facing p. 50. The whereabouts of the plates are unknown today :⁸ and the inscription is edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Kielhorn's article.

As stated above, they are **two** plates of copper, each measuring about 33.65 cms. broad by 25.40 cms. high and they are incised on the inner side only. From his examination of the

¹ Below, No. 87.

² From an impression.

³ It is expected that the *Siddham* symbol was engraved at the beginning. Along with that, twelve syllables are lost here.

⁴ The two *aksharas* lost here may have been राजिः and the following three *aksharas* राजाधि— (D.C.S.).

⁵ This *akshara* is damaged. Fifteen syllables are lost at the beginning of this line.

⁶ The slanting middle bar of the superscript of this letter is not engraved. Read -ष्टा.

⁷ Māndhātā (22° 15' N. Lat. and 76° 9' E. Long.) is 51 kms. north-west of Khaṇḍwā and 11 kms. from Morakkā station on the Ajmer-Khaṇḍwā branch of the Western Railway.

⁸ In his article in *op. cit.* Kielhorn wrote that the original plates were then at Māndhātā, on the authority of C. Grant's *Gaz. of Central Provinces*, second edn., p. 257. But all my attempts in search of them were futile and no impression too is now forthcoming.

impressions supplied to him, Kielhorn writes: "The plates are in a state of perfect preservation, so that the reading of the text, with perhaps the exception of a single *akshara* (the second *akshara* of the name in l. 6) is nowhere doubtful". The plates were originally held together by two rings passing through two holes, each showing the diameter of about 2 cms. and cut in the lower part of the first and the upper part of the second. But the rings had both been cut when the impressions supplied to him were taken. Each plate contains fifteen lines of writing. The lower proper right corner of the second plate shows a representation of **Garuḍa**, about 6.35 cms. high by 7 cms. broad, with the body of a man and the head of a bird with an aquiline nose, facing left and looking at a serpent held in his left hand, as to be seen on most of the plates of the Paramāra rulers. The figure occupies the initial portion of the last four lines, making the length of each of them shorter by about 1.8 cms. The weight of the plates is not known.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the regular type for the period to which the record belongs and have a general resemblance to those of the Mahauḍī inscription of Bhōjadēva. The top-strokes of several letters end in a nob, e.g. of *kē* in *kēśō* and all in *vibhartti*, both in l. 1, and most of them in l. 18. The initial *v* is formed of two loops, the first of which has a fine tail attached to it and the second a hook above: see *iti* in ll. 12 and 18: the consonant *n* continues to be without its dot, as in *piṅgala*, l. 3: *ch* and *v* are often alike in form, e.g. in *vudvuda-chain-chalā*, l. 25: and occasionally *r* also, with a clear triangular loop, assumes a similar form as in *Rāmabhadra*, l. 26: the subscript *n* is engraved as *l*: see *pūrṇa*, l. 6: the superscript *t* and occasionally *n* also is shown by a horizontal stroke, as in *matvā*, l. 18 and *anta*, l. 7: *dh* has developed a horn or a stroke on its left limb: cf. *rāj-ādhirāja*, l. 3 and *vasudhā*, l. 10: and occasionally, both, the horn and the stroke are marked, as in *dharmma*, l. 20 and *sādhū*, l. 23. The verticals of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a horizontal stroke, as in *dhār-ādhārā*, ll. 11-12. In rare cases the superscript *n* has its antique form: see *anya*, l. 24 and *p* and *y* occasionally appear alike, as in *paṭṭa kila*, l. 18 but not in *janapada* in the same line.

Lines 1-2, 10-12 and 22-28 of the record are in verse and the rest of it is in prose. The **sign-manual** of the donor which is in slightly bigger letters, appears at the end on the first plate in the middle of the space and forming a complete line, whereas on the second plate it is in continuation of the main body of the record in the last line. In respect of **orthography**, the points that call for notice are (1) denoting *b* by the sign of *v*, as in *vibhartti*, l. 1: (2) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant: e.g. in *śasā*, l. 1, and *vice versa* in a singular instance in *śāsana*, l. 17: the use of the dental sibilant for the lingual in *adyishṭa*, l. 16 and possibly also in *dyishṭvā*, l. 9, though it is correctly used in *vishayē*, l. 10 and *āshāḍha*, l. 29: (3) doubling of a consonant after *r*, as in *pūrṇa*, l. 6: (4) the use of an *avagraha* correctly in l. 16 but wrongly in l. 20: and (5) the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* except in l. 1 and in a very few instances like *maṇḍalē* in l. 6. The sign of an *anusvāra* is put to denote a final *m* even at the end of a stich, and it is interesting to note the change of the *vasarga* of *yah* in l. 1 to *s* when followed by *s*, and also the spelling of *-simha* in ll. 6 and 30.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva**, who was evidently a member of the **Paramāra** house of Dhārā. The **object** of it is to record the grant, by Jayasimhadēva, of the village **Bhīma**, situated in the territorial division of **Maktulā**-forty-two in the **Pūrṇapathaka**-*maṇḍala*, for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas residing in the *paṭṭa-śālā* (tent-house) at the holy Amarēśvara, for the religious merit of his parents and himself. The **date** is given in l. 29 in decimal figures only: it is the **thirteenth of the dark half of Āshāḍha** of the (Vikrama) **Saṃvat 1112**. For the expired *Chaitrādi* year 1112, this date would correspond to **27th May, 1055 A.C.**, and for the expired *Kārttikādi* year to **13th June or 13th July, 1056 A.C.**¹ It does not admit of verification.

After two *maṅgala-slōkas* which are generally to be found in the several grants of the Paramāra kings and which pay homage to *Tyōma-kēśa* and *Smara-ārati* (both meaning Śiva), the inscription gives the genealogy of the king Jayasimha, beginning with the *P.M.R.*, the illustrious **Vākpatirājadēva**, his successor the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, his successor the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, and his successor the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious Jayasimhadēva (ll. 3-6). Up to Bhōjadēva the genealogy is known from the other records of the house which also mention the mutual relationship of these rulers: and the only additional

¹ Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 47 and n.

information supplied by the present inscription is that Jayasimhadēva was the successor of Bhōjadēva, without specifying the relationship between the two rulers.

In every particular, the way of the description in the present record is as to be found in the grants of Bhōjadēva, edited above : and the arrangement of its contents is also similar, *viz.* in mentioning the name of the village granted, an address to its inhabitants and royal officials, the motive of the grant, the name of the donee and finally, the usual exhortations to the succeeding rulers and the date. But, as seen above, it does not specify the relationship existing between these two rulers. The name of Jayasimha is not known from any other inscription of the house—not even from the Udaipur and Nagpur *prastāvas* which give an almost complete list of kings ruling at Dhārā up to the time when they were engraved. On the other hand, Bhōjadēva is generally taken to have been succeeded by Udayāditya who is now definitely known to be his brother. But the present record, which mentions Jayasimha as the immediate successor of Bhōjadēva and the evidence of which cannot be doubted for any reason, definitely shows that Jayasimha must be placed between Bhōjadēva and Udayāditya and thus between 1047 and 1080 A.C. which are respectively the latest and the earliest known years of these two rulers.

In view of the information furnished by the present inscription, we may also hold that it was Jayasimha who put an end to the troubles befalling on the Paramāra kingdom on account of the simultaneous attack of the Kalachuri Karṇa (*c.* 1041-1072 A.C.) and the Chaulukya Bhīma I (1022-1064 A.C.), when Bhōjadēva is known to have died.² Jayasimha, for whom it was difficult to resist the combined attack of two mighty foes, solicited the aid of the powerful Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I (1043-1068 A.C.) on this occasion. Sōmēśvara sent his son Vikramāditya VI to help Jayasimha and the former turned back the invaders and secured the throne for the latter, breaking the confederacy. Karṇa's invasion of Mālava which is graphically described in the Nagpur museum stone inscription and which was reverted by Udayāditya, was thus, in fact, his second attack some fifteen years later. That Karṇa undertook two invasions—the first when Bhōja died and the second, about fifteen years later when Udayāditya saved the country, is well shown by Dr. V. V. Minashi while editing the Dōṅgargāon inscription dated Śaka 1934 or 1112 A.C.³

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Amarēśvara** (l. 14) is undoubtedly the holy place of pilgrimage retaining its name even to-day and situated in the close proximity of Māndhātā. The place has been referred to also in some other grants of the Paramāras. As for the *maṇḍala* of **Pūrṇapathaka**, D. C. Ganguly has suggested that it was the province bounded by the Pūrṇā river which is a tributary of the Tāptī ; but as far as I think, all the places mentioned in this inscription must be sought in the same locality, whereas the provinces bounded by the Pūrṇā which is a southern tributary of Tāptī is away from Amarēśvara ; therefore I am inclined to take Pūrṇapathaka as probably represented by the modern Poonāsā, a big village straight about 30 kms. south-east of Amarēśvara. **Maktulā**, in which the gift-village was situated (l. 6) is perhaps identical with the place now known as Mathelā and situated about 12 kms. south of Māndhātā. The village **Bhīma** (l. 7) appears to have been represented by the modern Bhīmpurā, a little distance east of Godurpur and on the south bank of the Narmadā.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 4, 5 *Anuṣṭubh* (*Ślōka*) ; vv. 3, 7 *Vasantatilakā* ;
v. 6 *Indravajrā* ; v. 8 *Śālīnī* ; v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

1 अ० १ [11*] जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यस्सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्ति तां(ताम्) । ऐन्दवी सि(शि)रसा लेखां जगद्दी(द्वी)जां-

¹ In *op. cit.* Kielhorn drew our attention to Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. III, pp. 855 and 1168-69, for the king Jayachandra or Jayānanda, who is reported to have ruled after Bhōjadēva. Nothing can be definitely said in this respect.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. and also Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, trans. by Tawney, pp. 74 ff.

³ See below, No. 33, V. 32.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 179.

⁵ *H.P.D.*, p. 124.

⁶ From facsimiles facing p. 50 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III.

⁷ Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 कुराकृति(लिम्) ॥[१॥*] तन्वत्तु(न्तु) वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्व-
- 3 लयपिङ्गलाः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपादा-
- 4 नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
- 5 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
- 6 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजयसि[ङ्ग]देवः¹ कुशली ॥² पूर्णपथकमंडले मक्तुलाग्रा³-
- 7 मद्विचत्वारिंशदन्तःपातिभीमग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(त्रा)ह्यणोत्तरान्त्र-
- 8 तिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) ।⁴ यथा श्रीमद्वा(द्वा)राव-
- 9 स्थितैस्माभिः स्नात्वा व(च)राचरगृहं भगवत्तं(न्तं) भवानीपतिं सम[भ्य]र्च्य संसारम्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा
- 10 वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणान्मृणा-
- 11 ग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा तराणां धर्मः मखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधा-
- 12 राधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) ॥[४॥*] इति जगतो विनस्व(श्च)रं
- 13 स्वरूपमाकलयोपरिलिखितग्रामोयं स्वसीमातृणगोचरयूतिपर्यन्तः सहिरण्य-
- 14 भागभोगः सोपरिकरः मर्वादायसमेतस्व(श्च) श्रीभ्रमरेस्व(श्च)रे⁵ पट्टशालात्रा(त्रा)ह्यणेभ्यः⁵
- 15 स्वहस्तोयं श्रीजयसिङ्गदेवस्य ॥[॥*]

Second Plate

- 16 भोजनादिनिमित्तं मातापितृरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धयेऽदृष्ट(ष्ट)फलमंगी-
- 17 कृत्य चंद्राकर्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शाश(म)नेनोदकपूर्व प्रतिपा-
- 18 दित इति मत्त्वा⁶ तन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिर-
- 19 ण्यादिकं देवत्रा(त्रा)ह्यणभुक्तिवर्जमा[जा]श्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमेभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं(यम्)
- 20 । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु(वु)द्ध्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म-
- 21 दायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च । व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः मगरा-
- 22 दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा [भू]मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[५॥*] यानीय(ह) दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दाता(ता)-
- 23 नि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[६॥*]
- 24 अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यान्तडित्स-
- 25 लिलवुद्धु(वुद्धु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपालनं च ॥[७॥*] मर्व्वनितान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-
- 26 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाल-
- 27 नीयो भवद्भिः ॥[८॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजी-
- 28 वितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च वु(वु)द्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या ॥[९॥*] इति ।⁸
- 39 सम्बत्⁹ १११२ आषाढ वदि १३[॥*] म्वयमाजा । मङ्गलं महाश्रीः । स्वहस्तोयं
- 30 श्रीजयसिङ्ग¹⁰ देवस्य ॥[॥*]

¹ As also noted by Kielhorn, originally मिघ was engraved and subsequently the proper right side of the second letter of the name seems to have been altered.

² The sign of punctuation is superfluous.

³ The second letter of the name, as also noted by Kielhorn, might possibly be read as क्तु.

⁴ Sandhi is not made here as in some cases when the name begins with a vowel, as in Udayāditya.

⁵ Kielhorn proposes to read -णेभ्यो, but sandhi is not necessary as it depends on vivakshā. The word paṭṭa-śālā used here appears to have been 'an apartment made of cloth, i.e. a tent' for which c.f. the word paṭavēśma in Śi., XII, 63. Or it may be the Sanskritised form of Paṭasāla, a local word for verandah or porch. In the following line read -सिह- . The sentence is continued on the next plate.

⁶ Kielhorn reads मत्त्राः but a stroke appearing at the top of t shows the letter to be doubled.

⁷ The first member of this conjunct consonant is antique in form.

⁸ Read विलोप्याः इति ।

⁹ Read संवत्.

¹⁰ Read -सिह-.

No. 19 ; PLATE XXI-A

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA

[Vikrama] Year 1137

THIS inscription is incised on a hard, fine-grained red sand-stone, imbedded inside the east entrance of the great temple known as of Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara, at **Udaipur**,¹ a hamlet in the Bāsōdā *parganā* of the Vidishā (Bhilsā) District of Madhya Pradesh. The record has often been noticed, first by General Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. IX (1874-77), p. 109, then by Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 83, and subsequently by D. R. Bhandarkar,² M. B. Garde³ and some other scholars.⁴ It is edited here for the first time from the original and an impression prepared and supplied to me, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Central Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The writing which is fairly well preserved covers a space 46 cms. broad by 27.95 cms. high. It consists of six line. The size of the letters is about 4 cms. The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet : they are well formed and carefully cut. The *prishṭha-mātrās* are generally used to denote the medial diphthongs. As regards individual letters, the vowel *i* in *iti*-, l. 2, is indicated by two loops placed horizontally, the first of which has a tail below and the second a hook above, and the initial *ē* in *ēka*-, l. 1, is carved as the consonant *pa* without the vertical fully drawn. Of the consonants, *ṇ* in *śṛṅga*-, l. 4, has not developed the dot : *dh* in *dhvaja*-, l. 6, is formed as *v* : and *ś* in *-yaśa*-, l. 3, shows a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilants. And lastly, in a solitary instance in *saṁvat*-, l. 5, the sign of the consonant looks like the *mātrā* of the short *u*.

The **language** is Sanskrit : and except a verse in the beginning, which is not numbered, the whole record is in prose. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities such as the occasional use of the dental sibilant for the palatal as in *sirasi*-, l. 3, the doubling of a consonant after *r*, as in *sarvva*-, l. 2 : this doubling is also to be found in a solitary instance in *-chchhatra*-, l. 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a king of the name of **Udayāditya**. The **object** of it is to record the hoisting of flag on the temple. The inscription is **dated** in l. 5, only in figures, in the (Vikrama) year **1137**, the **seventh** *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha on the transition of the Sun on a *rāśi* which is not named. The year which corresponds to **1080 A.C.**, gives the earliest time for the reign of the king, whose genealogy is not mentioned, as it is a business record ; nor do we find in it the name of the family to which he belonged. But from the provenance of the inscription he is undoubtedly no other than the homonymous Paramāra prince, the brother of the illustrious Bhōjadēva, whose two more inscriptions, besides the Udaipur *prāśasti*, were found in the same temple⁵ which is also stated to have been built by him.⁶

After the customary word *svasti*, the inscription expresses blessings in favour of the king Udayāditya for bringing the earth (his kingdom) under one sovereignty and mentions a union or transition of the Sun (*saṁkrānti*). The purpose of this statement is not known ; it may, however, be suggested that the writer of the inscription wished to refer to the latter part of the king's name, i.e. *āditya*, by the mention of the word *ravi* as we find in the Udaipur *prāśasti* and also in some other records of the house.⁷

Lines 3-4 of the inscription inform us that the verse (which begins the record) was composed by *Paṇḍita* Mahīpāla, who was the son of *Paṇḍita* Śṛṅgavāsa. Then we have the date as stated

¹ For the history of Udaipur and the archaeological remains found at the place, see Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 81 ; *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 65 ; *A.S.I.R.*, *W.C.*, 1913-14, p. 64 ; *A.S.I.R.*, 1913-14, p. 133 ; *ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 165, and *ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 188.

² *P.R.A.S.*, *W.C.*, 1913-14, p. 22.

³ *A.R.A.D.G.S.*, V.S. 1974, No. 105. The report is unpublished and the reference here is to H. N. Dvivid's *Gwālior Rājya-kē Abhilēkha* (Hindi). No. 51.

⁴ For example, in *H.P.D.*, p. 135.

⁵ Nos. 24 and 181, respectively.

⁶ See *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. IX, p. 540.

⁷ Cf. the name with *Ādityadēva* in No. 24, v. 21 of the text.

above. The last line of the record expresses the **purpose**, in which the temple is mentioned by the name Udayēśvaradēva, evidently after the name of its constructor. And with the expressions 'auspiciousness, great fortune', the record comes to an end.

As stated above, the importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies the earliest known date for the king Udayāditya, who, according to the *praśasti* found at the same place, rescued the earth (*i.e.*, the Paramāra kingdom), as the primeval boar, the significance of which will be seen in its proper place.

The inscription does not contain any **geographical name**.

TEXT¹

[Metre : Verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 स्वस्ति ॥ एकच्छत्रां करोतु क्षमामुदयादित्यभूपतिः ॥ (1)
- 2 इत्याद्यं सिद्धिदं वेदं शंसामः सर्व्वतो नृप² ॥ [१*]
- 3 क्षमासि(शि)रसि भूत्या स क्षमाभूद्यशस्तु³ । ॥ रविसंक्राति-
- 4 करणं(णम्) ॥ [श्लोको]यं पंडितश्रीशृङ्गवाससूनोः ।⁴
- 5 पंडितश्रीमहीपालस्य ॥ संव[त्] ११३७ वैसा(शा)ख मुदि ७⁵
- 6 श्रीमदुदयेस्व(श्व)रदेवस्य ध्वजारोहः संपूर्णः । म[न्]गलं महाश्रीः ॥ [॥*]

No. 20 ; PLATE XXI-B

DHĀR IMAGE INSCRIPTION

[Vikrama] Year 1138

THIS inscription was brought to light by the late Mr. K. K. Lele, the Superintendent of Archaeology, in the former State of Dhār, by editing it in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. IV (1921-22), pp. 99 ff., with a facsimile by hand-drawing. The record is edited here from the same facsimile and also from my personal examination of the original.

The inscription is on the pedestal of a Dēvī image which is stated to have been found in the Dēvī tank at **Dhār**, where it remained imbedded for several years. Its original find-spot is not known, but from Lele's writings we know that it was probably discovered by Lālā Bhavānī Shankar, who was an officer in the Dhār State, some time in the latter half of the last century. Lele also managed to secure possession of the image which is now deposited in the residence of his successor at Dhār.

The image is about 57·15 cms. tall and about 26·7 cms. in breadth. It is cut out of hard white stone resembling marble, and represents a goddess in a standing posture, profusely ornamented and wearing a crown. She has four hands holding prayerful symbols, and seems to be immersed in deep meditation. On the panel above are the images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu on her proper right, and on either side of her stands a female figure with a fly-whisk in her hand, and below each of them is another female figure in a prayerful mood. I take the image as representing Pārvatī in penance, for the reasons given below in the text.

As already stated above, the inscription is incised on the pedestal of this statue. It consists of two lines, covering a space measuring about 20 cms. broad by 10 cms. high. The average size of the letters is about 2 cms.

¹ From the original and an impression.

² The use of this word appears to be in imitation of the writings of old in which some king is addressed.

³ The meaning of this expression is not clear.

⁴ The *danḍa* is redundant.

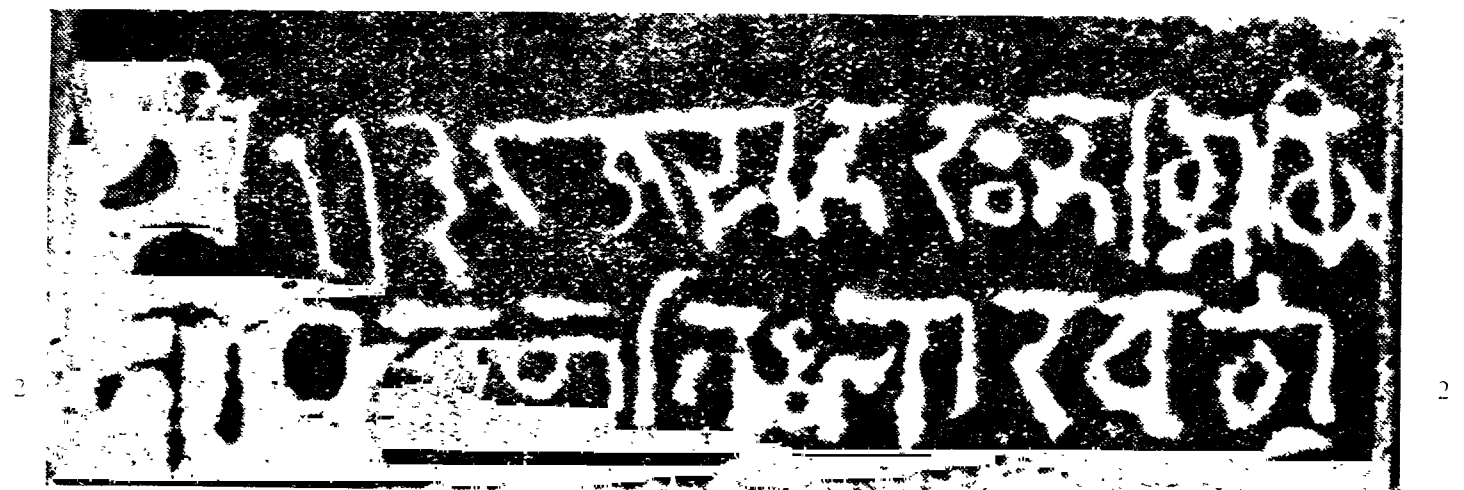
⁵ This is a pious day when the Ganges is known to have descended in this world.

A—UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1137



Scale: One-third

B—DHĀR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1138



Scale: Seven-eighths

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. They are not carefully cut. The point of the tail of the dental *s* is joined to the middle of its vertical stroke in *Jasahara*, l. 1, and *chh* at the end of this line is in its antique form. The **language** is Sanskrit, all in prose, and full of grammatical errors. **Orthographically**, there is nothing worth mentioning.

The **object** of the inscription is to record paying adoration to the image, *i.e.*, its consecration, by one Jasahara of the Lāra caste. The **year** which is given at the beginning in numerical figures only, is **1138**. As an expired year of the northern Vikrama era, it would correspond to **1081 A.C.** No other details of the year are mentioned in the inscription.

The name of the king during whose reign the image was consecrated is also missing; but from the find-spot we take him to be the **Paramāra Udayāditya** who is known from the preceding inscription which is dated only one year before. Thus the image is a specimen of the statutory art of the time of this king.

TEXT¹

1 सं² ११३८ [१*] [ज]सहरः³ [अ]⁴ग्निछि-

2 ता⁵ प्रन(ण)[म]तिः⁶ लारवर्ग⁷ [१*]

No. 21 ; PLATE XXII

KAMED PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA

[Vikrama] Year 1140

THIS inscription, which is incised on a dwarf stone pillar, was discovered by Shri V. S. Wakankar in 1970. The pillar is said to have been turned up in the course of ploughing a field near the village **Kamēd**¹, situated about 8 kms. north-east of Ujjain on the right side of the Ujjain-Āgar metalled road. The owner of the field installed the pillar, when he found it, on a newly built platform of mud and stones. The existence of the inscription, as soon as it was noticed by Wakankar, was intimated to me, also favouring me with an impression thereof. The inscription, however, has not escaped sharing the worse fate of its fellows, *viz.*, of being besmeared with red lead, and consequently a few of the *aksharas* have not clearly and distinctly come out on the impression. It is edited here from the same impression, and later on, the text is corrected with the help of another, provided by the Chief Epigraphist.

The record is inscribed on the lower part of the pillar, the complete height of which is about 92·5 cms. In the upper column it bears the figure of **Garuda** with folded hands, the emblem of the Paramāras. The inscription consists of eight lines of writing, covering a space about 38 cms. broad by 32·5 cms. high. The last of the lines, which is only 7 cms. long, shows only the numerical figures for the year. The size of the letters is not uniform, but their average height, roughly speaking, is about 5 cms. in the first two, and about 3 cms. in the remaining lines. The letters are badly formed and the engraving is rather crude. The preservation of the inscription is far from satisfactory.

¹ From facsimile accompanying Lele's article and from personal examination.

² The tail of the fore-part of this *akshara* is missing. Lele read the *akshara* without the *anusvāra* which is clear above.

³ Lele suggested the bracketed letter to be read as *da*, and took the whole word as *dasahara*, *i.e.*, *dasaharā*, giving the day. But agreeing with Garde's suggestion, I take it as given here and thus showing the name of the consecrator, which is otherwise missing.

⁴ This *akshara* was taken as *bha* by Lele who corrected it to *a*. But to me it appears to be *a* misformed अ.

⁵ Read अग्निस्थितां, or rather अग्निमध्यस्थितां, which is the description of Pārvati performing penance for obtaining Śiva as her husband. cf. *Kumāra-Sambhava*, Canto V.

⁶ Drop the sign of *visarga*.

⁷ Read -वर्गः. The *va* is misformed and the *rēpha* is shown by a vertical small stroke above.

⁸ It is an ancient site, for which, see *A.R.A.D.G.S.*, V.S. 1191, p. 10.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of about the 11th century A.C. Worth noting is the formation of the vowel *i*, appearing in *iti* in l. 6, which consists of two circles horizontally placed with a curve below. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the **orthography** calls for no special remarks.

The inscription refers itself to **Udayāditya** who is endowed in it with the titles of *Paramabhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, and is stated to have then encamped at the village Dhavalī near Ujjain.¹ The **purpose** of the inscription is to record the donation made by **Naravarman**, who was evidently his son, of 12 *halas* (?) of land in the village known as Rādhaghaṭikā, for perpetually burning a lamp (*akshaya-dīpikā*) in honour of **Lakshmadēva** who was another son of Udayāditya and thus a brother of Naravarman. The **year**, mentioned in numerical figures in the last line of the inscription, is **1140**, without any further details. As the current Vikrama year, it corresponds to **1082 A.C.** The name of the engraver is not recorded, nor is any epithet attached either to the name of Naravarman or to that of Lakshmadēva.

After the customary word *svasti* (be it well), the inscription introduces Udayāditya, with all his paramount titles, as seen above, and adds that he was then residing at the village Dhavalī. Following this, the record tells us that Naravarmadēva, who was his second son² and possibly a governor of the region around Ujjain, donated a plot of land, measuring 12 *halas* in the village Rādhaghaṭikā, for the purpose mentioned above. The inscription then closes with the mention of the year.

As the present inscription was incised only about three years after the preceding one and as it comes from the vicinity of Ujjain, which was then included in the dominions of the Paramāra sovereigns of Mālava, the king Udayāditya mentioned in it is plainly identical with the well-known Paramāra king of that name. We also find that the epithets applied to him here are exactly those as found in the Shērgaḍh inscription, edited below.

Lakshmadēva and Naravarman are the well-known sons of Udayāditya ; but the expression denoting the purpose of the donation made here calls our special attention. It is *akshaya-dīpikārthē*, which appears to have been used for its longer and complete form, *viz.*, *akshaya-lōka-dīpikārthē*, in the sense of "a lamp giving perpetual happiness in heaven". And taken in this sense, which appears to be the only possibility, the inscription contains a very important historical reference, leading us to conclude that Lakshmadēva had died a short time before the record was executed. Naravarman had a great affection for his brother Lakshmadēva, as we know from the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which was composed by the former ruler who devoted as many as 19 stanzas giving fulsome praise to the description of Lakshmadēva.³

The inscription thus reveals for the first time a new historical fact, *viz.* that Lakshmadēva predeceased both Udayāditya and Naravarman, though the circumstances leading to his death, along with the approximate time when it took place, are not known. Here we have also to note that the Nagpur Museum stone inscription, which enumerates the names of all the rulers from Vairisimha to Lakshmadēva, while introducing each one of them, uses such a word as signifies 'a king', *e.g.*, *kshatipati*, *bhūpati* or *nripa*, but such a word is not used in it in the case of the last of them only, *i.e.* Lakshmadēva, though it states that he was devoted to govern the subjects.⁴ The omission of a word denoting a king only with the name of Lakshmadēva in the record is significant as it perhaps implies to show that he never ascended the throne of Dhārā. That he worked as governor in some of the eastern part of the Paramāra dominions under his father Udayāditya is also suggested by the donation made by him as recorded in the same inscription.

There are only two places mentioned in the inscription. Of them, **Dhavalī** (l. 3), where Udayāditya had then encamped, is perhaps the village Dhāblā, situated about 20 kms. north by east of Ujjain ; and **Rādhaghaṭikā**, or **Ghaṭikā** (l. 5), where the land was donated, is the same village which is now known by the name of Ghaṭiyā, lying about 3 kms. north-west of Dhāblā.

¹ If the word after *Ujjayanyālī* is *saṁpatah*, as can be conjectured.

² As shown by the word *dviṭīya* in l. 4, though the word that follows is lost.

³ Below, No. 33, vv. 35-54.

⁴ See v. 35: "*prajā-pālana-vyūpāra-pravaṇah*" in *ibid.*

KAMĒD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1140



Scale: One-third

TEXT¹

- 1 स्वस्ति² [॥*] श्रीमदुज्जयन्याः -- ³
- 2 -- धवलीग्रामावस्थितपरम-
- 3 भ[ट्टा]रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री⁴उद-
- 4 यादित(त्य)देव[ः] [॥*] तस्य पुत्र[ल]⁵क्षम(क्षम)देवस्य अक्ष-
- 5 [य]दीपिकार्थे राडघटी(टि)काग्राम(मे) क्षेत्रभूमि[ः]
- 6 हलांक⁶ १२ प्रदत्ता इति द्वितीय --- ⁷
- 7 नरवर्मदेवेन उदकं प्र[द]त्त(त्तम्) [॥*] संवत्
- 8 ११४०⁸ [॥*]

No. 22 ; PLATE XXIII

JHĀLRĀPĀṬAN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA

[Vikrama] Year 1143

THIS inscription is engraved on a slab of stone which was found lying, some time in the opening years of the present century, by the late Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha, then Curator of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, in a palace locally known as *Sarvasukhiyā kōṭhī*, at the town of **Jhālrapātān**, the capital of the former State of that name and now the chief town of a District in Rājasthān. The record was first brought to notice by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1905-06, p. 56 (No. 2094) ; and, from an impression prepared and supplied by Ojha, it was edited by Bishweshwar Nath Shastri, giving his transcript thereof, both in Nāgarī and Roman characters, with a translation and facsimile (Pl. XXII), in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N.S.), Volume X (1914), pp. 241 ff. The inscription was again noticed in the *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy* for 1952-53, No. 419, and the stone bearing it is now exhibited in the Museum at Jhālāwād near Jhālrapātān. It is edited here from an excellent impression supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the original find-spot of this stone or about the circumstances in which it was found.

The inscribed portion covers a space measuring about 20·5 cms. broad by 15 cms. high, and contains ten lines of writing. It is in an excellent state of preservation, with the exception of one letter each at the end of lines 3, 4 and 9, where portions of the stone have slightly peeled off. — The **size** of the letters in the first seven lines varies from about 1 to 1·5 cms, and in the rest of the lines it is about half of it, so that whereas each of the first seven lines contains about twenty *aksharas*, their number in lines 8 and 9 is about 30 in each. The last line, which too contains letters of equally small size, is engraved in the middle of the surface and measures 14 cms. in breadth.

The **characters** are the normal Nāgarī of the eleventh century to which the record belongs, sharing the general peculiarity that the verticals of letters and the *prishṭha-mātrās* show a sudden bend to the right at their lowest extremity. The initial *i* is formed of two circles placed side by

¹ From an impression.

² Some symbol may have been engraved before this word as shown by a vacant space with some faint traces.

³ Here are two indistinct letters, as also at the commencement of the next line. From the traces left the reading may conjecturally be restored as —समीपस्थ—. In the impression which was later on provided by the Chief Epigraphist, I find traces of सम(स्न)राजवलीमालाल(लं)कृतपरम—.

⁴ *Sandhi* is not performed here.

⁵ The reading of the bracketed *aksharas* is conjectural.

⁶ The reading is conjectural as required by the sense.

⁷ As above. Conjecturally, the three *aksharas* may be restored as पुत्रेण.

⁸ The decimal figure is somewhat indistinct due to over-writing, but the reading is certain.

side, with hooks in the opposite directions with some ornamentation below, cf. *Dhāñiḥ*, l. 7 ; and the initial *ē*, which occurs in *tailikānvāē* (for *-yē*) in l. 8, is almost triangular, with its vertex below. *Kh* in *Vaiśākha*, l. 1, is formed of two loops suspended by vertical strokes, the tops of which are joined by a horizontal ; and the letter *dh* has not developed a horn on the top of its left limb, but the vertical of its *ā-mātrā* is joined to it by a horizontal stroke ; cf. *Dhāñiḥ* in l. 8. The loops of *n* and *m* are open below, as in *namaḥ*, l. 1 ; and the fore-limbs of *h* and *t* end in a sharp tail : cf. *Chāhila-suta* in l. 3, *th* is formed of two hollows placed vertically before a horizontal stroke, cf. *tathā*, l. 4 ; *r* is generally wedged, but its slightly advanced form is also occasionally noticed : e.g., see the last letter in ll. 8 and 7 respectively : and lastly, the tail of the fore-limb of *s* is occasionally curved up so as to form the middle stroke, as in *suta*, l. 3. This letter has sometimes its modern form also, showing it to be in a transitional stage, cf. *saṁvat*, l. 1. The consonant *bh* in *Śambhōḥ*, l. 4, is rather peculiarly formed.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit: and it is entirely in **prose**. An error in composition occurs in the use of the word *prāsāda* (l. 4) used in the neuter gender when it is in masculine, and errors of the writer or the engraver are to be seen in dropping the *anusvāra* in *Paṇḍita*, l. 6 and possibly also in *maṅgalān*, l. 10, and the *visarga* of the last mentioned word. The influence of Prakrit is to be seen in *tailikānvāē*, l. 8, and *dēvassa* for *dēvasya*, l. 7.

With reference to **orthography**, we may note that the *mātrās* of medial diphthongs appear above the line and also as fully developed *prishṭha-mātrās*, but in the case of *ai* and *au* one of the *mātrās* appears at the top and is marked gracefully. The dental for the palatal sibilant is used in *Vaiśākha*, l. 1, and the only instance of the reduplication of a consonant following *y* is in *utkīrṇṇ = ēyaṇ*, l. 6. The *anusvāra* serves the purpose of a class-nasal also, even at the end of a sentence.

The inscription, after the words “Om, adoration to Śiva,” has the date **Samvat 1143**, the **tenth of the bright half of Vaiśākha**. Taking the year as *Chaitrādī*, the date corresponds to **26th April 1086 A.C.** and for *Kārttikādī*, to **7th April, to 1087**. It cannot be verified. The record then mentions the name of **Udayādityadēva**, who is stated to have been then prosperous in the region : and, following this, it records the proper **object** which was the construction of a temple of Śambhu by the *paṭṭakila* (*paṭēl*) Jannaka, who was a son of *paṭṭakila* Chāhila and of *tailikānvaya*, i.e. of oilman's lineage (ll. 3-4). The same Jannaka is also stated to have excavated a stepped well in Chirihilla, between Ghōshakūpikā and Vruvāsaka (ll. 4-5).¹ Jannaka's mother's name was Dhāñi.

The record is stated to have been engraved by *Paṇḍita* Harshuka, in l. 6. The rest of the record which is engraved in smaller size of letters and betrays a different hand, states that the *Paṭṭakila* Jannaka promised four *palas*² of oil and a ball of sweets to be offered every year at the ceremony of Se(Sai)ndhavadēva for Śrī-Lōligasvāmīdēva.³ And the inscription ends with words of an auspicious import *maṅgalān mahāśrīḥ*.

The important part of the inscription is the statement that the temple was built and the record was put up when Udayāditya was ruling in the region around. We find that neither any epithet or title is attached to his name nor is given the name of the house to which he belonged. But that he was the well-known member of the **Paramāra** house ruling at **Dhārā** is obvious from the mention of his name in some other records of the house engraved about the same time and coming from the region around, for example, from the Udaipur inscription of V.S. 1137, put up only six years before the present record. The Shērgaḍh stone inscription of the same prince, which has partially lost its date, also appears to have been issued almost about the same time.⁴ A consideration of the localities is also helpful in leading us to some historical conclusions. Jhālrapātan, where the stone bearing the present inscription obviously does not appear to have been brought from a distant place, is about 50 kms. due south-west of Shērgaḍh, almost 50 kms. due north-west from Chachchurōṇī, mentioned in the Shērgaḍh inscription and identified with the modern Chāchōṇī (below, p. 73), and about 250 kms. north-west

¹ For the reading of these names, see foot-note in the text.

² A measure of oil which is still current in Mālwa. It is locally known as *palī*.

³ Lōliga appears to be the local name of the deity installed in the temple. I am unable to explain the ceremony mentioned here as *Saindhavadēva-parva* and the meanings of both these names.

⁴ On palaeographical grounds, as discussed below. See No. 23.

६ न०४ शिवायां ११४३ वसन्त शु० १० अ
 द्धिस्थीमडदयादिनादवक्याणवक्रमराडा
 लिक्वावयगद्वकिलवादिनसुतपद्वकिलक
 नशुंत्ताः प्रासादमिदंकारितं तवाविरेदित्तुतल
 ॥ ५ ॥ पिप्लवक्रपिकावुवायकयाः अंतरालवापी
 उक्तील्लयपडतदुपकनति॥ ७ ॥ जानासकमा
 तावुश्रुणिः प्रपमतालिनीह गम्भाभिदेवस्यकेरि
 येनसुतपद्वकिलवादिनसुतपद्वकिलकन्या
 वनसुतपद्वकिलवादिनसुतपद्वकिलकन्या
 ७ न०५ शिवायां ११४३ वसन्त शु० १० अ

Scale: Three-fourths

of Udaipur in the District of Vidishā ; and in view of all this, it is obvious that the kingdom of Udayāditya, who had recovered Mālwa from the enemies, as to be seen below, included the whole of the region at least up to Jhālrapāṭan and Kōṭā in the north and a part of the modern District of Vidishā in the north-east.

Of the **place-names** occurring in the inscription, **Chirihilla** (l. 4) is still extant in the form of Chirēliā, about 50 kms. due south-east of Jhālrapāṭan. **Ghōshakūpikā** may be the modern Ghaṭolā about 48 kms. south-east of Jhālrapāṭan and about 12 kms. south-southwest of Chirēliā ; and lastly, **V(B)ruvāsaka** cannot be definitely located but it is likely to be the modern village of Basūli, lying about 12 kms. north of Ghaṭolā. All these places are situated close to each other in the Aklērā *tehsil* of the Jhālāwād District of Rājasthāns and in an area which is about 50-55 kms. south of Shērgadh where another inscription of Udayāditya was found. And though there is nothing on record, it is possible that the stone with the present inscription was discovered originally in the neighbourhood of one of these villages and in the same locality.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं² नमः शिवाय ॥ संवत्³ ११४३ वैसा(शा)ख शुदि १० अ-
- 2 चेह श्रीमदुदयादित्यदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये ।⁴ तै-
- 3 लिङ्गान्वये पट्टकिलचा⁵हिलमुत्पट्टकिलज[नके]⁶ -
- 4 न शंभोः प्रासादमिदं कारितं(तम्)⁷ । तथा चिरिहिल्लतले चा⁸ -
- 5 डा । घोषकूपिकावु(बु ?)वासकयोः⁹ १० अंतराले वापी च ॥
- 6 उत्कीर्ण्ये प(पं)डितहर्षुकेने(णे)ति ॥¹¹ ॥ जानासत्क¹²भा-
- 7 ना धाङ्गिः प्रणमति ॥ श्रीलोलिगस्वामिदेवस्स(स्य) केरि¹³
- 8 नैलिकान्वए(ये) पट्टकिलचाहिलमुत्पट्टकिलजनकेन ॥ श्रीसे(सै ?)धवदेवपर-
- 9 [व]निमित्तं¹⁴ दीपतैल्य(ल)चतुःपलमेकं¹⁵ मृदकं¹⁶ क्रीत्वा तथा वरि[पं](वर्ष) प्रतिस(सं)वि[जा ?]-
- 10 तं(तम्) ॥ छ ॥¹⁷ ॥ मंगलं महाश्री[:*] ॥¹⁸

¹ From an ink impression.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ A petal-like ornamentation is engraved around the *anusvāra* of *sañ*.

⁴ The *danḍa* is redundant.

⁵ While editing the inscription in the *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. X, Shastri observes that he is not certain about the reading of this letter, for it may also be read as *ga*. But the letter *ga* has quite a different form in *lōliḡa*, l. 7.

⁶ This letter, along with a part of the preceding one, is totally lost and hence I adopt the reading of it as done by Shastri in his transcript.

⁷ Read प्रासादोयं कारितः.

⁸ One *akshara* at the end of this line is lost and the *mātrā* of *chū* may have been connected with it.

⁹ The consonant of the first *akshara* of the second name I take to be *v* in view of its identification proposed in the end, and not *dh* which is almost similar to it in form throughout in this inscription. Cf. *-Sēndhava-*, l. 8, where the top-stroke of *dh* is less developed (l. 8) but also the second *akshara* in l. 8 where it is well developed and which has to be taken as *dha* in view of its verticals being joined by a horizontal stroke as we generally find.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹¹ Between the double *danḍas* there is a design representing a wheel.

¹² *Jana* is obviously a Prakrit form of *Jannaka*, mentioned in l. 3 above. For *satka* in the sense of 'belonging to', see the Augāsi plate record of Madanavarman, below, No. 118, text, l. 7.

¹³ I am unable to explain this word. Perhaps *kṛitē* is intended, as remarked by Shastri.

¹⁴ Read पर्वनिमित्तं.

¹⁵ Read दीपतैलचतुष्पलमेकं.

¹⁶ The meaning is not clear. Perhaps *mōdakam* is intended.

¹⁷ Between the double *danḍas* is engraved an ornamentation somewhat resembling a taurine.

¹⁸ The *anusvāras* of *maṅgalaṁ* are very small and the second one is misplaced. What appears at the end of the line is read by Shastri the figure of nine. But it is only an ornamentation corresponding to the one that we find at the beginning of the line.

[Vikrama] Year IXX

SHĒRGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYĀDITYADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year II

THIS inscription was discovered in 1936 by the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, in course of his tour of archaeological explorations in the former Kōṭā State, now integrated with Rājasthān. The circumstances leading to the discovery of it are narrated by him in the following words:

“When Dr. Mathuralal, the State Historian, Kotah, and myself visited Shergadh in February 1936 in the course of our tour of archaeological explorations undertaken at the instance of the Kotah Government, we came across several Jain, Hindu, and Buddhist inscriptions, both in the new and in the old fort, ranging from the 8th to the 13th century A.D. It is clear that during this period the citizens of this flourishing city followed these three faiths.....”

Dr. Altekar also edited the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII (for 1935-36), pp. 131 ff.; but his edition of it is not accompanied by an illustration. The inscription is edited here from an excellent impression which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.¹

The stone bearing this inscription is imbedded into the front wall of the local Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa temple in the old fort at **Shērgadh**,² a dilapidated town in the Atrū *tehsil* of the Kōṭā District in South-East Rājasthān. The record consists of 24 lines of writing which covers a space measuring 51·5 cms. broad by 64 cms. high, but its concluding portion which may have consisted of two lines, as can be judged from a comparison with that of the Paramāra records and as we shall also see below, is either lost or imbedded in the wall in which it is now built. Owing to the loss of a part of the stone on the top and also on the proper left corner thereof, the record has also suffered in the first 12 lines, the first of which shows two breaks, the one on the left, about 11·5 cms. long, and the other on the right, 13 cms. long; and moreover, the general length of the lines, which is 46·5 cms. in the third, gradually decreases to 41 cms. in lines 6-8 and again begins to increase till the 13th line is complete. Thus the concluding portion of ll. 3-12 has lost a few *aksharas* in various degrees in each of them, though some of them may be supplied from the context. The extant portion of the record, which was neatly written and carefully incised on the smooth surface of the slab, is in a good state of preservation. The average size of the letters, excluding the *mātrās* and flourishes above, is 1·5 cms.

The **script** used is Nāgarī, very similar to that of the Jhālrapāṭan inscription of the time of Udayādityadēva. The only peculiarities worth noting are that the letter *ṇ* continues to appear without a dot, as in *piṅgala-*, l. 3, and *dh* without a horn on its left limb, as in *vasudhā-*, l. 11; *t* is often cut as *n*, cf. *chaitra* and *chaturdaśyām*, both in l. 10, and the conjunct *ṇṇ* as *ll* in *-arṇṇava*, l. 14; *th* as a subscript is laid flat on its side in *-sthita-*, l. 9; and finally, *bh* is incised so as to resemble *ru*, e.g., in *-bhāga-bhōga-*, ll. 16 and 18.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the record contains the usual **orthographical** peculiarities of (a) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* also; (b) the reduplication of a class-consonant following *r*; (c) putting the dental for the palatal sibilant occasionally; (d) the medial diphthongs are represented both by the *ūrdhva-* and the *prishṭha-mātrās*, and finally (e) the local element in writing *anya* as *aṇya* in ll. 19 and 22. The most glaring mistake of grammar is the wrong compound in *māṭṛi-pitrōḥ* for *mātā-pitrōḥ* in l. 16.

After the usual *Oṃ svasti*, which is followed by the mention of victory and prosperity and two stanzas respectively in honour of Vyōmakēśa (Śiva) and his matted hair, as we generally find to begin a Paramāra land grant, the inscription records the pedigree of the donor in ll. 3-6, introducing the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vākpati-rājadēva**, his successor, the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Sindhurājadēva**, his successor, the *P.M.P.*, the

¹ It is his No. B-427 of 1952-53.

² The place is about 20 kms. south-west of the station Atrū on the Kōṭā-Binā line of the Central Railway and about 145 kms. due south-east of Kōṭā. It is on the Parwan, a feeder of the Kālīsindh, which is a tributary of the Chambal. The ancient name of the place is Kōśavardhana. For a description of its archaeological remains, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 131, and *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 31.

illustrious **Bhōjadēva**, and finally, the latter's successor, the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Udayāditya-dēva**. This portion is an exact copy of the Māndhātā charter issued by Jayasimha,¹ the successor of Bhōjadēva of the Paramāra house of Mālava; and thus there is no room for doubt that the donor of the present inscription also belonged to the same house. So far as the genealogy is concerned, the present record adds only the name of Udayāditya, who is mentioned here to have been a successor of Bhōjadēva. And it is now well known that he was the brother of Bhōjadēva.² It may also be observed here that excepting the formal portion, the present record is almost a copy of the Māndhātā grant of Jayasimha, whom we know to have occupied the throne after Bhōjadēva and before Udayādityadēva. Jayasimha's name is omitted here as he was a collateral and moreover a dependent on the Chālukya throne, the occupants of which were the bitter and long-standing enemies of the Paramāras; and it may well be guessed that the mention of his name may have naturally thought by Udayāditya to be a point of disgrace for the house.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the royal endowment of a village situated in the **Chachchurōṇi** *maṇḍala*, by Udayāditya, who was then encamped at the village Karpāsikā, in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva on the fort of Kōśavardhana. The name of the donated village is partly lost, but it has been restored by Dr. Altekar as Vilāpadraka, though without certainty. The inscription was **dated**, in words, in ll. 9-10, in the eleventh century; but it is unfortunate that the *aksharas* giving the first two digits (*i.e.*, the unit and the decimal figures) which form the most material part of the year, are also lost at the end of l. 9. The *tithi* or the lunar day was **the fourteenth of the bright half of Chaitra**, on the **Damanaka Festival**.

Damanaka, as has been pointed out by Dr. Altekar, on the authority of Hēmādrī and the *Madanaratna*, was a spring festival when a branch of the *damana* tree was offered to god Śiva or Viṣṇu and to Madana (Cupid) on the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra, "for the happiness and felicity of the whole household".³ The day mentioned in the present inscription is quite in consonance with that day.

In ll. 17 ff. we have the admonition to the villagers to give to the deity all the income, and the usual exhortation to succeeding monarchs, to continue the grant. The existing portion of the inscription ends with a part of the customary verse *Sarvān = ētān = bhāvinaḥ pāṛthivēndrān*, etc. etc.

We have seen above that with the exception of the formal portion the inscription is a copy of the Māndhātā grant of Jayasimha, the arrangement of the contents of which is again not different from those of the other charters issued by the Paramāra rulers. In view of this it is reasonable to assume that the missing portion at the end of the present record may have contained not less than two lines which completed the verse already begun, *viz.*, *Sarvān = ētān etc.*, and another with the beginning *iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlāṇ*, followed by the date in figures and the **sign-manual** of the king.

That the inscription which records a grant in favour of a Śiva temple was found in a temple of Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa is also historically significant. Obviously the stone bearing it must have been originally set up in a Śiva temple which existed at that place in the times of the Paramāras and that some time subsequently and possibly during the time of Shēr Shāh of the Sūr dynasty, who changed the name of the place, it was destroyed and consequently the stone found its place in the present temple.⁴ I also agree with Dr. Altekar who stated that since the way of drafting the record is in full agreement with that of a royal charter, the present inscription may have been a true copy of a copper-plate record which is not forthcoming.

Of the **place-names** occurring in the inscription, Kōśavardhana (l. 7) is the ancient name of Shērgaḍh itself, as we have already seen, and **Chachchurōṇi**, the headquarters of the *maṇḍala* (l. 6) has been identified by Dr. Altekar with modern Chāchurnī, or Chāchōṇi as it is spelt in Survey maps. This village is about 40 kms. south-southeast of Shērgaḍh, and situated on the confluence of the Parwān and the Nimaj; it is now included in the Manōharthānā *tehsil* of

¹ Above, No. 18.

² See below, No. 28, V. 5.

³ *Smṛitikaustubha*, pp. 19-23, as noted by Dr. Altekar. On p. 19 the same authority also states that the festival was to be observed two days earlier.

⁴ Dr. Altekar also stated that his attention was drawn by the *pujārī* of the temple to a Śiva-*linga* in a corner of the temple, and this appeared to him to have been the one originally enshrined in the temple of Śiva in which the inscription may have existed.

the Jhālāwad District, adjoining to the southeastern boundary of the Atrū *tehsil*. The name of the donated village is partly lost in l. 7 ; but if the suggestion made by Dr. Altekar that it may have been **Vilāpadraka**, is accepted, it appears to have been the same as Bilāṇḍī or Bilāṇḍrā, lying about 18 kms. south-southwest of Shērgaḍh and now included in the Chhīpābaḍōd *tehsil* of the Kōṭā District. But it is difficult to be certain on the point in view of the fact that the map also shows another village with a somewhat similar name ; it is Bindā (Bindā Rāḍā),¹ which is about 10 kms. due south-east of Shērgaḍh, and this place may have been intended by the name Vilāpadraka. The latter view appears to me to be more plausible, in view of the reading of the name of the twelve-village subdivision, which too is partly lost in l. 6, to be **Kakaradaha**, since I am tempted to suggest its identification with Kakardā,² a village situated about 2 kms. just south of it. **Karpāsikā-grāma**, the place of the encampment of the king when he issued the grant (l. 9), cannot be identified in absence of the necessary details ; but as suggested by the similarity in names, it may have been the modern Kapāsan, the chief town of a *tehsil* in the Chittōḍ district in Rājasthān and a station on the Chittōḍ-Udaipur line of the Western Railway. It lies about 140 kms. due west of Shērgaḍh.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1-2 and 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 3 and 7 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 6 *Indravajrā* ; v. 8 *Salinī*].

- 1 ओं⁴ स्वस्ति [1*] ज[योभ्युदयश्च । जयति*]⁵ व्योमकेशोसौ [यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्तिं ताम् । ऐ*⁶दवीं सि(शि)रसा लेखां जग-
- 2 [द्वी(द्वी)]जांकुराकृतिम् ॥[१॥*] तन्वंतु⁶ वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः । कल्यान्तसमयोद्दामतडि-
- 3 द्रलयपिङ्गलाः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवपा[दानु*]-
- 4 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिन्धुराजदेवपा[दानुध्यातपर*]-
- 5 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेव[पादानुध्यातपर*]⁷[मभट्टारकम*]-
- 6 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीउदयादित्यदेव[:*]⁸ कुशली ॥ चच्चुरोणीमंड[लान्तःपाति . .]⁹ -
- 7 रद्रहद्वादशके श्रीकोशवर्द्धनदुर्गीयश्रीसोमनाथदेव[भु]क्तेरनु¹⁰
- 8 विलापद्रकग्रामे समुपगतान् समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् प्रति[निवासिपट्टकिलज*]
- 9 नपदादींश्च वो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितां ॥¹¹ यथा कर्पासिकाग्रामावस्थितैरस्मा[भि]—धि*]¹²
- 10 कशतैकादशसंवत्सरे चैत्रसु(शु)दिचतुर्दश्यां दमनकपर्वणि स्नात्वा चराचरगुहं भगवन्तं भ*]-
- 11 वानीपति समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा । तथा हि [1*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिप[त्यमापात*]-
- 12 मात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा परम[हो पर*]-
- 13 लोकयाने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(लम्) ॥[४॥*]
- 14 इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चन्द्रावर्कावर्णवक्षितिसमकालं या-
- 15 वत्परया भक्त्या श्रीकोशवर्द्धनदुर्गीयश्रीसोमनाथदेवायैवोपरिलिखितग्रामः स(स्व)सीमातृणयू-
- 16 तिगोचरपर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगोपरिकरसर्वादायसमेतश्च मातृ(ता)पित्रोरात्म-

¹ C.I.R.A., p. 530, No. 37.

² *Ibid.*, No. 8. The name Kakaradaha is also philologically connected with Kākardā, as Kāsahrada with Kāyadrā, for which, see below, No. 67.

³ From an impression.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol which is partly visible.

⁵ The portion in the brackets has totally peeled off and the reading is conjectural, following Dr. Altekar, who observed that स्वस्ति is generally followed by जयति व्योमकेशोसौ in the records of the Paramāras. The space can also accommodate these letters.

⁶ The sign of *anusvāra* is partly visible above व, and the consonant of त that follows is cut as भ.

⁷ These seven *aksharas* are now entirely lost and have been adopted here from Dr. Altekar's reading.

⁸ Read *Śry-Udayāditya*-. We have some other instances of the type where *sandhi*, though necessary, has not been observed for the sake of clarity.

⁹ The portion lost here contained six *aksharas*, four of which are as supplied here and the last two may have been कक, to make the complete name *Kakaradaha*, for the identification of which see above.

¹⁰ The rest of the line is lost.

¹¹ The *danḍas* are redundant.

¹² Here four letters are lost, obviously showing the unit and the decimal figures, in words.

SHĒRGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYĀDITYA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1188

2 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 4 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 6 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 8 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 10 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 12 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 14 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 16 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 18 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 20 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 22 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः
 24 **श्रीगणेशाय नमः** उदयः सम्राट् कल्याणमणिर्जनमाह्वयः प्रमयायान्तः

- 17 नश्च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये ।¹ शासनेनोदकपूर्वकतया प्रदत्त इति । तन्मत्वा तन्निवासिजनपदैर्यथा[प्र]-
 18 दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकं देवव्रा(त्रा)ह्मणभुक्तिवर्जमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वममुष्मै
 19 समुपनेतव्यं (व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु(बु)द्ध्वा अस्मद्वंशजैरण्यै (न्यै)रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मा -²
 20 दायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं च [१*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य य-
 21 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) । [१५॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । नि-
 22 र्मल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । [१६॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरण्यै (न्यै)-
 23 श्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं (यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिद्वलयवुद्धु(बुद्धु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरिपाल-
 24 नं च । [१७॥*] सर्वनितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्³ —————

No. 24 ; PLATE XXV

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMĀRA RULERS OF MĀLWĀ

(Incomplete & Undated)

THIS inscription, which is on a loose slab of stone, was brought to notice first by Dr. F. E. Hall, through the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXX, p. 114, n. ; and subsequently, from two 'excellent' impressions supplied to him by Dr. Führer, the record was edited by Dr. G. Bühler in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume I (for 1888), pp. 222 ff., with his reading of the text (pp. 233-36) and an illustrative plate. From the same facsimile the inscription is edited here and subsequently the text is also compared from the original stone.

Till the time when Bühler wrote, the stone bearing the inscription was lying in the courtyard of the Śiva temple known as of Udayēśvara, at **Udaipur**⁴, a big village in the Bāsōdā *pargānā* of the Vidishā District of Madhya Pradesh ; and it continued to be there probably up to 1917 A.C. when it was removed to the Archaeological Museum at Gwālīor, where it is now exhibited.⁵ At Udaipur it was probably laid in a part of the temple.

The slab on which the record is incised is 71.12 cms. broad by 63.58 cms. high and has a plain border c. 6 cms. broad on all the four sides. The inscription which is in a sunken panel consists of 24 lines of writing, covering a space 63 cms. broad by 61.5 cms. high. The slab is entire and the last of the lines also extends over the whole breadth of the inscribed surface ; but the inscription is not complete, which evidently indicates that the remaining portion was engraved on a second slab.⁶ The letters are beautifully formed and carefully engraved, but some of them have been abraded or damaged here and there due to the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The average height of the letters ranges between 1.5 and 2 cms.

The **script** is Nāgarī of the eleventh century. The lowest extremity of verticals of the letters shows a sharp or angular bend to the right ; even the vowel *a* and the *avagraha* sign have a serif attached to their lowest end. Another peculiarity to be noticed throughout is that a downward stroke is attached to the beginning of the top-strokes of most of the letters, as in *nādēna*, l. 2. Some of the letters are ornamentally formed, e.g., *v* which has a sort of horn attached to its vertical, and *vvī* also ; all these examples are to be noted in *asty = urvī* in l. 5.

Studying the palaeography of the *aksharas*, we find that the initial *i* is indicated by two loops surmounted by the third and all joined by a curve so as to appear as the precursor of the modern

¹ The *daṇḍas* in the line are superfluous.

² This expression appears also in some other grants and is current throughout Mālwa even to this day. It may be interpreted as *dharmasya ādāyah = ādānam, grahaṇam*.

³ The rest of the inscription is lost, as already stated above.

⁴ The place is about 6 kms. south-east of Barēth, a station between Vidishā and Bīnā on the Central Railway. The antiquities of this place are described by Cunningham in his *A.S.I., A.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 81 and *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 65. Also see *P.R.A.S., W.C.*, for 1913-14, p. 64; *A.S.I., A.R.*, for 1923-24, p. 131 ; and *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 110.

⁵ *A.R.A.D.G.S.*, for V.S. 1974, which was not printed. The reference here is from H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwālīor Rājya-kē Abhilēkha*, (pp. 88-89, No. 650), which is a departmental publication.

⁶ This was the case when Bühler wrote. But the second slab too was found later on. See Pt. B, below.

Nāgarī alphabet ; see *iva-*, l. 5 ; the conjunct *gg* continues to appear as *gn*, as in *vargga*, l. 8 ; the loop of *ch* is triangular, as in *uvācha*, l. 7 ; *dh* and *v* are almost similar in form, cf. *vasudh-ādhipa*, l. 9 ; and the verticals of *dhā* are joined by a horizontal stroke, as in the same instance. *J* and *bh* continue their old forms, though somewhat advanced ; see *Bhōjarāja*, l. 18 ; and the subscript *r* is generally indicated in its full form with its superscript half drawn, as in *-āśrayamī*, l. 3. The tail of this subscript is often not sharp, making it appear to be a serif ; cf. *namra* and *nagendra*, both in l. 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and, with the exception of a short sentence paying obeisance to Śiva, in the beginning, the whole inscription is metrically composed. The existing portion contains twenty-two verses, which are not numbered, and with only the first ten *aksharas* of the next verse, the inscription abruptly comes to a close. The **orthographical** peculiarities shown by the writing are more or less the same as to be found in the contemporary inscriptions, *viz.* (1) we have the use of *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vala*, l. 6 ; (2) a class-consonant following *r* is generally doubled ; cf. *akharvuta* and *Arvvuda*, both in the same line ; (3) the dental sibilant is frequently used for the palatal, as in *vasatām* for *vaśatām* in l. 3 ; but of the reverse we have only one instance in *viśras-tāngō*, l. 23 ; (4) the sign of *avagraha* is employed four times to indicate the merging of *a* into the preceding *ē* in ll. 6 (twice), 7 and 18 ; (5) the *anusvāra* generally does the duty of all the class-nasals ; see *Gaṅgā*, *kumḍa*, *Sindhurāja* and *Śambhu*, in ll. 1, 6, 17 and 1, respectively. This sign is also used, of course wrongly, at the end of a hemistich, as in vv. 11 and 16 ; and lastly, (6) the *prishṭha-mātrā* is generally used, with its vertical showing a bend, as of the other letters.

The language is fluent and sometimes the expressions remind us of the writings of old poets.¹ But occasionally there are mistakes of grammar, gender and prosody. The word *khadga* (masculine) is used in neuter in l. 17 (v. 15) ; as Bühler has already noted, in the first half of the very first verse the word *ālavāla* is broken into two, the first two of the letters ending its first quarter and the rest two beginning the second ; in v. 2 the words *avas(ś)yam = aniśam* appear to be unnecessary and the expression *sura-vāsa-vēs(ś)yāḥ* for *apsarasas* in the same verse is not happy. But ignoring these literary foils, the inscription is important as it gives a complete and exhaustive genealogy of the Paramāra house from the earliest ruler down to Udayāditya. It does not bear any date nor is the purpose shown in the existing portion. It is a *praśasti*, intended to be put in a part of the temple, as stated above.

After the introductory *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, the inscription has four *maṅgala-ślōkas*, the first two of which are devoted to invoke the blessings of Śiva, and the third and the fourth eulogise Pārvatī and Gaṇeśa, respectively. It is interesting to note here that an invocation to the latter two deities occurs here for the first time in an inscription pertaining to this house.

The inscription then proceeds to trace the genealogy of the Paramāra house of Mālwā. It tells us in vv. 5-6 that a hero who had sprung from the fire-altar of Vasishṭha on the Mount Arbuda (Ābū) slew the enemies and brought back the cow of the sage which Viśvāmitra had taken away, and was, in reward of this deed, given the name of Paramāra (slayer of the foes) by Vasishṭha who also blessed him with kingship.² This account is purely legendary, a later creation, and can mean nothing more than to invent a high origin for the house, calling the Paramāras as belonging to *agni-kula*, exactly similar to that of the races born from the Sun and the moon.³ The present inscription, as we may note here, is the first to mention this legend, which is echoed in the later epigraphical records of the house, *e.g.*, in the Nagpur Museum inscription and the Māndhātā copper-plate grant of Jayasīnha II, as we shall see below. It also figures in the records of the Paramāras of Ābū, the earliest of them being the Vasantagadh stone inscription of Pūrṇapāla, dated (V.) S. 1099, corresponding to 1042 A.C.⁴ and still earlier in Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, which was composed about 1005 A.C.⁵ This myth, which also figures in bardic account, as Bühler had long since assumed, had probably arisen on Mt. Ābū, where

¹ For example, cf. the beginning of verse 2 where we have an echo of the *maṅgalācharaṇa* in Bhavabhūti's *Mālātī-Mādhava*.

² Vasishṭha's penance on Arbuda is described in the *Mbh.* (Vana-parva, ch. 82) and the Padma-Purāṇa (Ch. II), but the creation of a hero of this name is not mentioned there.

³ We also find a number of the ruling families of this time, *e.g.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Yādavas, the Hoysalas, the Kalachuris and some others are mentioned in their records claiming a similar high origin.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 11. Our No. 62.

⁵ A. B. Keith, *Hist of Sans. Lit.*, p. 151. Padmagupta appears to be the originator of this myth.

the Sirōhī Paramāra princes held the fort of Achalagaḍh, lying about six kms. north by east (and not south as he wrote), and about 20 kms. due north of their capital Chandrāvati¹; and the examples enumerated above go to support his assumption.

In verse 8, which begins the genealogy, the inscription mentions the name **Upēndrarāja**, adding that he was born in the lineage of Paramāra and that "he acquired the high honour of kingship by his prowess". This indirectly goes to indicate that he was the first of the **Paramāra kings of Mālwa**. The land grants, on the other hand, mention the originator of the house to be **Kṛishnarāja**; and Dr. Hall and Cunningham have therefore taken both these names to be identical. Bühler also drew our attention to the fact that both these names are identical, and he further suggested that Upēndrarāja was probably the poetical form of the name and Kṛishnarāja was its Prakrit equivalent to be used in every day life.²

Verses 8-11 mention the names of **Vairisimha**, **Siyaka**, **Vākpati** and another (a second) **Vairisimha**, each of whom was the son of his predecessor. The description here is purely conventional, except that we learn that the last of these rulers, viz., Vairisimha, was also known as Vajraṭa. Indirectly it also suggests that Vākpati fixed his capital at Dhārā. Here it is worth noting that of all these five rulers from Upēndrarāja to Vairisimha, the Nagpur *praśasti* gives only the last name, the *Tilakamañjarī* only that of Vairisimha, and the *Navasāhasāṃkha-charita* which gives the name of Upēndrarāja, omits those of Vairisimha (I) and Siyaka (I). Thus the present inscription is the only record which gives a complete genealogy of the earlier Paramāra rulers of Mālwa, as already stated before.

Verse 12 introduces Vākpati's son **Harshadēva**, who is the same as Siyaka of the Nagpur *praśasti* (v. 20). The *N.S. Charita* and the *Tilakamañjarī* also give him the name of Siyaka. The present inscription here adds that this ruler defeated Khōṭṭigadēva in a battle. This is evidently a reference to Vākpati's success over the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga (971 A.C.), the details of which we have seen above, while editing the Harsolā grants of Siyaka himself.³ In the political history of the house we have already seen that the names of Vairisimha and Siyaka appear to have been repeated here.

The next three verses (13-15) speak of Siyaka's son **Vākpatirāja**, who is stated to have been well-versed in the Śāstras and a poet too. The *N.S. Charita* calls him Utpalarāja (XI, 92). In the Nagpur *praśasti* we have the name Muñja instead of Vākpati; and Hall recognises first the identity of the two names. The land-grants call him Vākpati and add that he was also known as Amōghavarsha and bore the titles of *Prithvī-vallabha* and *Śrī-vallabha*. The praise given by the present *praśasti* to Vākpati is not undeserved, as we know from the various quotations of his verses in anthologies, works on *alanikāras*, the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and the *Bhōja-prabandha*, etc., though some of these may be of a doubtful nature. In the *Tilakamañjarī* Dhanapāla uses for him the title of *sarva-vidyābhi*.⁴

Besides his learning and talent, Vākpati is known to the *praśastikāra* for his military exploits also. Verses 14-15 of the present record state that "his lotus-feet were coloured by the jewels on the heads of the Karnnāṭas, Lāṭas, Kēralas and Chōlas and he vanquished Yuvarāja, and slaying his general, as a victor, raised on high his sword in Tripuri." The Kalachuri Yuvarāja of Tripuri (c. 980-990) who was Vākpati's contemporary was a weak ruler, quite unlike his father Lakshmaṇa; and Vākpati may have come into a clash with Yuvarāja whose kingdom lay immediately to the east of Mālwa and scored a victory over him, though of a fleeting nature. It has to be admitted here, however, that we have no evidence in support of this assertion, nor is it possible to fix the date of this clash. With reference to Vākpati's victory over the Karnnāṭas (evidently the Chālukyas), we know that in his long struggle with his adversary Trailapa II, he had to lose his throne and life in the end; and the claim of the *praśasti* that Vākpati subdued the Karnnāṭas is evidently inadmissible. It is however possible that he may have gained some success in one of his earlier expeditions against the region and that success may have been referred to here. As regards the Lāṭas, it is possible that Vākpati may have carried a sweeping raid over the region which was then in an unsettled condition, as we know

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 224.

² *Ibid.*, p. 225, n. 3.

³ Nos. 1-2, above.

⁴ *Kāvya-mālā Series*, No. 85 (1903), p. 6, v. 53.

that the northern Gujarāt was then conquered by Mūlarāja and the central by his opponent Bārappa.¹ With reference to Vākpati's victory over the Chōlas and Kēralas, it is not possible to give any credit to the statement of the *praśasti*, in view of the fact, as has been pointed out by Bühler, that both these kingdoms lay at a very great distance from Mālwā.

About Vākpati's end, the *praśasti* is silent, as the Nagpur *praśasti* also, which eulogises him in three verses (23-25); nor even Padmagupta, the contemporary court-poet, has spoken of the reverse, which we know from some other sources. From Mērutuṅga we learn that Vākpati invaded the Chālukya territories which touched the southern borders of his kingdom, as many as six times; but when in his seventh expedition in that land he crossed the Gōdāvarī, ignoring the advice of his minister Rudrāditya, he was taken prisoner by the Chālukya king Tailapa, who first treated him honourably, but an attempt to escape being detected, assassinated him.² This story is corroborated by Chālukya inscriptions.³ This tragic event must have taken place between 993-94 and 997-998 A.C., the first of these dates being furnished by Amita-gati who then composed his *Subhāshitaratnasandōha*,⁴ and the second is known to be the last year of Tailapa.⁵

Vākpati's younger brother was **Sindhurāja**, who is stated to have won a victory over a king of the Hūṇas. To the description of Sindhurāja our *praśasti* gives only half a verse (16); but the N.S. *Charita*, besides corroborating his success against the Hūṇa king, credits him with victories over a prince of the Kōsala as well as over the inhabitants of Vāgaḍa and the Muralas (X, 14-20). The Kōsala used here, as Dr. Bühler has shown, refers to the Southern Kōsala kingdom which included portions of the Central Provinces and Berar (now a part of the Bombay State); and there is still a Province known as Vāgaḍa which lies to the north-west of Mālwā; and it is not impossible that Sindhurāja may have come into a clash with the rulers of both these regions.⁶ But the reference to his victory over the Muralas (Kēralas?) appears to be a mere poetic fancy, as the region lay at a great distance from his kingdom. It must be admitted here, however, that we have no details regarding Sindhurāja's victories over all these powers: but he must have taken at least seven or eight years to perform all these military exploits before Padmagupta, who too alludes to some of them, must have completed his work. In view of this, Bühler has concluded that this prince must have reigned at least up to the middle of the first decade of the eleventh century when Padmagupta wrote. How much longer Sindhurāja may have ruled is not known; but he must have certainly closed some time before 1011 A.C. which is the earliest date furnished for his son Bhōjadēva by the Mōḍāsā grant (No. 8, above), and probably about 1000 A.C., as conjectured by us in the historical Section.

Sindhurāja's son, **Bhōjadēva**, is eulogised in the *praśasti* for his strength, charities, victories and temple-building activities, in vv. 16-20. The assertion of the *praśastikāra* that Bhōja resembled Prithu⁷ and ruled the earth from Kailāsa (in the north) to Malaya-giri (in the south), and from the mountain where the Sun rises to that where it sets (east and west respectively) is merely a poetic way of expression which is absolutely worthless for historical purposes. Verse 18 alludes to his knowledge and endows him with the title of *kavirāja*. The praise is not undeserved, since, as we know, a number of works were composed by Bhōja himself and his protégés.⁸ Verse 19 enumerates Bhōja's military exploits and victories won by him over the lord of Chēdis, Indraratha, Toggala(?) Bhīma, the king of the Gurjaras, the lord of Lāṭa, the Karṇāṭas and the Turushkas. Of these, Bhōja's political relations with the Chēdis (Kalachuris) and the rulers of Lāṭa, Karṇāṭa

¹ K. Forbes, *Rāsamālā*, pp. 37 ff.

² *P.C.M.*, pp. 33 ff.

³ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 167-68. The *Samgamnēr* grant of the Yādava Bhīllama II (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 217) says that on the battle-field Bhīllama deprived Muñja of his royal fortune which he established in the house of his overlord *raṇa-raṅga-bhīma*, i.e. Tailapa II. This statement goes to show that Bhīllama participated actively in the battle in which Muñja was taken prisoner.

⁴ *Kāvya-mālā Series*, No. 82 (1903), p. 104, v. 922.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 432.

⁶ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 228-29.

⁷ Prithu, after whom the earth (*prithivī*) is so known, is said to have pushed the mountains (*urvīdharas*) asunder with his bow; and in the same way Bhōja is described here as defeating the (rival) kings. There is a pun on the word *urvīdhara* here.

⁸ A list of these will be found in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*. Some of them have been mentioned by Bühler in his article in pp. 231-32. Also see the Section on Literature, above.

(Chālukya) and the Chaulukyas of Gujārāt have already been discussed above¹ and need not be repeated here. About Indraratha and Tōggala(?) I am unable to say anything.² The king of the Gurjaras, who must be taken separate from Bhīma who too is mentioned here, may have been the Pratīhāra king of Kanauj, as Dr. D. C. Ganguli has suggested ; but we have no evidence either to corroborate it or to know its details. The name Turushka (Turk) is used to denote the Mohammedans in general ; and Bhōja's victory over the Turushkas, mentioned in the inscription, may allude to his sending an army to help the Shāhī Ānandapāla in 1008 A.C. against Mahmūd of Gaznī or to his 'joining the conspiracy of the Hindu Chiefs when he conquered Hānsī, Thāneswar, Nagarkot and other dependencies of the Muslims and besieged the fortress of Lahore for seven months.'³

Verse 20 of the *praśasti* states that Bhōja 'covered the world all around with temples dedicated to Kēdāra, Rāmēśvara, Sōmanātha, Suṇḍīra (?), Kāla, Anala and Rudra.' The first three of these names appear to be intended to refer, respectively, to the well-known Śiva temples in the north, south and west ; and following the same, the fourth, which is a strange and so-far-unknown name, may possibly have been one in the east. Kāla, the fifth of the names enumerated here, may possibly be taken to be an abbreviated form of Mahākāla, at Ujjain ;⁴ and the last two of the names, i.e., Anala and Rudra, which also are synonymous with Śiva are very common and cannot be specified. Commenting on this statement of the *praśasti*, Bühler has rightly remarked that it cannot be corroborated,⁵ and agreeing with him, we are also inclined to hold that the choice of these names may have been made with a view to impress what the *praśasti* has already stated in v. 17, that Bhōja enjoyed the earth from the north to the south and from the east to the west.

Bhōjadēva's earliest epigraphic date is supplied by the Mōḍāsā grant of V.S. 1067 or 1011 A.C. Bühler, to whom this date was not known, makes an attempt in this direction by showing that his accession took place between 1005 when the *N.S. Charita* which does not mention him was written, and 1011-12 and 1118-19 A.C. when he was engaged in a struggle with the Chālukya Jayasīṃha III. His last date cannot be accurately ascertained : but his latest known date is furnished by the Tilakawādā grant which was issued in V.S. 1103 or 1047 A.C.⁶

The following verse (21) introduces Udayāditya, who is spoken of as 'another Sun dispelling the dense darkness in the form of his magnanimous foes with the rays issuing from his strong sword and thereby gladdening the hearts of his people by his splendour'. The enemies referred to here are not specified, but the description goes to indicate that they were very powerful and had deprived the Paramāras of their kingdom in the last days of Bhōja, or immediately after his death. From the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* we learn that in the last days of Bhōjadēva the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma attacked Mālwā simultaneously and took possession of his kingdom.⁷ This statement is corroborated by epigraphical records of the Paramāras. The Nagpur *praśasti*, which is more explicit on the point, states that Udayāditya resembled the Great Boar in delivering the earth (i.e., the Paramāra kingdom) which had submerged in the mighty oceans in the form of the Karṇāṭa, Karṇa and others (*prabhṛiti*). This description agrees very closely with that of the Māndhātā grant of Jayasīṃha II, though the enemy mentioned there was only the Gurjara king.⁸ Discussing all these details, we have concluded that the enemies then befalling simultaneously on the Paramāra kingdom for the different directions were (1) the

¹ See Kālvaṇ plates of Yaśōvarman, No. 16, above.

² It is presumed that the first of these enemies was the ruler of Ādinagara, or Nagara, modern Mukhalingam, in the Ganjām District, Orissa, and the second, a Gaznavide general. See *H.P.D.*, p. 66, and *P.B.P.* pp. 78 and 83.

³ Ganguly, *H.P.D.*, p. 101 ; also see Brigg's *Firishta*, I, p. 118.

⁴ It may however be noted here that we have no definite data to propose these identifications. Kālēśvara is a very common name and temples dedicated to Śiva under this name are to be found throughout Mālwā even to this day. As regards the name Mahākāla, old temples dedicated to this deity exist even today at four places around Ujjain, at (1) Ūn in W. Nēmāḍ District, (2-3) Jhārḍā and Māklā, both in the Mahidpur *parganā* of the Ujjain District, and (4) Sundarsī in the Shājāpur District. Portions of these temples were subsequently repaired but the original structures are old and 'good examples of temple architecture of the 10-12th centuries A.C.' See, *P.R.A.S.*, *W.C.*, for 1918-19, p. 61 ; *ibid.*, for 1919-20 ; pp. 100-01 ; and *ibid.*, for 1920-21, p. 22.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁶ No. 15. For the reign period of this king, see the political history Section.

⁷ Tawney, pp. 73 ff.

⁸ Below, No. 60, v. 36.

Kalachuri Karna, (2) the Chaulukya Bhīma and (3) the Hoysala Eṣyaṅga,¹ and it need not be repeated here. And the credit of vanquishing them all goes to Udayāditya, whose relations with Bhōjadēva are not stated in the inscription but who was his brother, as the Dōṅgargāon inscription informs us.²

While editing the present inscription, Dr. Bühler contends that the story of Bhōja's reverse narrated by the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and also by the epigraphical records of the house cannot be implicitly accepted because it does not find place in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris; nor does Hēmachandra, who extols Bhīma 'in the best possible light' and who wrote his *Dvyaśraya-kāvya* about 150 years before Mērutuṅga, say anything about it.³ But here we are to remember that it was a long-drawn war and the story does not end with the reverse sustained by Bhōja but with the 'total destruction (*saṁhāra*) of the Kalachuri king (*Dāhal-ādhiśa*) at the hands of Udayāditya,' as we know from l. 2 of the following inscription, which is in continuation of the inscription in hand and was discovered 37 years after Bühler worked out his article.

The next verse (22), which is the last complete verse of the *praśasti*, again glorifies Udayāditya, stating that 'for him who restored the earth (from the enemies) it was easy to restore the Premial Boar.' This statement appears to be a hint to the restoration of a Boar-temple by Udayāditya, as we shall see in the inscription that follows (Part B).

TEXT⁴

[Metres : Verses 1 and 8 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 2-3, 9-10, 12 and 19 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 4, 6, 15 and 18 *Anuśtubh* ; vv. 5 and 21 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 7, 16 and 20 *Upajāti* ; v. 11 *Śālinī* ; v. 13 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 14 and 22 *Āryā* ; v. 17 *Mandākrāntā*].

- 1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ गंगावु(वु)संसिक्तभुजंगमालवाले कलेन्दोरमलांकुराभा । यन्मूर्ध्नि नम्रेहितकल्पवल्याभातीव भूत्यं स तवास्तु शंभुः⁵ ॥ [१*]
- 2 सानन्दनदिकरसुन्दरसांद्रनादीनादेन तुवु(वु)रुमनोरमगानमानैः । [नृत्यं]त्यवम्य(श्व)मनि[शं] सुरवासवेस्या(श्या) यस्याग्रतो भ-
- 3 वतु वः स सि(शि)वः शिवाय ॥ [२*] मूर्द्धस्थिता[भ्रसरितोक्ष]⁶मयेव सं(शं)भोरद्धागमंगघटनाद् घनमाश्रयंती । दृष्ट्वात्मनाथ वस(श)तां
- 4 सकलांगतुष्टा पुष्टि नगेंद्रतनया भवतां विदध्यात् ॥ [३*] गणेशो [वः] सुखायास्तु निशातः परशुः करे । यस्य नम्रघनावद्य-
- 5 कंदोच्छित्या इवोद्यतः ॥ [४*]⁷ अस्त्युर्व्वीधः प्रतीच्यां हिमगिरितनयः सिद्धदंपत्यसिद्धेः स्थानं च ज्ञानभाजामभिमत-
- 6 फलदोऽर्ध्ववितः सोऽर्ध्व(र्ध्व)दाख्यः । विश्वामित्रो वसिष्ठादहरत व(व)[ल]तो यत्र गां तत्प्रभावाज्जज्ञे वीरो[ग्नि]कुंडाद्रिपुव(ब)लनिधनं य-
- 7 श्वकारैक एव ॥ [५*] मारयित्वा परान्धेनुमानिन्ये स ततो मुनिः । उवाच परमारा U ; U⁸ थिवेद्रो भविष्यसि ॥ [६*] तदन्ववायेऽखिलयज्ञसंघत-
- 8 प्लामरोदाहृतकीर्तिरामीत् । उपेंद्रराजो द्विजवर्गं रत्नं [शौर्य्यो]ज्जितोत्तुंगनृपत्व[मानः]⁹ ॥ [७*] तत्सूनुरासीदरिराजकुंभिकं-
ठीरवो वीर्यं-
- 9 वतां वरिष्ठः । श्रीवैरि¹⁰सिंहश्चतुरर्णवान्तधाव्यां जयस्तंभकृतप्रशस्तिः ॥ [८*] तस्माद्व(द्व)भूव वसुधाधिपमौलिमालारत्नप्रभारुचिरं-
- 10 जितपादपीठः । श्रीसीयकः करकृपाणजलोम्मिमग्नस(श)तुव्रजो विजयिनां धुरि भूमिपालः ॥ [९*] तस्मादवन्ति(न्ति)तरुणीनय-
- 11 नारविन्दभास्वानभूत्करकृपाणमरीचिदीप्तः । श्रीवाक्पतिः स(श)तमखानुकृति[स्तु]रंगा गंगासमुद्रसलिलानि पिबन्ति यस्य ॥ [१०*] ॥

¹ See below, No. 33.

² Below, No. 28, v. 5.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 232.

⁴ From facsimile accompanying Bühler's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, and from an impression supplied by the Superintending Archaeologist, Central Circle, Bhopāl.

⁵ As noted by Bühler, the word आलवाल is here broken into two, the first two of its letters ending the first foot and the rest beginning the second foot of this verse. In the latter half also I find that the prefix आ is taken at the end of the third foot, and इव is not in its proper place. The error can be corrected by the restoration -बल्लीवाभाति.

⁶ In the facsimile and the impression the bracketed *aksharas* have disappeared, leaving traces. But they are distinct on the stone from which they have been restored here.

⁷ This verse is followed by a floral design between two *daṇḍas*.

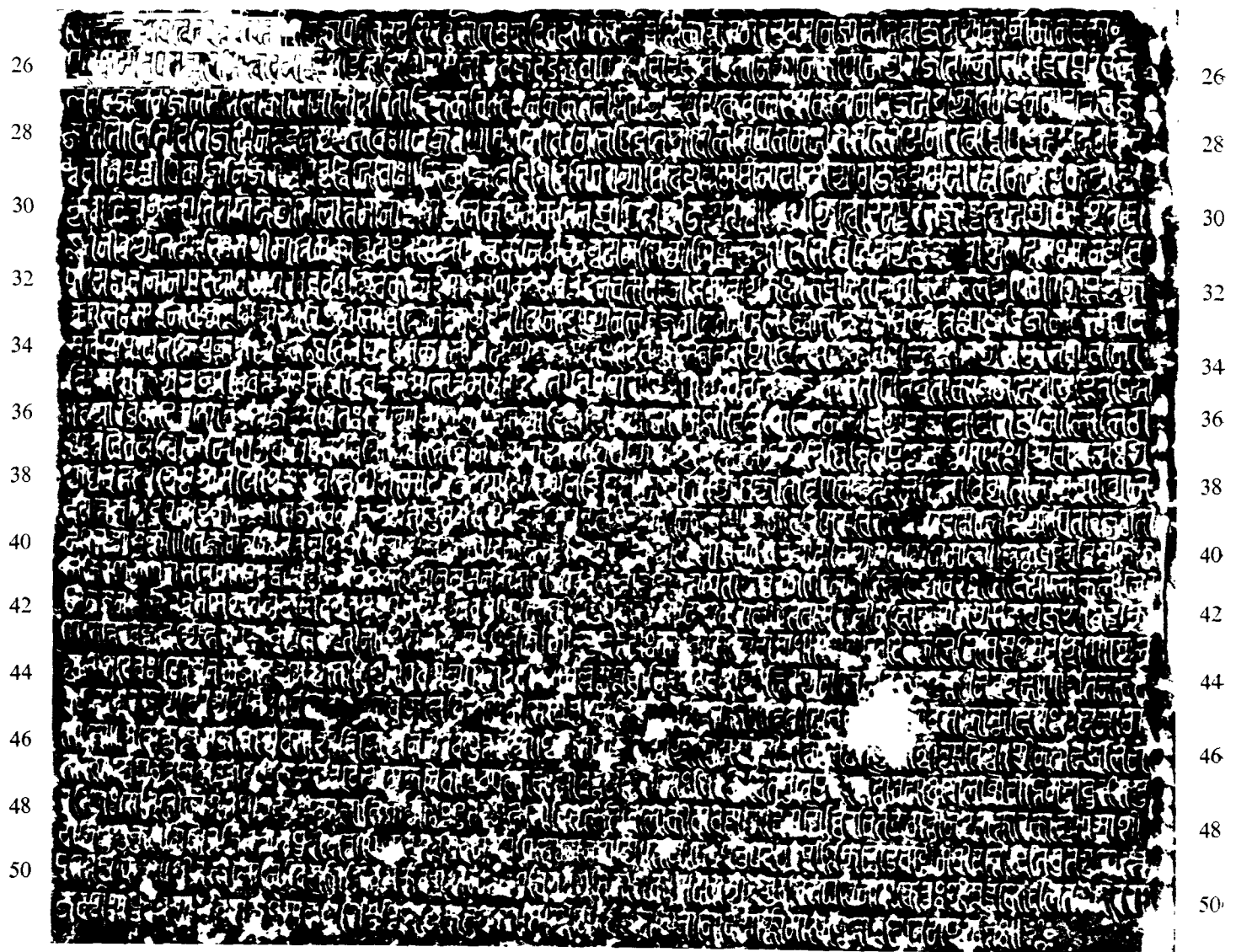
⁸ These two *aksharas* are totally lost. Read -राख्यः, as suggested by Bühler and as they are clear on the stone. They *mātrā* of the preceding त्या was subsequently inserted.

⁹ The reading of these two *aksharas* is uncertain. They also appear as भूमिः. On the original the reading भूमिः is clear.

¹⁰ The vertical of the *mātrā* of the second *akshara* of the name was subsequently inserted.

Scale: Five-eighths

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMĀRA
RULERS OF MĀLWĀ: (UNDATED) — PART B



Scale: Five-eighths

- 12 जातस्तस्माद्वैरिंसिहोन्यनामा लोको ब्रू(ब्रू)ते [वज्रट]स्वामिनं यं(यम्) । शत्रोर्वर्गं धारयासेन्निहत्य श्रीमद्वारा सूचिता येन राज्ञा
॥[११*] तस्मा—
- 13 दभ्दरिनरेस्व(श्व)रसंघसेवा¹गज्जद्गजेंद्र[वसु]दरतूर्यनादः । श्रीहर्षदेव इति खोट्टिगदेवलक्ष्मीं जग्राह यो युधि नगादसमप्र—
तापः ॥[१२*] पुत्रस्तस्य वि[भू]षिवा(ता)खिलधराभोगो गुणैकास्पदं सौ(शौ)यक्रान्तसमस्तस(श)तुविभवाधिव्याद्य(न्याय्य)वित्तोदयः ।
वक्तृत्वो—
- 15 च्चक्रवित्तवर्ककलनप्रज्ञातसा(शा)[स्वा]गमः श्रीमद्वाम्पतिराजदेव इति यः सद्भिः सदा कीर्त्यते ॥[१३*] कर्णाटिलाटकेरल—
चोलसि(शि)रोरत्नरागिप[द]कमलः ²। यश्च प्रणयि[ग]णार्थितदाता कल्पद्रुमप्रख्यः ॥[१४*] युवराजं विजित्याजौ [हृ]त्वा तद्वा—
हिनीपतीन् । खङ्गमूर्ध्वीकृतं³ ये[न] त्रिपुर्या विजिगीषुणा ॥[१५*] तस्यानुजो निर्जितहूणराजः श्रीसिंधुराजो विजयार्ज्जि—
तश्रीः । श्रीभोजराजोजनि येन रत्नं नरोत्तमाकम्पकृ[द]द्वितीयं(यम्)⁴ ॥[१६*] आकैलासान्मलयगिरितोऽस्तोदयाद्रिद्वयादाभुक्ता पृथ्वी
पृथु—
- 19 नरपतेस्तुल्यरूपेण येन । उन्मूल्योर्वीभरगुह[ग?]णा लीलया चापय[ष्ट्या] क्षिप्ता दिक्षु क्षितिरपि परां प्रीतिमापादिता च ॥[१७*]
साधितं विहितं दत्तं
- 20 ज्ञातं तद्यन्न केनचित् । किमन्यत्कविराजस्य श्रीभोजस्य प्रस(श)स्यते ॥[१८*] चेदीश्वरेंद्ररथ[तो]ऽगल[भीममु]ख्या[न्क]र्णाटिला-
टपतिगुज्जरराटुह—
- 21 ष्कान् । यद्भू[त्य]मात्रविजितानवलोक्य मौला दोष्णां व(ब)लानि कलयन्ति [न योद्धलोकान्]⁶ ॥[१९] केदाररामेश्वरसोमनाथ-
[सु]⁷डीरकालानलरुद्र—
- 22 मत्कैः [।] सुराश्र[यै]र्व्याप्य च यः समन्ताद्यथार्थसंज्ञां जगतीं चकार ॥[२०*] तत्रादित्यप्रतापे गतवति सदनं स्वर्गिणां भर्गभक्ते
व्याप्ता धारेव धात्री रिपुति—
- 23 मिरभरैर्मौललोकस्तदाभूत् । विश्व(स)स्तांगो निहत्योद्भूटरिपुति[मिरभ]रं⁸ खङ्गदंडांशु(शु)जालैरन्यो भास्वानिवोद्यन्तुतिमुदितजानामोद—
यादित्यदेवः ॥[२१*] येन धरणीवराहः परमारेणोद्धृतो निरायासात् । [तस्यै तस्या भू]मेरुद्वारो व(ब)त कियन्मात्रः ॥[२२*]
कुंताप्रापातवाजिब्रजभु⁹—

Part B; PLATE XXVI

This is the latter half of the Udaipur *prāśasti*, the first half of which has been edited above. It is engraved on a stone slab which was found by the late M. B. Garde, the Director of Archaeology in the former State of Gwalior, in a *Dhimar's* house near the Chaṭuā *Darwāzā* at Udaipur in the Vidishā District, in the working season of 1925-26. The same scholar removed the inscribed stone to the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior, where it is now preserved, and noticed the contents of the record in the *Annual Administration Report* of the department of Archaeology, Gwalior State, ending V.S. 1982 or 1925-26 A.C., pp. 12-13, and also in that of the Archaeological Survey of India for the same year, on p. 13.

¹ Read सेना, as suggested by Bühler. The word नगाद (Garuda), as used in the last *pāda* of this verse, is quite in consonance with engraving this figure in the land-grants of the dynasty.

² This *danḍa* is joined to the following letter and the preceding द is disfigured by a redundant chisel stroke.

³ Read खङ्ग ऊर्ध्वीकृतो, as suggested by Bühler. The fourth *akshara* in this verse may be read as द्वी or द्वी but not श्वी, as adopted in the text in its correct form.

⁴ Bühler read the bracketed letter as त but it is distinctly द on the original; करोतीति कृत्; it is changed to द, by *sandhi*.

⁵ The bracketed letter is so formed as to appear as तो or भो or even सो, as also remarked by Bühler. The reading could not be ascertained even from my inspection of the original. The following न्क is peculiarly formed.

⁶ The bracketed letters are all extremely damaged and their restoration is due to Bühler. In my examination of the original I found this reading to be certain.

⁷ The reading of this letter is again doubtful. On the original, however, सु is very clear.

⁸ The second *yati* of the third *pāda* of this verse contains two syllables in excess. The flaw can be removed by deleting भरं. The letters रभ are struck off on the original.

⁹ The last letter is doubtfully read here. It is a portion of a verse in *Sragdharā*, and the following portion is continued on another stone. The restoration of these ten letters is merely from the inked impression and my personal examination of the original stone. They are not distinct in the facsimile, and were read by Bühler as (कुंवान्य-)तवाजिब्रजह; but this gives no sense. The suggestion about the reading of the last letter is due to S. L. Katare.

The stone is complete with a broad border on all the sides, resembling the one which bears the earlier half of the *praśasti*, which is continued on it. It contains 27 lines of writing, measuring 62.5 cms. broad by 53 cms. high. **The alphabet, the language and the orthographical peculiarities** of the record are all the same as of the earlier part of it. The size of the individual letters is 1.5 cm. But the stone is in a very bad state of preservation. It has suffered from a good many abrasions and the major portion of the record has become obliterated and undecipherable.

To notice the contents of the inscription, we find that the first few letters, which can be read with certainty, speak of Udayāditya's bravery and his glorious success against the lord of the Chēdīśa (*Dāhalādhīśa*) whom he routed completely. This is evidently a reference to his success against the Kalachuri Karna who had attacked the Paramāra dominions with the sole aim of obliterating it altogether, as we have often been seeing. The genealogy of the Paramāras, which we find in the earlier part of the *praśasti*, stops with the mention of this king. Following this, we have the description of the members of the Nēmaka dynasty.¹

Owing to the imperfect nature of the record, the names of the ruling princes of this dynasty cannot be made out completely; and the **object** of the inscription appears to be that Udaipur was placed in charge of a king who belonged to this dynasty, and to record that (he, or during his reign was) constructed a temple, evidently the one referred to in it. The father of this king was Śūdraka, who is said to have vanquished the king of Gujarāt, possibly to be identified with the Chaulukya king Karna, whose dates range from 1064 to 1094 A.C., or, his successor Bhīma. The long hostility between the Paramāras and the Chaulukya is well known.

The first two lines of the record, as deciphered by me from an impression kindly supplied by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Central Circle, Bhopāl, are given below. They are in continuation of what is engraved on the first slab; and the numbers of verses shown here are also in continuation of those appearing in it.

The inscription ends with the word *praśasti*, followed by a double *danḍa* and a flowery design.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the record is **Udayapura**, which is said to be the capital town of the Nēmaka dynasty (l. 6), which was subordinate to Udayāditya. This place still bears this name, as we have already seen.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 23 and 25 (only the first quarter) *Sragdharā*; v. 24 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 अधिरहतानेकपस्वे (श्वे) तदन्तर्प्रेषत्त[त्कंठ]मुक्तापतिततटसि (शि) रःसो (शो) णसु (शु) भ्रादिवर्णा (णाम्) । संपूर्णा – णिकान्तां
समर(सु) वसने⁴ च्छादयित्वा जयश्रीकान्तामानंदकान्तां⁵
- 2 परिणयति परान्मारयित्वोदयाकर्कः ॥[२३॥*] डहालाधीशसंहारवज्रदंड इवापरः ॥(॥) दोर्दंडखंडितानेकानेकपो यस्य राजते ॥[२४॥*]
कुंते सिद्धरपुरं व(व)ह—
- 3 लमदजलं कज्जलं सत्स(च्छ)लाकं —————⁶

¹ Lines 6-7 of the inscription read: कृत्वोदयपुरं राज्यवृद्धयै यस्य समर्पितम् । इदानीं वर्ण्यतेस्माभिः स श्रीमान्नेमकान्वयः ।, beginning with a flowery design which shows that the account of the Paramāra house ends just before it.

² From an impression.

³ This is in continuation of the last letter engraved on the first part of the *praśasti*.

⁴ The first *akshara* of this word has not clearly come out on the impression. It appears as चू, but would make no sense. And the third one bears a redundant stroke but its reading is absolutely certain.

⁵ This letter appears to have been damaged.

⁶ What follows is all abraded, as already stated, and consequently is not completely legible. It may also be noted here that the inscription is complete, as shown by the last letters which can be read as —तेयं प्रशस्तिः, followed by a flowery design between a double *danḍa* on either side. It is the last part of a verse giving the name of the writer or the engraver, which too cannot be made out.

Nos. 25-27 ; PLATES XXVII-XXX

THREE SERPENTINE STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM MĀLWĀ

(All undated)

25. THE MAHĀKĀLA TEMPLE (UJJAIN) INSCRIPTION (PLATE XXVII)

THIS inscription was briefly noticed by K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Archaeology in the former Dhār State, in his work entitled *Dhar and Mandu*, pp. 29-30, and subsequently its contents were noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Reports* of the Western Circle of the Survey, for 1904-05, p. 8, and again for 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55 (Nos. 2601 and 2599). It was finally edited by K. N. Sastri in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 25 ff., with a photograph between pp. 28-29. The record is edited here from the original stone and an estampage which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist.

The inscription is incised on a black basalt, now set in a small *chhatrī* in the compound of the Mahākāla temple at **Ujjain**, the principal city of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. It consists of 28 closely written lines, measuring 35 cms. broad by 44 cms. high. The length of the first three lines is a little less than the usual length of the other lines so as to accommodate two or three letters less on either of their sides; and line 17 is only about half in length of the others. Lines 18 to 28, which are engraved only on the left side, again vary in length, the first of these is 20 cms. long; the next three about 23 cms. long each (except that the first of these is also continued on the right side); and the last seven lines show the length of each of them to be 12·5 cms. The lower right side of the slab contains an alphabetical-cum-grammatical chart, with its top being almost parallel to l. 18 and showing a total height of about 55 cms. The average height of letters in ll. 1-17 is 1 cm., and below, it varies slightly, being more or less, as allowed by the space for engraving them. The inscription is tolerably well preserved, except some of the syllables which are damaged or have disappeared on account of flaking, as also on the lower left side of the stone.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** alphabet of the 11-12th century A.C. They are beautifully engraved. With reference to its **palaeography**, we note that in ll. 1-17 the syllable *ṇ* is devoid of its dot, as in *liṅga*, l. 1, and *-saṅga*, l. 8; that *dh* has a horn on its forelimb, for example in *-dhyāna*, l. 2, though we have exceptions as in *dhātrā*, l. 16; and the slightly different forms or *r* are to be seen in *-rapi* and *charaṇa*-, in ll. 16 and 17, respectively. It is interesting to note that in the alphabetical chart engraved below, *ṇ* exhibits the same form, the lingual *ḍ* is formed so as to resemble *r*; *dh* has begun developing a horn, and finally, the letter *b* has a separate sign of its own, resembling a parallelogram, the height of which exceeds its breadth, with the side on the right drawn below.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The inscription begins with a *praśasti* eulogising Śiva in six stanzas, each of which is complete in itself. The **purpose** of it, as can only be guessed, appears to record the restoration of the temple of Mahākāla where it is found, and along with it, also to give the type of the alphabet and some grammatical terminations, the details of which we shall presently see. The record is grammatically correct. With reference to **orthography**, we note the same peculiarities as to be found in contemporary inscriptions, for example, the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *pasyanti*, l. 5; the occasional reduplication of a consonant following *r*, as in *-archchita* and *-arppita*, both in l. 2, but not in *hartā*, l. 7; the general use of the *ṛishṭha-mātrā*, which, in a few cases is marked above the letter, as in the three *anusṭubh* verses below; and finally, the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b*, which too is given as a separate letter in the chart below. The word *dhyāna* in l. 2 is spelt with the lingual *ṇ*, and *yasmin* in l. 11 ends wrongly in an *anusvāra*.

The six stanzas of the *praśasti* are marked from 79 to 84; and this naturally raises a question as to the existence of another fragment containing stanzas No. 1 to 78. It is likely, as suggested by Sastri, that the earlier portion of the *praśasti* which contains stanzas 1 to 78 may have been engraved on a stone slab built in a niche in the upper story of the Mahākāla temple. The resemblance in style and the subject matter, along with the kind of stone, tends to support

the suggestion of Sastri, though we cannot be absolutely certain about it. This is why Dr. D. C. Sircar, while publishing Sastri's article, remarked that it is likely that the two fragments form the beginning and end of two different inscriptions.¹

Here we may give a general idea of the record in the upper story and consider its relation with the one under review. The inscription on the upper story of the temple is about 43 cms. broad by 55 cms. high; and the surface of the stone being highly worn out, it cannot be completely read. But what one can make out from the fragmentary reading of it is that it contains 19 stanzas, of which the first sixteen are devoted to the eulogy of Śiva and the description of the Arbuda mountain. This account is followed, as we find in a number of the Paramāra inscriptions, by an allusion to the sacrificial offering of the sage Vasishṭha and the creation of a warrior from his fire-pit. The portion that follows is lost; it appears to have contained the genealogy of the Paramāra rulers bringing it down to Udayāditya, whose name appears in the present inscription. Viewing this all, it appears possible, though not certain, that the present inscription was in continuation of the one on the upper story, and some time subsequently the two fragments were separated. This consideration alone appears to justify the fact that the verses in the present inscription are numbered from 79 onwards.

Of the three stanzas in the *Anushtubh* metre which are incised in ll. 23-28 and below the alphabet on the left hand side, the first dedicates the *Varṇa-nāgakṛipāṇikā*, i.e., the alphabetical snake-scimitar, to Udayāditya; and the second stanza states that this sword of kings Udayāditya and Naravarman, the worshippers of Śiva, was ready equally for the protection of the (four) *Varṇas* (classes of society) and of the *Varṇas* (alphabet), (by encouraging learning), with a pun on the word *Varṇa*. The third and the last of these stanzas purports to state that this serpentine sword of king Udayāditya, intended for the protection of letters (learning) and social classes has been set up as a badge for the poets and kings (rulers). It also says that the string of (poetic) gems was composed by "the friend of the talented poets" (*sukavibandhunā*), which, as Sastri rightly pointed out, presumably refers to king Naravarman himself, who appears to have composed the *praśasti*.² Thus the drift of all these three verses taken together goes to show, as already indicated by Sastri, that the *praśasti* was incised by Naravarman himself, during his reign, to commemorate the restoration of a temple of Śiva (the Mahākāla temple itself where the stone was found),³ and also that he associated his father's name with his own as an expression of honour and filial love. The case appears analogous to that of the Nagpur Museum stone inscription which is Naravarman's own composition and which contains as many as twenty-one verses to eulogise his brother Lakshmadēva for whom he had deep devotion.⁴

Immediately following the *praśasti* and in ll. 18-19 are engraved the *aksharas* of the Nāgarī alphabet, class-wise, each group being followed by a numerical indication showing the number of *aksharas* in it. Thus the number 14 in l. 18 indicates the vowels from *a* to *au*, then the number 2 the *anusvāra* and *visarga*, and following it, again the number 2 is engraved at the end of the signs of *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya*. In l. 19 are given the consonants from *ka* to *ha*, indicating their total number 51, at the end. The sub-total is also indicated just after each of the groups. Line 20 of the inscription gives the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, *ṛī*, and *ḷī*, and following these, we find (in ll. 20-22) the well-known *Māhēśvara-sūtras*. The total number of letters in them, which is 47, is given at the end, and the sub-total of each group is also mentioned along with it. This alphabetical arrangement is followed by the three stanzas (ll. 23-28), as already discussed above.

On the right side of where the *Māhēśvara-sūtras* end, we find the beginning of the *bandha*

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 25, n. 3. In my personal examination on the spot I was convinced that Sastri is correct in his remarks.

² Agreeing with Sastri and also with Lele who expressed the same opinion while noticing the alphabetical-cum-grammatical chart found at Dhār (the next one), I hesitate to agree with Dr. Sircar who suggests that the verses were composed by the talented poet Bandhu (*su-kavi-bandhunā*) who was probably a protégé of Naravarman, for Sircar himself has also felt the difficulty that the poet Bandhu would not indulge in calling himself "a talented poet". See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 26, n. In our view as expressed here, Sircar's justification of calling Naravarman a king (*mahābhuj*) by taking him a governor of a district of his father's kingdom, does not arise.

³ The time of the actual construction of the temple of this *jyōtirliṅga* being unknown, this view is expressed here.

⁴ See No. 33, vv. 34-54.

known as *Varṇanāga-kṛipāṇikā*, which is, as the expression indicates, a scimitar or a dagger formed by (the combination) of the letters and a snake. The head of the snake is represented by the broad barbed blade of the dagger, and its coiled body, after forming a sort of hilt of the dagger, curls up, making a serpentine loop representing a tail. In the head of the dagger are engraved the fourteen vowels from *a* to *au*, and below in its body, the letters *ha*, *ya*, *va*, *ra* and *la*. The portion below is divided into 25 squares, arranged obliquely, and in each of them is to be seen an *akshara* from *ka* to *ma*, known as *sparśas*, in their classes, five in each line. The portion still below is shaped as a triangle; and in its right arm, which has four square compartments, are engraved the *aksharas* *śa*, *sha*, *sa* and *ha*, one in each square, from top to bottom. The base is also divided in four columns, each of which shows the *jihvā-mūlīya*, the *upadhmānīya*, the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, respectively from left to the right; and in the left-hand side of the triangle are engraved the *aksharas* *ru*, *yu* and *u*, in columns two to four. The syllable which was engraved in the first of these columns has altogether disappeared. The object of engraving these three *aksharas* is not known to me.¹ In the end we find the number 15 which gives the total.

In the loop representing the tail of the snake are engraved the *sup* and *tiṅ* terminations as they are technically known. It is divided into 39 compartments, 21 of which are occupied by the noun terminations of the seven classes (three for each of the numbers, *i.e.*, singular, dual and plural), and the remaining 18 are the verbal inflexions of the two (*parasmai-* and *ātmanē-*) *padas*, 9 for each of them, respectively, for the three numbers known as the *prathama* (third), *madhyama* (second) and the *uttama* (first) person.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 79-84 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 85-87 *Anuśtubh*].

- 1 — —³हा (हे ?) न्द्रसदृशशक्तिरशनारम्यं⁴ वियद्वेदिकं ज्योतिर्लिङ्ग-
- 2 मनादि सिद्धनिवि(वि)डध्यानप्रसूनाच्चितम् । नासाग्राप्सितचक्षुषः⁵
- 3 कतिपये पश्यन्ति यद्योगिनस्तद्भूयादणिमादिविव्यफल-
- 4 दं रूपं सतां शाम्भवम्⁶ ॥ ७९ ॥ नित्यं व्यापकमेकमुज्ज्वलचलं ज्योतिः स्फुरद्रत्नव-
- 5 द्योगोन्मीलितमीलितेक्षणपुटाः पश्य(श्य)न्ति पातंजलाः । सांद्रैव्यो(व्यो)मकदम्ब(म्ब)नीप⁷-
- 6 कुसुमैरभ्यर्चितं चिन्तितं तद्भूयादपुनर्ह(र्भ)वाय परमं रूपं सतां शाम्भवम् ॥ ८० ॥ [नाम्भः]⁸
- 7 क्लेदयति प्रकम्पयति न त्र(त्र)ह्माण्डहर्ता मरुन्नाग्निः प्लुष्यति नावृणोति [च नभः]
- 8 क्षोणी न चाक्रामति । योगाभ्यासवसा(शा)द्विमुक्तविषयासङ्गान्यदन्तर्विनिलीना⁹-
- 9 न्त[*]करणां(णं) हृदि स्फुरतु तज्ज्योतिः सतां शाम्भवम् ॥ ८१ ॥ वैराग्यातिशयाद्वितीय¹⁰-
- 10 सतताभ्यासप्रसूतिर्गुर्वृत्तीनां मनसो निरोध उदितो योगः स योगीश्व-
- 11 रैः । यस्मि(स्मिन्) संश्र(स्न)पितेर्चिते परिचिते ध्याते नते संस्तुते स्पृष्टे दृष्टे उपाज्जितेस्तु
- 12 पुरजित्त त्र(त्र)ह्मभूषाय वः । ॥ ८२ ॥ क्रीडाकुण्डलितोरगेश्वरतनूका[रा*]धिरूढो-

¹ In the impressions before Sastri all the letters in this arm appear to have been missing or faintly come out, and instead of the three as we have read, he surmises them to have been *ksha*, *tra*, *jña* and *ōm*. But in the impression before me the three letters as I read are very clear and I have compared them with the originals also. It is, however, not known why the letters *ya*, *ra*, *la* and *va* are omitted, though Sastri has also suggested that they may have been contained in the left arm. But there is no space for them.

² From the original stone and impressions.

³ The first two letters lost here may conjecturally be restored as *यन्मा*.

⁴ The *anusvāra* is ornamentally treated, marked as a lotus with petals.

⁵ The sign of *visarga* is visible on the stone but has not come out in the impressions.

⁶ These three *aksharas*, which have been conjecturally restored by Sastri, are distinct on the original.

⁷ These two letters are lost and the restoration is only conjectural.

⁸ In this and the next line the last letters which are in the brackets are thin and in parts, and the restoration is certain.

⁹ Read ल्लीना. A *kāka-pada* sign at the end of the line shows that the word is continued in the next line.

¹⁰ On some of the letters in this line there are signs of abrasions and not of *anusvāra* as actually taken by Sastri. For example, he read an *anusvāra* on the second *akshara*. Here also the line has a *kāka-pada* sign in the end and it is marked so close to the preceding *akshara* as to appear as a *mātrā* of *ā*.

- 13 म्व(म्ब)रानुस्वारं कलयन्नकाररुचिराकारः कृपाद्रः प्रभुः । विष्णोर्विश्वतनोरवन्तिनग-
 14 रीहृत्युण्डरीके वसन्नोकाराक्षरमूर्तिरस्यतु¹ महाकालोन्तकालं सताम् ॥८३॥ भुज्य-
 15 न्ते भुवनानि सप्त वसुधा साम्भोनिधिर्दीयते कल्पान्तेपि न नश्यते न कुपितान्मृत्यो-
 16 रपि त्रस्यते । ध्यायद्भिर्यदपास्तकर्मनिगडैर्धात्रापि न प्रार्थ्यते तद्वः स्वान्तमलंकरो²-
 17 तु चरणाम्भोजद्वयं सा(शा)म्भवम् ॥८४॥
 18 अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ लृ ए ऐ ओ औ १४० : २ × २
 19 क ख ग घ ङ ५ च छ ज झ ञ ५ ट ठ ड ढ ण ५ त थ द ध न ५ प फ ब भ म ५ य³ र ल व ४ [श]⁴ ष स ह ५१
 20 आ ई ऊ ऋ लृ [१*] अइउण(ण्) [ऋ]लृक(क्) १० ए ओ ङ(ङ्) ऐऔच(च्) ह्यवरट् लण(ण्) ज-
 21 मङ[ण*]नम् झभञ(ञ्) घढध[ष्] जवगडदश(श्) २०।३४ खफछठथचटतव(व्)
 22 कपय(य्) शषसर(र्) १३ हल(ल्) ३३।४७॥
 23 उदयादित्यदेवस्य वर्णनागकृपाणिका ।
 24 कवीनां च नृपाणां च वेषो वक्षसि रोपितः ॥८५॥*⁵
 25 ए[के]⁶थमुदयादित्यनरवर्ममहीभुजोः ।
 26 [महे]शस्वामि[नोर्वर्णस्थित्यै सिद्धासिपुत्रिका] ॥८६॥*
 27 [उदया]दित्यनामाङ्कवर्णनागकृपाणिका ।
 28 [पद्यमुक्ता]मणिश्रेणी सृष्टा सुकवि(वं)धुना ॥८७॥*

No. 26 ; PLATES XXVIII-XXIX

THE DHĀR INSCRIPTIONS

THESE inscriptions, which are two in number and called here as A and B, were first brought to light by Ernest Barnes in his article on Dhār and Māndū, published in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI (1900-02), pp. 339 ff., with a photolithograph between pp. 350 and 351, in which he also incorporated a note on them by K. K. Lele, Superintendent of Archaeology in the former State of Dhār. Lele also prepared two official notes on the records⁷; and a description of the inscriptions appeared also in his work entitled *Dhār and Māndū*, on pp. 29-30, along with that on the preceding one, as already stated. Subsequently the inscriptions were noticed briefly in the *Annual Reports of the Western Circle of the Survey*, for 1904-05, p. 8 (No. 2081) and again for 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55 (No. 2601); and finally, they were edited by K. N. Sastri, without facsimiles, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, p. 29 f., along with the one that precedes and the other that follows. The inscriptions are edited here from my personal examination of the originals and from an excellent impression of one of them (B) which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscriptions are on two separate pillars near the tomb of Kamāl Maulā mosque in the monument known as Bhōja-sālā, in the south-west part of **Dhār**, the principal town of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The pillars are of grey lime stone and are among those that support the dome of the prayer hall, one on each side of the raised pulpit. Each of

¹ For the idea expressed in the third *pāda* of this verse, compare the well known saying *Vishṇōśch hridayē Śivali*. The consonant *t* before the third letter and the sign of *anusvāra* on the ninth are engraved faintly and they were consequently not read by Sastri. They are distinct on the stone.

² Here also is the sign of *kāka-pada* in the end.

³ This and the following letters are on the right side where the same line is continued.

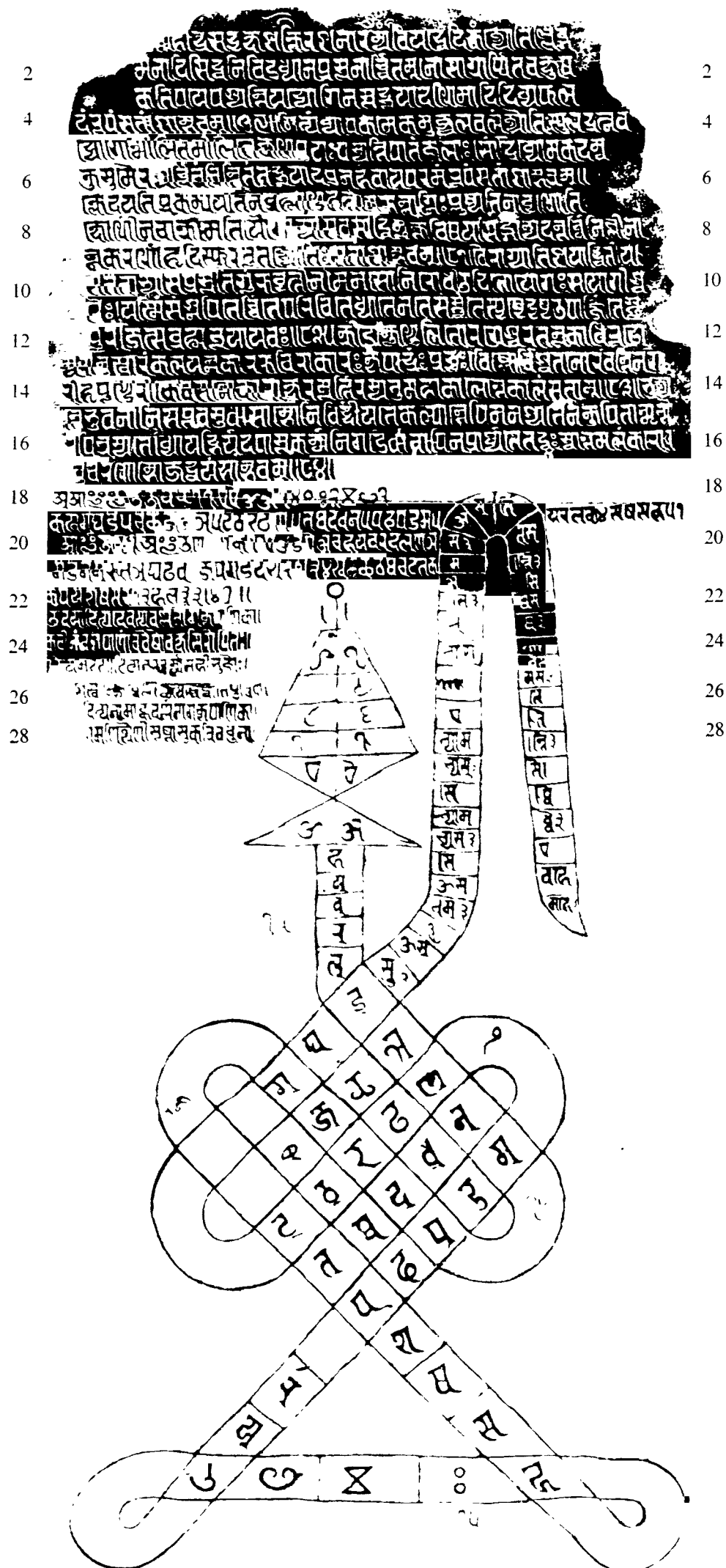
⁴ Owing to a redundant stroke of the chisel, this *akshara* appears as स. It may also be noted that the sub-total is not given after ह.

⁵ The number of verses which are not marked here have been taken by us in continuation of those of the preceding verses.

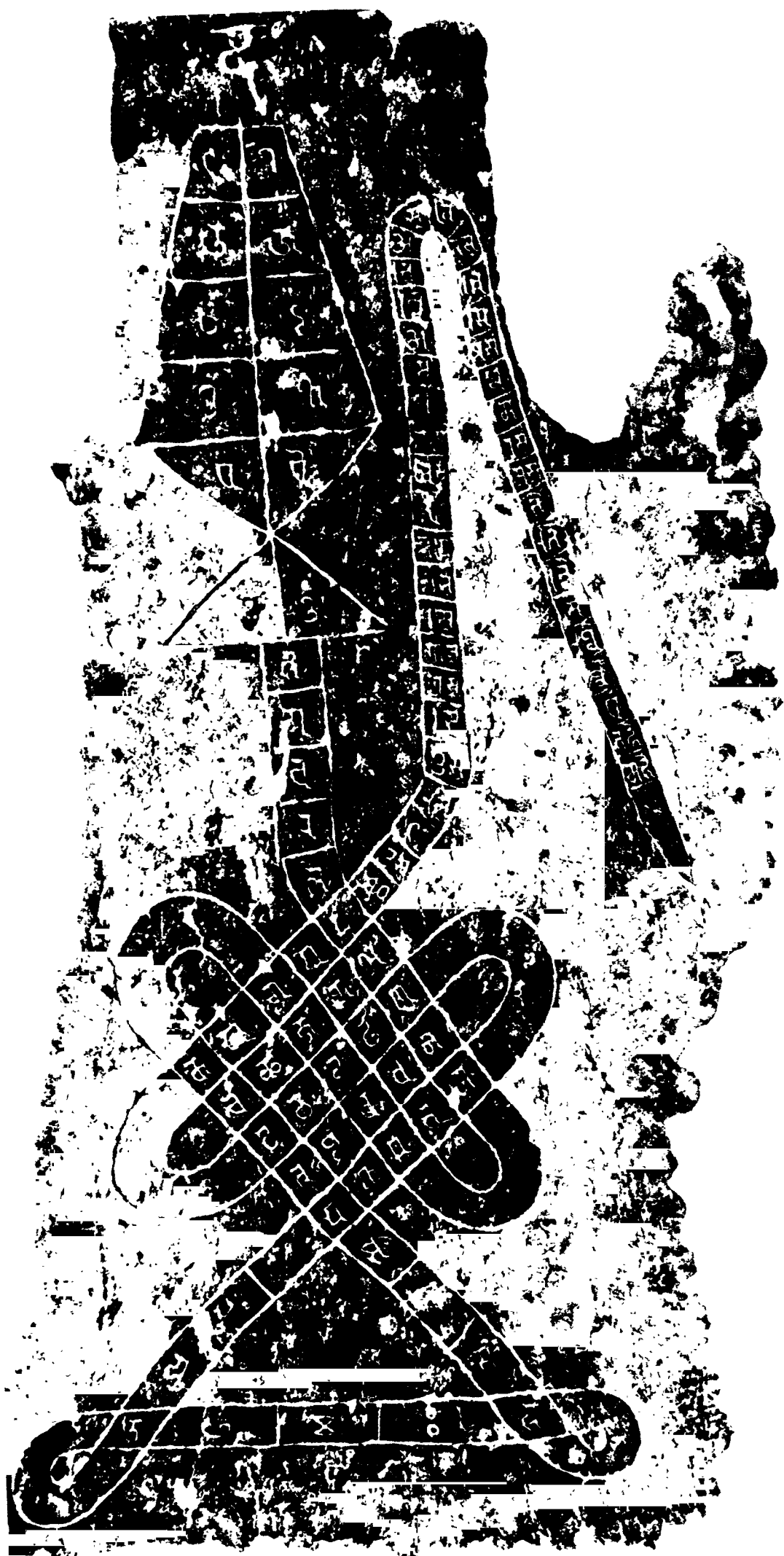
⁶ This *akshara*, with some others in the lines that follow, are altogether lost and they have been restored from those appearing in the inscription at Dhār which is the counterpart of the present one.

⁷ One of these notes was written in May, 1902, for presentation to Lord Curzon on the occasion of his visit to Dhār; and the other, in 1929. I am indebted to Shri A. W. Wakankar of Dhār, for lending me the only copies of these notes with him, for utilising them in this article.

MAHĀKĀLEŚVARA TEMPLE SARPĀ-BANDHA INSCRIPTION
(UJJAIN): (UNDATED)



DHĀR SARPĀ-BANDHA INSCRIPTION: A (DUPLICATE AND UNDATED)



Scale: One-thirds

the inscriptions is complete in itself, though they are allied inasmuch as they deal with the same subject of Nāgarī alphabet and grammatical terminology. The letters are beautifully engraved and well preserved except that they have suffered from partial decay and peeling off in some places, as the material of grey lime stone on which they were cut was not quite suitable for incisions.¹ Here we may also point out that quite a large number of some other inscriptions which were incised on the floor or pavement of the same structure, appear to have been deliberately chiselled off so as to leave a letter here and there, in some later time,² were all on durable black stone, whereas the inconspicuous position of the pillars appears to have saved them from the fate which the other inscriptions have undergone due to vandalism.

A

The first of these inscriptions, which is on the proper right side of the pulpit and faces the east, measures about 70 cms. in height and 30·5 cms. in breadth. The letters of the alphabet are about 1 cm. in size, while those of the terminations in the tail are slightly smaller. The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** alphabet of about the 11-12th century. The **language** is Sanskrit. It is an alphabitical chart and its contents are identical with those of its counterpart in the Mahākāla temple inscription, as seen above. As the alphabet plays the chief part in this inscription, it has rightly been called alphabetical.

B

This inscription, which is on the proper left side of the raised platform and faces the south, is bigger in size, being 91·55 cms. high and 45 cms. in breadth. The **language** is Sanskrit; and the **palaeographical** and **orthographical** peculiarities are the same as stated above. The inscription commences with two verses in the *Anushtubh* metre, with the symbol for *svasti* in the beginning. They are written in four lines, in a space 17 cms. broad by 5 cms. high. They are identical with verses 86-87 of the Ujjain inscription and are not marked. Below the verses and leaving a vacant space measuring 13 cms. in height, we find a chart (*bandha*) made up by the intertwining of two serpents, probably male and female, as Lele has rightly remarked, exhibiting on their body the personal terminations of ten *lakāras* (*tiṅvibhaktis*) together with 16 *dhātu-pratyayas*. The chart may be divided in three parts, viz., the top, the middle and the bottom portions. In the top section the letters are very indistinct except for the initial *atha*, and they have been conjecturally restored by Sastri as *atha tiṅ-vibhakti-bandhaḥ*; but as already remarked by Sircar while publishing Sastri's article, the letters appear as *atha dhātuḥ*.³

The middle section of the chart is shaped as a square standing vertically on one of the angles of the top section. It is divided into 180 compartments, each of which is a parallelogram cut by "drawing nine parallel lines one way and seventeen the other way across." The space between each pair of parallel lines, as remarked by Sastri, "is alternately closed by means of projecting loops at either end along the four sides of the square turning the sets of parallel lines into two running spirals end to end". The five loops and the five intervening open spaces between them, in the upper left arm of the square, contain the initial letters of the terms denoting the different senses in which the ten *lakāras*, i.e., the tenses and moods of Sanskrit verbs, are used. These letters are, in serial order, *va*, *sa*, *vi*, *hya*, *a*, *pa*, *sva*(*śva*), *ā*, *bha* and *kri*, respectively standing for *varṭamāna*, *sambhāvanā*, *vidhi*,⁴ *hyastana-atīta*, *atīta-sāmānya*, *parōksha*, *śvastana-bhaviṣyat*, *āśīr*, *bhaviṣyat* and *kriyātipatti* or *kriyākrama*, indicating, respectively, the

¹ I am thankful to Shri Deshpande, technical Assistant in the Arch. Surv. of Ind. at Māṇḍū, for the information that the stones of the pillars are similar to those found in quarries in the adjoining region, for example, at Tārāpur, etc.

² Now nothing can be made out of these inscriptions except that they were in Sanskrit and Prākṛit.

³ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 29, n. The letters are rather indistinct; but I read *atha dhātuḥ* — between the heads of the serpents and the word *pratyaya* straight down in the base.

⁴ In his note Lele read this letter as *pa* and the preceding letter as *sa*, and took them as for *pañcamī* and *saptamī*, remarking that they are so called because they are the 5th and 7th in the usual enumeration of the tenses. But to me the consonant of this letter appears as *p* and the sign of the *mātrā* is clear, though mutilated.

ten *lakāras* from *laṭ* to *ṛiṇ*, excepting the Vedic *lōṭ* and taking *vidhi-liṇ* and *āśīr-liṇ* separately. Thus there are altogether $18 \times 10 = 180$ verbal terminations, of which, 90 of each set (known as *parasmai-* and *ātmanēpada*) are given in the chart. They are all duly numbered on the right hand side and arranged in slanting columns from the left to the right, given in the spaces left between the “zigzag cross-turnings” of the serpents. The two sets of terminations (*parasmai-* and *ātmanē-*), the three persons (*Prathama*, *Madhyama* and *Uttama*) and the three numbers (singular, dual and plural) are marked on the left-hand side, in order, by the initial letters representing them; and the names of the tenses and moods are marked at the top of each column by the initial letter of each. They may be arranged as under :—

<i>Initials</i>	<i>Full name</i>	<i>Pāṇini's name</i>	<i>English name</i>
1. <i>va</i>	<i>vartamānā</i>	<i>Laṭ</i>	Present
2. <i>sa</i>	<i>sambhāvanā</i>	<i>liṇ</i>	Potential
3. <i>vi</i>	<i>vidhi</i>	<i>lōṭ</i>	Imperative
4. <i>hya</i>	<i>hyastanī</i>	<i>laṇ</i>	Imperfect
5. <i>a</i>	<i>adyatanī</i>	<i>luṇ</i>	Aorist
6. <i>pa</i>	<i>parōkshā</i>	<i>liṭ</i>	Perfect
7. <i>śva</i>	<i>śvastanī</i>	<i>luṭ</i>	First Future
8. <i>ā</i>	<i>āśīḥ</i>	<i>āśīrliṇ</i>	Benedictive
9. <i>bha</i>	<i>bhavishyantī</i>	<i>ṛiṭ</i>	Second future
10. <i>kri</i>	<i>kriyātipatti</i> (or <i>kriyākrama</i>)	<i>ṛiṇ</i>	Conditional

The last section of the table is triangular, with its apex above. In its looped corners and also in the hollow circles along its arms, are engraved the several derivative bases showing causality, desire, intensity, *etc.* The portion of the stone in the right corner side, which appears to have contained at least three circles with a letter in each, is entirely lost; but, to judge from what remains, the total number of these circles appears to have been 19, as also stated inside the triangle in its middle.¹ These terminations are only of grammatical interest and therefore need not be dealt with here in detail.²

Both these inscriptions are of educational interest, also showing the high interest of the public in teaching and learning grammar. In this respect, what K. K. Lele writes in his note referred to above is highly appealing, and it is given here in his own words. He says: “they must have been designed by some ingenious teacher and permanently engraved on the pillars as charts in modern schools..... They confirm the tradition that the mosque (on the pillars of which they are engraved) was merely a transformation of the Sanskrit School formed by Rājā Bhōja and maintained by his successors. The old foundation too tells the same tale. It is, therefore, beyond doubt that the mosque was not only built out of the materials of, but stands on the site of the old Schools”.³

¹ Sastri read this number as 16, but I am tempted to take the unit figure as 9 because of the curve at the top which is broader than the one below.

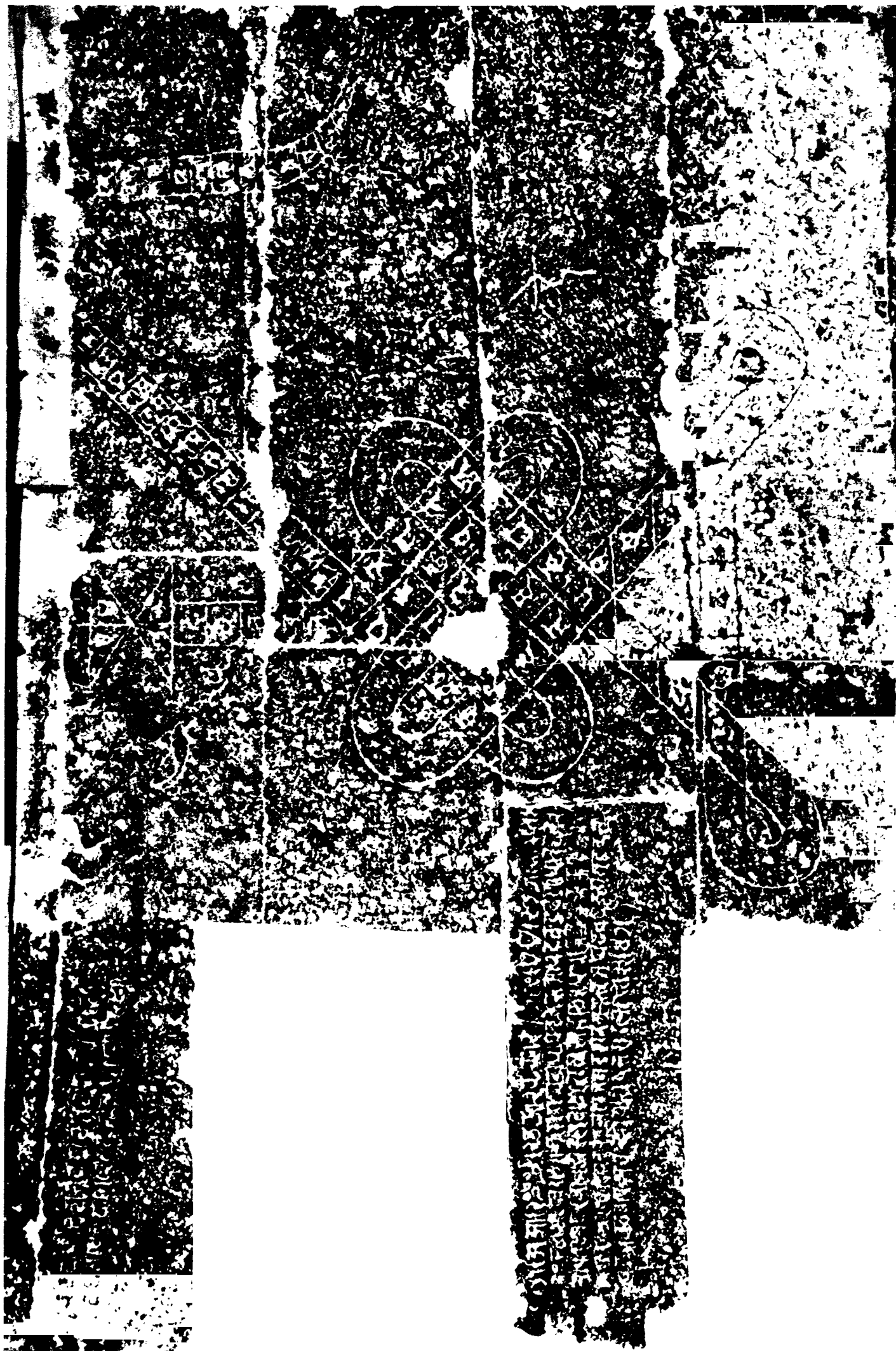
² For details of these, see Sastri's article referred to above. He also remarked that the terminations are in agreement with the Chāndra system of grammar whereas, according to Lele it is in agreement with that of Kātantra.

³ In this connection see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 180, where it is stated that the mosque was an old Sanskrit School founded by Bhōja himself. Attention is also invited to the inscription on the pedestal of the Sarasvatī image, edited above (No. 14).

DHĀR *SARPA-BANDHA* INSCRIPTION: **B** (UNDATED)



ŪN SARPĀ-BANDHĀ INSCRIPTION: (UNDATED)



No. 27 ; PLATE XXX

UN SARPABANDHA INSCRIPTION

THIS inscription was noticed by V. S. Sukthankar in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle of the Survey*, for 1918-19, p. 46, and was subsequently edited by K. N. Sastri, without a facsimile, or details of dimensions, etc., in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, p. 30. It is edited here from an impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.¹

The inscription is incised on a stone-wall built on the proper right side of the innermost cell of a dilapidated temple, locally known as *Chaubērā Dēra*, at **Ūn**, a big village in the West Nēmād District and connected by a metalled road with its principal town Khargone, in Madhya Pradesh.² The entire area occupied by the inscription is 138 cms. broad, by 90 cms. high. Unfortunately, the preservation of the rock, which is of coarse grain, as I noticed in my visit to that place, is very imperfect, and small portions of the surface have peeled off here and there ; and most of the letters have either wholly or partially disappeared or have become irrerecognisable.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet, closely resembling those of the two preceding epigraphs, at Ujjain and Dhār. The height of the letters, which are slightly larger, is about 2·5 cms. In style also, the inscription is similar to those. The **language** is Sanskrit; and like the other two allied inscriptions, it bears no date.

It is an alphabetical chart with some of the conjugational terminations, all engraved on the body of a single serpent, combined with a dagger-like object, and measuring 80 cms. broad by 61 cms. high. The pentagonal top of the dagger with the upper part of the serpentine loops is now lost, with letters inscribed on them ; and only the initial *ē* and *ai* are now to be seen on the head of the snake.

The squares formed by the conventional coils of the body of the snake, each about 5 cms., contain the principal consonants consisting of the five *vargas*. Of these, *chha* is lost, and *da* is mutilated. The sibilants and the aspirate are engraved in the sloping limb on the proper right side, and, on the proper left, are the syllables *ya*, *ra*, *la* and *va*, which can be recognised only by the traces now left. The portions of the body between these two limbs occupy the three *visargas*, viz., *Upadhmānīya*, *Jihvāmūlīya* and *Visarjanīya*, respectively, from the left to the right. The tail of the snake is occupied by some conjugational terminations, which are now mutilated and beyond recognition.

To the proper right-side of the *Sarpabandha* are two short inscriptions. One of them, which is engraved at the top and measures 26 cms. broad by 6 cms. high, is the same verse beginning with *Udayāditya-dēvasya*, etc., and found in the allied inscriptions at Ujjain and Dhār. The other inscription, which consists of four lines occupying a space 55 cms. broad by 14 cms. high, begins with the vowel *a* to *ē*, but of what follows, nothing can be made out, as it is all blurred. From the traces, however, it appears to have contained some grammatical terminations.

Compared with the *Sarpabandhas* at Ujjain and Dhār, the present one is "a much smaller affair" : but an interesting feature of the present inscription is that a fish-like object, measuring 8 cms. by 3 cms., is incised at the top of the proper right side of the hood of the snake.

The present inscription is of course contemporary with the preceding two ; and it shows that the temple in which it is incised was also used in those days as a school for young boys

No. 28 ; PLATE XXXI

DŌNGARGĀON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDĒVA

Śaka Year 1034

THIS inscription is incised on the architrave of the door of the *garbhagriha* of a delapidated temple at **Dōngargāon**, a village about 15 kms. from Pusad in the Yeotmāl District of Berar in Mahārāshṭra. It was discovered in 1939 by Shri M. G. Deshmukh who was then conducting researches under Dr. V. V. Mirashi in the Nagpur University. On knowing the

¹ His No. B-111 of 1973-74.

² For the place and antiquities found there, see *B.M.P.A.*, p. 43.

discovery of this record, Dr. Mirashi first published a note on the contents of it in some local papers;¹ and from estampages prepared and supplied to him by the then Government Epigraphist, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, he edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI (1941), pp. 177 ff., with a translation and a facsimile, facing p. 183. It is edited here from an inked impression which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The writing on the stone has suffered a good deal by exposure to weather, and it covers a space about 130 cms. broad by 20 cms. high. It consists of eight lines. The average height of the letters is 1.8 cms. in the first six lines but it is reduced to 1.5 cms. in the seventh and to 1.3 cms. in the last line, to accommodate the writing. While editing the inscription in 1941 Mirashi has observed: "Some *aksharas* in the first and the last lines and at either end of the remaining ones have now become almost illegible. Besides, the stone was not originally well dressed and the technical execution of the record also is not satisfactory".² And since the time when he edited the inscription it has become still more damaged as shown by the impression prepared in 1958-59, which is published with this article and on which the text given here is based.³

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century. The initial *a* begins with a curve first drawn upwards and then joined to its vertical with a horizontal stroke, as in *asty-*, l. 1 and *ātmai-*, l. 5; though a somewhat advanced form thereof is to be seen in *arthi-*, l. 5 and *āchandra-*, l. 6; *ṇ* has not developed the dot, see *-laṅkāra-*, l. 5; *ḍ* in *Ḍōṅgara-*, l. 6, is formed as the modern *r*; the subscript *ṇ* appears as *l*; cf. *svaṇṇa-*, l. 5; and of the other consonants, *j*, *bh* and *ś* have their old forms and *t*, *n* and *v* are occasionally formed alike: see *bhuvanāni*, l. 3, and *svāmī*, l. 4. As Mirashi has already observed, particularly worth nothing is the form of the *prishṭha-mātrā* of the medial *ai* and *au*, showing both the *mātrās* before the letter instead of one above and the other before, as was the practice of the age.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the introductory *ōm namaḥ Śivāya* and the admonition in the end, the name of the writer and the date in the last line, the inscription is composed in verse, showing fourteen stanzas which are all numbered. The **orthographical peculiarities** are almost the same as to be found in the contemporary records, *viz.* (1) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* also except in *babhūva*, l. 2 where *b* has a distinct form; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, *e.g.* in *-Aravuda*, l. 1; (3) the use of the *avagraha* twice in l. 4; and (4) wrongly spelt some words like *-saṁhritīḥ*, l. 1 and *-vansē*, l. 2.

The inscription belongs to the reign of of the **Paramāra** prince **Jagaddēva**. The **object** thereof is to record that this prince donated the village of **Dōṅgaragrāma** to the Brāhmaṇa **Śrinivāsa** and that the latter constructed there a temple dedicated to Śiva. The **date**, as given in figures in the last line, is the **full moon day of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1034, the cyclic year being Nandana**. It does not admit of verification but it may be noted that, as observed by Mirashi, it corresponds to the *expired* **Śaka year 1034** when the cyclic year was Nandana according to the southern lunisolar system. The date corresponds regularly to **Friday, the 15th March, 1112 A.C.**⁴

The inscription opens with the customary obeisance to Śiva, and after one *maṅgala-ślōka* paying homage to the same deity, it gives the genealogy of the house to which Jagaddēva belonged. As several other records of the dynasty, it mentions the fire-origin of the main **Paramāra** house, stating how a hero of the name of Paramāra sprang from the fire-altar of the sage Vasīṣṭha, whose cow was taken away by Viśvāmitra, and in the family of this hero, which surpassed the races of (sprang from) the Sun and the moon there was born a king of the name of **Bhōjadēva**, who resembled Rāma in excellence. The next two verses (5-6) introduce Bhōja's brother **Udayāditya**, who uplifted the kingdom of Mālava which had sunk under the attacks of three enemies. This information is historically important in two ways, *viz.*, in showing Udayāditya's definite relationship with Bhōja and also in giving the exact number of the

¹ This inscription is not noticed in Hiralal's *List of Inscrs. of C. P. and Berar*. In his article Dr. Mirashi informed us (in 1941) that there are two old temples at the village and the one in which the present inscription was found had its *maṇḍapa* alone standing.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

³ It is C. E.'s No. C-343 of 1958-59.

⁴ As calculated by Mirashi in *op. cit.*, p. 178.

enemies who were then invading the Paramāra kingdom in the last days of Bhōja ; and this we propose to examine here in detail.

As for the relationship of Udayāditya with Bhōja, we find that some of the Paramāra records describe the former of these rulers as meditating on the feet of the latter ; and the Udaypur *prāśasti*, which is explicit in stating the relationship of each of the princes mentioned in it with his predecessor, simply says that Bhōja was followed on the throne by Udayāditya.¹ The Nagpur Museum stone inscription of Naravarman introduces Udayāditya as a *bandhu* of Bhōjadēva ;² and as the word *bandhu* signifies 'a relative in general', Kielhorn was right in taking the word as such,³ and this view has been adopted by scholars since his time. Thus the information conveyed by the present inscription in clear words, *viz.*, that Udayāditya was a brother of Bhōjadēva is indeed valuable ; and in view of this, the altogether different genealogy of the former of these kings recorded in a sixteenth century inscription mentioning him to have been the son of Gyātā, grandson of Gōṇḍala and great-grandson of Śūravīra of the Paramāra family,⁴ has to be rejected. The relationship between the two rulers is stated in very clear words also in the following inscription, as we shall see presently.

The other important information furnished by verse 5 of the present inscription concerns the number of enemies to be three who attacked Mālava, which was rescued by Udayāditya by defeating them all. As we shall see while editing the Nagpur Museum stone inscription,⁵ these three enemies were the Kalachuri Karṇa (1041-1072 A.C.) and the Chālukya Sōmēśvara II (1069-1076 A.C.), the son of Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I, who had despatched his general, the Gaṅga Udayāditya, and his feudatory the Hoysala Eṇyaṅga. This was the second Kalachuri invasion of Mālwa, the first being the one which occurred some fifteen years previously when Bhōja died and his successor Jayasīṃha I succeeded in driving out the allied armies of the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma with the help of Vikramāditya VI. And how the Kalachuri Karṇa and his allies were routed and turned back by Udayāditya will be described below, while editing the Nagpur Museum stone inscription.

The success of Udayāditya in saving the kingdom from the catastrophe made him far-famed and thus the statement made in verse 6 of the present inscription, though poetic, appears to be well founded. It says that "the quarters were perforce occupied by his pure fame, the caverns by his enemies and the directions by the poems of his supplicants." The next verse (No. 7) introduces Jagaddēva who is stated to have born to Udayāditya in consequence of the latter's adoration to Hara whom he requested to give him a son after his heart, though he had some (more than two).⁶ The next verse states that the Royal Fortune offered herself to Jagaddēva, but he renounced this favour, apprehending that to surpass his elder brother would be incurring a sin.⁷ This statement would suggest that Jagaddēva who was probably the youngest of all the brothers was appointed by his father as his successor, regarding him his favourite, but he declined the offer.

Jagaddēva is not mentioned in any of the Paramāra records except in the present and in the one that follows ; but his name appears in some of the Hoysala inscriptions describing him as the king of Mālava.⁸ On the basis of this statement he was supposed by D. C. Ganguly to be identical with Lakshmadēva, another son of Udayāditya.⁹ But the present inscription makes it clear that he was a different personage from Lakshmadēva and also that he relinquished his claim to the throne in favour of his brother who was probably Naravarman. This also shows

¹ See Nos. 23, 31, 34 ; and No. 24, v. 21.

² Below, No. 33, v. 32.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 192 v. 32.

⁴ See D. R. Bhandarkar's List, No. 134. This inscription is from Udaipur in the Vidishā District and is dated V. S. 1562. The find-spot of this record made Dr. Ganguly inclined to hold that Udayāditya who was a scion of the junior branch of the Paramāra house was a feudatory of the Imperial house of Dhārā and was ruling at Udaipur. See *H.P.D.*, pp. 133-34.

⁵ See below, No. 33.

⁶ Two of them are known to be Lakshmadēva and Naravarmam ; but the plural in *putrēshu* shows that they were at least three.

⁷ See text below, n. 9 on next page.

⁸ *E.g.*, see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168.

⁹ See *H.P.D.*, p. 142.

that the composer of the Hoysala inscriptions on which Dr. Ganguly's conjecture is based had no accurate knowledge of the status of Jagaddēva.

What course Jagaddēva followed after relinquishing his claim to the throne of Mālava is known from v. 9 of the present inscription which informs us that he was honoured by the king of Kuntala, who addressed him in these words: "You are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, victory incarnate in all quarters, nay my own self"; and having attained that (exalted) position, he (Jagaddēva) is now adorning the southern direction, where he showered gold and arrows on (his) supplicants and foes respectively (vv. 9-10). This statement clearly indicates that the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, to whom Jagaddēva approached, appointed him to govern the region to the north of the Gōdāvarī which was then "the battleground of contending powers", viz., the Paramāras on the north and the Chālukyas on the south.¹ That Jagaddēva adopted this course is also confirmed by the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*.²

The next (11th) verse tells us in a poetic way that Jagaddēva was praised everywhere.³ This praise he rightly deserved in consequence of relinquishing his claim in favour of his elder brother, as seen above, and also because of his bravery and good administration.

The inscription then proceeds to state the formal part where we read that Jagaddēva donated the village of Ḍōṅgaragrāma, as seen above, to the Brāhmaṇa Śrīnivāsa, the son of Śrīnidhi, to be perpetually enjoyed by him, and that the donee constructed a temple dedicated to Hara, for the attainment of religious merit for his father, wishing the monument to stand for ever.

The prose portion that follows v. 14, mentions a predication and the date which we have discussed above. Then we are told that the record was written by **Viśvasvāmin**; and with the date repeated in figures, the inscription comes to a close.

There is only one **place-name** mentioned in the inscription. It is **Ḍōṅgaragrāma** where the temple was erected; it is evidently Ḍōṅgaragaon where the inscribed slab was found.

TEXT⁴

[Metres : Verses 1-8, 10-11 and 13-14, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 9, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 12, *Sālinī*].

- 1 [ओं ५] नमः शिवाय । कुर्वन्वः पातु जगतां प्रभवस्थितिसंहि (हृ) तीः । तिस्रः U U U — — U ⁶ विश्वं यत्र [मु]वर्तकः । ११ अस्त्यव्वु[ब्बु]द इति ख्यातः प्रतीच्यां दिशि पर्व्वनः । मेखलाद्यन्तसंचारिकूर्मराजदिवाकरः । १२ कामधेनु [हृतवते] ⁷
- 2 विश्वामित्राय कुशयः । वसिष्ठान्तत्र होमानौ परमारो व्यजायत ⁸ । १३ तद्वन्मे (द्वंजे) शत्रुचरितैः पुष्प (प्प) वन्तान्वयाधिके । बभूव भोज- देवाख्यो राजा रामनमो गुणैः । १४ ततो रिपुवयस्कन्दे मग्नां मालव[मेदिनीम्] । उ—
- 3 द्धरन्तुदयादित्यस्तस्य भ्राता व्यवर्द्धत । १५ यस्याच्छया दिशः कीर्त्या भुवनानि परैर्गुहाः । [काष्ठाः] परा व (व) लादेव, काव्यैव्याप्यन्त चाथितः । १६ तस्य मत्स्वपि पुत्रेषु स्वसम्मतमुनैषिणः । हराराधनतो जज्ञे जगद्देवो म[ही]—
- 4 पतिः । १७ दिवं प्रयाते पितरि स्वयं प्राप्तामपि श्रियम् । परिवर्ति⁹ भयान्य[क्त्वा] योग्यजाय न्यवेदयत् । १८ पुत्राणाम्प्रथमोऽसि राज्य- विषयस्वामी भुजो दक्षिणः सर्वास्वेव हृत्सु जङ्गम [इ]—
- 5 यत्नीमा जयो मूर्तिमान् । आत्मैवेति च सप्रसादमुदितो यः कुन्तलश्चाभूता ताद्रूप्यन्दधेव दक्षिणदिशालङ्कारतां पुष्यति । १९ अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनो यस्मिन्वा (न्वा) णैः स्वर्णैश्च वर्षति । दैन्यसैन्य[निधि]मुक्त्वा — — ¹⁰

¹ For details see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 181.

² Tawney's trans., p. 186. In view of this statement and particularly in view of that which is recorded in the present inscription, we have to discredit the evidence of the *Rāsamālā* (pp. 117 ff.) that Jagdēva (Jagaddēva), being ill-treated by his step-mother, left Mālwa and went to Gujarāt where he took military service under Jayasinhha Siddharāja whom he served for eighteen years, and also that he reigned for 52 years. Dr. D. C. Ganguly has shown that the statements of the Gujarāt chroniclers are also marred by chronological inaccuracies. See *H.P.D.*, p. 140.

³ The same idea is expressed also in vv. 10-12 of the following inscription.

⁴ From an inked impression.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol which is partly visible.

⁶ As shown by the traces left, the first two of the lost *aksharas* may have been *sthitīh*.

⁷ All these four *aksharas* are lost and the reading is as suggested by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.

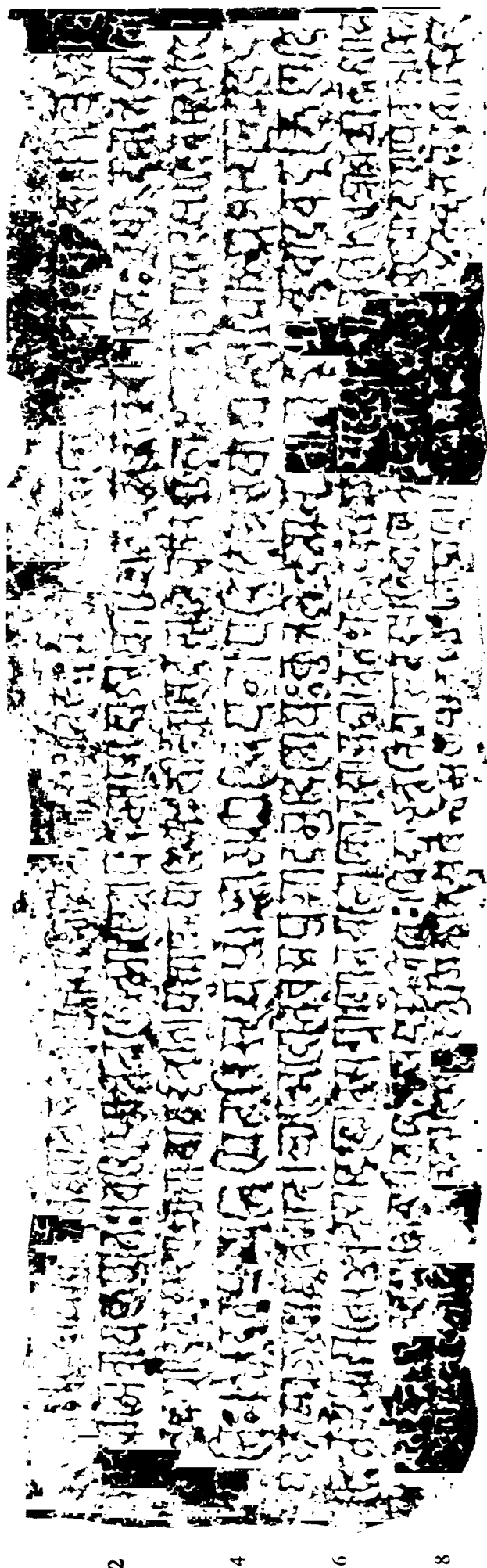
⁸ The vertical stroke of this *akshara*, as also in some instances below, is curved at its lowest extremity so as to give the following *danḍa*.

⁹ I.e., marrying before an elder brother marries. See *Manusmṛiti*, III, p. 171, enjoining that one who does so is to go to hell.

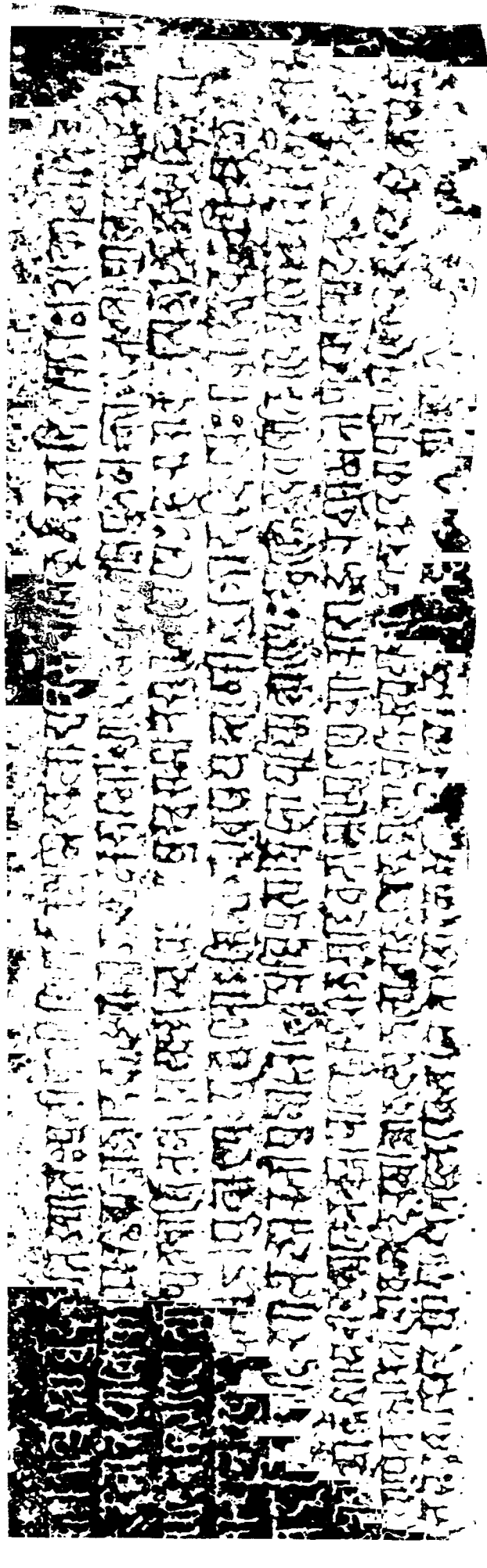
¹⁰ Read तेज्ज, as suggested by Mirashi.

DONGARGAON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDEVĀ: (ŚAKA) YEAR 1031

Left side



Right side



From Facsimiles

- 6 [ङ्कि]तमुपासते १९०। न स देशो न स ग्रामो न स लोको न सा सभा । न तन्नक्तं दिवं यत्र जगद्देवो न गीयते १९१। आचन्द्राक्क
शामनीकृत्य तेन क्षमापातेन श्रीजगद्देवनाम्ना । पु[ण्यागा]रं^१ डोङ्गरग्रामनामा ग्रामो दत्तः श्रीनि[वा]मद्वि—
- 7 जाय १९२। तद्गतडोङ्गरग्रामे श्रीनिवे[ः] श्रेयसां निवेः । विद्यावृत्तनिवामेन श्रीनिवासेन [सू]नुना १९३। पितुः पुण्योदयायैतत्कारितं शिव—
मन्दिरम् । आकल्पं कल्पनां भूमेर्भूषणाय निरत्ययम् १९४। अत्र देवाय ग्रामे[स्मि]न्यश्च [श्रीनिवामप्रहि— ?]
- 8 [व्याघातं]^२ कृत्वानिश्चि^३—यो हर्तुमिच्छति स महापातकैर्लिप्यते^४ । अकसंवत् १०३४ नन्दनमवत्सरे चैव्यां शामनं लिखितमिति ।
लेखको विजयस्वा[मी] [१*] १०३४ तथांके १५ [१*]

No. 29 ; PLATE XXXII

JAINĀD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDĒVA

(Undated)

THE stone which bears this inscription was found lying loose on the floor of the *maṇḍapa* attached to a temple in the village of **Jaināḍ**, situated about 10 kms. north-east of Ādilābād, the headquarters of a district in the former Hyderabad State (now Āndhra Pradesh). The discovery of it was first announced in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Nizam's Dominions*, 1925-26, and an introductory note on it with a transcript prepared by C. R. Krishnamacharlu and a photo-lithograph were published subsequently in the *Annual Report* of the above-mentioned department for 1927-28, pp. 23-4 (Appendix B) and Plate G. It was next edited by Dr. D. C. Ganguly, from an ink-impression supplied to him, with a translation, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII (1933), pp. 54 ff. but without a facsimile. It is edited here from a fresh impression which I owe to the kindness of Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, the Superintending Archaeologist of the South-Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India and now a Professor in the Andhra University.

The inscribed slab apparently seems to have been originally built in a part of the temple in which it was found detached. The plate published in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department referred to above makes it obvious that then too the stone had suffered considerably, showing both its vertical borders irregularly flaked away, taking with it one *akshara* at the beginning and as many as sixteen at the beginning of the last line, besides having some small abrasions here and there. But the slab which was then in tact has since then been broken into two pieces by a large crack cutting it vertically in the middle of all the lines so as to damage or take away one *akshara* in each of them.⁵ Fortunately, these letters are legible in the photo-lithograph published in the *Annual Report* of the department referred to above.

The inscribed surface which measures about 47 cms. broad by 40.65 cms. high and contains 28 lines of equal length, is extremely abraded, wholly or partly damaging and rendering illegible one or two *aksharas* here and there and particularly in the last line thereof. However, with the exception of one or two *aksharas* in ll. 13, 21 and 24 and some more in ll. 25-26 and 28, where the reading is doubtful owing partly due to the peeling off of the surface of the stone and also partly to the slovenliness on the part of the engraver, the text can be deciphered with confidence, though in the subjoined transcript, occasionally I had also to compare the facsimile published in the *Annual Report* of the department referred to above.

The average height of the letters is about 1 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th

¹ Mirashi read पुण्या[धारं] and corrected it to —धारो (see *op. cit.*, p. 184, n. 2). but the consonant of the third of these *aksharas* is clearly *g* with a vertical stroke ending in a triangle ; cf. its form also in *grāma* — that follows.

² As n. 7 on the preceding page.

³ One *akshara* is illegible here. The editor of *Ep. Ind.* remarks that "the text from अत्र देवाय to हर्तुमिच्छति seems also to be in verse." The reading of the first eight *aksharas* of l. 8 is uncertain.

⁴ For the five great sins see *Manusmṛiti*, XI, 54.

⁵ I am obliged to Dr. Subrahmanyam who informed me that the two pieces are still at Jaināḍ in a Sun-temple known after the name of Nārāyaṇa, and it appears to be the same temple where the stone was originally found.

century. The initial *a* shows its transitional stage and its slightly different forms can be seen in *akālē-*, l. 1, *āsīt-*, l. 4 and *anyatra-*, l. 15 : the initial short *i* is represented by two curves, one below the other and unconnected ; cf. *iti*, l. 6 : and the initial *ē* resembles a triangle with its base turned upwards ; cf. *ēkā-*, l. 18. Of the consonants, the loop of *k* is occasionally formed by a sudden bend of the lowest extremity of the vertical stroke, as in *kapāla-*, l. 11 ; the same loop, when the letter is the first member of a conjunct consonant, is changed to a dot which is joined to the vertical with a horizontal stroke as in *-parityakta-*, l. 8 : and in such *aksharas* as *ksh* and *kṛi* this letter loses the loop, as in *-kshōda-kshama-*, l. 21 and *kṛiti-*, l. 28. The conjunct *gg* appears as *gn* as in *vargga*, l. 14 ; *ṇ* has not developed its dot : cf. *sarvaṇ-kasha-*, l. 15 ; the subscript forms of *chh* and *th* are almost alike as in instances in l. 2 : the subscript *ṇ* is often marked as *l* ; e.g. in *karṇṇa*, l. 16 ; *dh* is in a transitional stage showing the horn on its left limb occasionally ; both the examples being noticed in the same word *vasudh-ādhipatya*, l. 8 ; *p* and *y* are mostly alike in form as in *prāpya*, l. 19 ; and lastly, *bh* often resembles *t*, cf. *-abhēdya-*, l. 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit, written in the classical style, and except for the introductory obeisance to the Sun-deity, the record is metrically composed throughout. The **orthographical peculiarities** to be noticed are : (1) *v* is invariably written for *b* as in *bahūh*, l. 2 ; (2) the dental sibilant is put for the palatal in a few cases *yaśō-rāsi*, l. 20 where it occurs side by side with the correct form ; and possibly reverse is the case in a few instances as in *-utśava-*, l. 17 and *pīnāmśō*, l. 24 ;¹ (3) a class-consonant following *r* is doubled, see *parvvata-*, l. 13 ; (4) the medial diphthongs are more often denoted by the *prishṭha-mātrā* ; (5) the *anusvāra* (and not the final *m*) is used at the end of a hemistich, and both these are often found side by side with the proper class-nasal ; cf. *dviradēndra-danta*, l. 12 and *saṅgēshu bhṛiṅgānanāḥ* and *kaṇḍala*, both in l. 11. (6) the final *n* is wrongly changed to *anusvāra* as in *pallavayaṇ*, l. 21. Besides, the dental nasal is used in words like *haṁsa*, *puñja* and *prāmśu* respectively in ll. 17, 19 and 23 ; and finally, sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between a *daṇḍa* and the sign of medial *ā* of a *prishṭha-mātrā*. Slovenliness in the technical execution so as to change the forms of some of the letters, e.g. *śuchi* appearing as *dyati* in l. 19, is to be seen throughout.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Pramāra (Paramāra) prince Jagaddēva and its **object** is to record the construction of a temple of the Sun under the name of *Nimv(b)ā-ditya*,² by **Padmāvati**, the queen of **Arjuna**, who was born in the Dāhima family and was a subordinate and favourite of king **Udayāditya**. The record contains **no date**,³ but on palaeographical grounds it can be assigned to the **eleventh century A.C.**

The record opens with a short sentence paying obeisance to the Sun, and this is followed by three *maṅgala-ślōkas*, the first of which is in praise of the same deity and the rest two invoke the blessings of Śiva under the names of Sthāṇu and Tripurāri, respectively. The next verse speaks of the eponymous hero bearing the name **Pramāra**, i.e. **Paramāra**, who was created by Vaishṭha from his fire-pit to destroy the forces of Viśvāmitra who had taken away his cow, as we find in many other records of the house. Then we are told in vv. 5-6 that in that family was born a very powerful king **Jagaddēva** whose name was true to its sense. His father was king **Udayāditya**, and his paternal uncle the king **Bhōjadēva**, both of whom shone like the sun and the moon.⁴ In the preceding inscription we have already discussed how Jagaddēva was related to Udayāditya and the latter's brother was the illustrious Bhōjadēva who ruled in Mālwā in the first half of the eleventh century A.C. The next seven verses (6-12) are devoted to eulogise Jagaddēva's military achievements. The description is all poetic, but it states that he vanquished the **Āndhra** king, uprooted in sport the king of **Chakradurga**, successfully invaded **Dōrasamudra**, struggled with the **Gurjaras** and subdued the king **Karna**. This figurative description no doubt yields historically important information. Āndhra here appears to signify the Chōla country ; and Jagaddēva's contemporary Chōla king was Rājarāja II who was later on known as Kulōttuṅga. Chakradurga has been identified with the central part of the Bastar District in Madhya Pradesh, which was then under the Nāga ruler Sōmēśvara, whose

¹ Because of the peculiar formation of this letter I am not sure whether it is *s* or *ś*.

² The origin of this name is not known to me but the temple appears to have been so called because of its erection at a place where *nimba* (*Azadirachta indica*) trees formed an avenue. Cf. v. 1 of the inscription.

³ See n. 6 on p. 98 where I have shown some traces possibly containing the date which is now lost.

⁴ This evidently means to say that the fire-born race excelled the mythological solar and lunar races.

inscription dated Śaka 1033 is known.¹ The history of this house is still shrouded in obscurity, but the credit ascribed to Jagaddēva in the present inscription shows that he may have participated in his overlord Vikramāditya's struggle with these kings. Bilhaṇa tells us that the Chālukya ruler invaded both these places.²

Jagaddēva's struggle against Dōrasamudra seems to have a reference to the occasion when possibly accompanied by the Chālukya army he invaded a part of the Hoysala kingdom and besieged its capital, but was ultimately forced to withdraw by Ballāla and the other two sons of Eṇyaṅga.³ It is possible that Jagaddēva may have achieved some initial success in his invasion and the same appears to have been alluded to in the present inscription. The name *Malahara* appearing in verse 9 of the inscription refers to the Hoysalas themselves and the tenor of the verse simply means to say that Jagaddēva slew many soldiers at Dōrasamudra and this caused "acute pain in the heart of the chief of Malahara". Thus Ganguly is far from correct in taking the name to denote Malabar.⁴

As to Jagaddēva's struggle against the Gurjaras, Ganguly held that this prince fought under the Paramāra Jayasimha against the king of Gujarāt. Ganguly's observation is based on the statement made in v. 10 of the present inscription which he translated as "even today (*i.e.* at the time of composing the inscription) the sound of the flood-tide of the tears of the wives of the Gūrjara warriors indicates the twang of the bow of Jagaddēva, which is nothing but the announcement of the valour of Jayasimha." But it is not possible to take the Paramāra Jayasimha to be living contemporaneously with Jagaddēva, and Ganguly's observations give rise to chronological difficulties. On the other hand, the correct translation of the verse as given by the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* on p. 63, *n.* would suggest, as also held by him, that Jayasimha mentioned in the verse under reference "should be looked upon as an enemy and not a friend of Jagaddēva"; and there is no other course left except than to take the Jayasimha of the inscription identical with the homonymous king of Gujarāt who also bore the epithet of Siddharāja. We have, however, no evidence to support that these two kings had a struggle any time.

Another adversary of Jagaddēva is mentioned to have been Karṇa who may have been, as observed by Dr. Ganguly, the homonymous king of Gujarāt (1064-1094 A.C.), who was possibly foiled in his attempt to reconquer Mālwa after the death of Udayāditya. But it is difficult to be definite on this point as we cannot altogether preclude the possibility of Jagaddēva's coming into a conflict with the Kalachuri Karṇa (1041-1073 A.C.) or his son Yaśaḥkarṇa (1073-1123 A.C.) in whose time Tripurī is known to have been stormed by Lakshmadēva⁵ when he may have received help from his younger brother Jagaddēva.

The remaining portion of the inscription contains an account of Padmāvatī who erected the temple in an *agrahāra* which is not named, giving also the genealogy of her husband. Verses 13-15 introduce an illustrious personage named Lōlārka who was born in the renowned family of the Dāhimas⁶ and was a "repository of fame and bravery incarnate". He was a minister of Udayāditya (the Paramāra king). His grandfather was Mahēndu and father Guṇarāja, who resembled Arjuna and was dear to Udayāditya. Verse 17 describes Lōlārka's handsome figure, imitating Kālidāsa description of Raghu in the *Raghu-vaṃśa*, and adds that he was endowed with heroism; and in the next verse he is stated to have been a Śaiva and devoted to Jagaddēva

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 314.

² *V.D.C.*, IV, 21-30. Bilhaṇa spells the second of these names as *Chakrakōṭa*. As both these names are mentioned together in the present record, as also by Bilhaṇa, it appears more possible that Jagaddēva participated in Vikramāditya's struggle against them and not independently as held by Ganguly. Here also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 340.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. II, p. 168, No. 349; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 30; *ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 58; and *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 45.

⁴ *Malapa* or *Malaha* was, as shown by the editor of the *Ep. Ind.*, was the name of a hill-tribe and the Hoysalas originally belonging to that have adopted the name *Malahara*, the ending *ra* being the genitive termination in Kanarese (Vol. XXII, p. 85, n. 5). Thus Ganguly does not appear to be justified in taking *Malahara* as the ancient name of Malabar.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁶ Nagpur Museum St. Inscr., No. 33, v. 39.

⁷ Daimāpur is mentioned by Hiralal as the original place of an inscription bearing the date 907 (Kalachuri era). It is 14 miles (22-23 kms.) from Sihōrā in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh. See Hiralal's *List of Inscr.* in *C. P. and Berar*, p. 41. It is tentative to take this place in some way connected with the origin of the Dāhimās mentioned in the present inscription.

whose prosperity he enhanced and made steady. Lōlārka's wife was Padmāvātī, who resembled Lakshmī with her fair limbs. She built the palace (*i.e.*, temple) of Nimbāditya 'in this city.'

The inscription does not mention the name of the city, but it appears to have been the same where the temple in which the inscribed slab is lying even to this day.¹ It is not known whether the place was then too known by the same name.

The inscription comes to an end by stating in v. 20 that it was composed by the poet **Aśvatthāma**, and it may secure association the ears of the (people of the) world with the responsibility (of enjoying, protecting and propagating it) upon good (the learned) people. The composition is here said to be heart-touching (*hṛdayaṅgama*), and this epithet is really befitting in view of its pleasing, elegant and graceful style.

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Andhra** *i.e.*, Āndhra (v. 7), and **Arbuda**, *i.e.*, Mt. Ābū (v. 10) are well known; and **Chakradurga** (v. 8) and **Dōrasa-mudra** (v. 9), as we have already seen above, were, respectively, in the central part of the Bastar District, and the Hoysala capital.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1, 20 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2-3, 7-12, 14-15 18 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 16-17, 19 *Sragdharā*; vv. 5-6 *Upajūti*; v. 13 *Mandākrāntā*].

- 1 [अं]³ नमः⁴ सूर्याय ॥ अकालेपि रवेर्वरि निम्ब(म्ब)पुष्पोद्ग[मै]रयं(यम्) । प्रत्ययं पूरयन्भानुर्निरत्ययमुपास्यतां(ताम्) ॥१॥ तं वन्देमहि वारुणीजल-⁵
- 2 निधेर्व्वेलावनालीस्थिरस्थानं स्थाणुरभेद्यमाद्यममितच्छायातिमात्रोच्छ्रयं(यम्) । उन्मीलन्ति व(व)हिः प्ररोहसमये यस्य त्रिलोकीच्छलान्मध्ये⁶ -
- 3 व्योम[दिग]न्तरालमतुलाः शाखाशिखापल्लवाः ॥२॥ तद्भ्रूभंगविचेष्टितं भगवतो भर्गस्य भव्याय वो भूयाद्भुङ्गुरिताङ्गुलीकिसलये पाणौ ध-
- 4 नुः पश्यतः । दग्धुं [त्री]णि पुराणि पन्नग[श]तैर्ज्यावल्लिनालंभिते यवाविर्भवति स्म भास्वरशरव्याजेन विष्णोर्व्वपुः⁷ ॥३॥ आसीदा-
शीर्व्वचोभिः सक-
- 5 लमुनिजनैर्ममानितो मे[दिनीन्द्रै] राजा मुद्रां वहद्भिः शिरसि व(व)हुविधैर्व्वो(र्व्वो)धितश्चाटुवादैः । विश्वामित्रप्रतापव्यपनयनिपुणः प्राप्तजन्मा
- 6 वसिष्ठध्यानाद्धमध्व[जाच्च] त्रिभुवनविदितः सत्वसारः प्रमारः⁸ ॥४॥ तदन्वये सान्वयनामधेयः श्रीमान् जगद्देव इति क्षितीशः । अभूद-
- 7 भूपालदिगन्तराल[नि]र्ममाणनिर्व्व्यूढभुजश्रमोयं(यम्) ॥५॥ यस्योदयादित्यनृपः पितासीद्देवः पितृव्यः स च भोजराजः । विरेजतुर्यो
- 8 वसुधाधिपत्यप्राप्तप्रतिष्ठाविव पुष्पवन्तौ⁹ ॥६॥ अन्ध्राधीशमृगीदृशः पतिपरित्यक्ताश्चिरं यच्चमूवाह्व्यूहखुराग्रखण्डित-
- 9 भुवि क्षीणाः स्खलन्त्योर्ध्वनिं । नीयन्ते नवनीतकोमलपदास्ताम्रप्रभैः पल्लवैर्दृत्वालव(व)नमम्बु(म्बु)धेः पद्मिनीक्षोणीलतः श्रेणिभिः ॥७॥ क्री-
- 10 डोच्चाटितचक्रदुर्गानृपतेरद्यापि यस्याजया दण्डानीतिगजेन्द्रदानसलिलैर्व्यस्तां प्रस(श)रितं परां(राम्) । निर्व्यावृत्ति पठन्ति कण्ठलुटितैः कैः
- 11 कैर्निनादैर्ब्रह्मा शैलोपान्तवसुधरासु विपिनोत्संगेषु भृङ्गाङ्गनाः ॥८॥ मध्ये [दो]¹⁰रसमुद्रमद्रिशिखराकारां कपालावलीमालोवय
- 12 [द्वि]रदेन्द्रदन्तमुलप्रान्तस्पृसां(शां) प्रेयसां(साम्) । साकंदैः प्रतिम[न्दि]रं मलहरक्षोणीसं(श)चित्तोदरे शूलं [प]ल्लवयन्ति वा(वा)-
ष्पा(ष्प)¹¹ सलिलैर्यद्वैरिणां व-

¹ See p. 93, n. 5. This clearly shows that the stone was originally built in some part of the temple.

² From the facsimile (Plate G) in *An. Rep.* of the Arch. Department of Nizam's Dominions (Hyderabad), for 1927-28, and revised from a fresh impression kindly supplied by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, Superintending Archaeologist, South-Eastern Circle, now Professor in the Andhra University.

³ Denoted by a symbol which is mutilated.

⁴ Krishnamacharlu observed that "the sign which looks like the secondary *n* below *ma* has to be omitted". This sign, however, which is clear in the Plate, has disappeared in the impression, leaving only a faint trace.

⁵ The medial sign of *vā* is mutilated and a redundant *anusvāra* sign appears on the following *akshara*.

⁶ Krishnamacharlu reads *-mātha-*, which gives no sense. The horn above the left limb of the second of these letters is distinct, showing it to be *dh*; and the *prishṭha-mātrā* of this letter has wrongly been taken by him as the medial *ā* attached to the preceding one.

⁷ Vishṇu became the arrow with which Śiva killed the demon Tripura. See *Saura-Purāṇa*, XXXV, 16 and also No. 60 v. 4, below. It is also interesting to note that verse 2 eulogises the creative aspect of the deity whereas the third verse emphasises his destructive aspect.

⁸ Used for the dynastic name Paramāra which would not suit the metre.

⁹ That is, the Sun and the moon.

¹⁰ The consonant of the bracketed *akshara* is formed as *v*.

¹¹ The *akshara* in the brackets appears to have been corrected later on.

- 13 ललभाः ॥६॥ आश्चर्यं जयमिहविक्रमकथास्वाध्यायस(न्ध्या)¹धनध्वानं यस्य धनूर्ध्वनि नरपते²र्व्यञ्जन्ति विस्तारिणः। अद्या-
प्यर्व्वु(र्व्वु)दपर्वतोदर-
- 14 दरीद्वारेषु रात्रिदिवं क्रंदद्गूर्जरवीरवर्गज(नि)ता वा(वा)ष्पाम्बु(म्बु)पूरुर्मयः³ ॥१०॥ एकत्राद्भुतयुद्धमूर्धनि धनुःसन्धानधीरः
करः कीर्त्तिं कंदल-
- 15 य[न्न]यन्नविरतो यस्यारिमर्व्वङ्कषः। अन्यत्राम्बु(म्बु)ध्रिवीचिकांचिवमुधामध्ये मधुस्यन्दिभिः सूक्तैः सत्कवयः शनं व्यवसिताः [स्तो]तुं⁴
तथाप्यशमाः ॥११॥
- 16 उत्पन्नः प्रतिपन्नकर्णनृपतेर्यस्यैक एवोचिनः संसारोदरमारमं ग्रहमहाध्यायो निधिः पाथसां(साम्)⁵। यस्या[भ्य]र्णनिष[ण]पण्डितशताला-
- 17 पान्निशम्यानिशं [नि]:शंकः कलराजहन्म(हंम)विस्तै[रद्या]प्यमन्दो[त्स]वः ॥१२॥ कीर्त्तैः पावं प्रकृतिपुरुषः पौरुषोत्कर्षभूमिभूमि-
भर्तुर्भुवनजयि-
- 18 न⁶ स्वस्य मूर्त्तः प्रतापः। श्रीलोलाकर्कः समजनि जगद्वल्लभो वा(वा)लभावादारभ्यैष प्रथितमहसामन्वये दाहिमानां(नाम्) ॥१३॥
एकामेव मनो-
- 19 हरामभिनवोल्लेखेन रे[खा]मुखां [शुंगा]म्प्राप्य म[हे]न्दुरित्यभिधया वो(वै)तान्यविस्फूर्जितः। लोके यस्य पितामहः शुचिमहःपुन्ज-
(ञ्ज)न्निजन्नाट-
- 20 य[त्य]द्यापि द्विपदन्तकुंदकुमुदच्छायैर्यशोरासि(शि)भिः ॥१४॥ आसीद्यस्य पिता पितामहमुखान्भो(म्भो)जैश्चतुर्भिश्चिरं गीतः
श्रीगुणराज⁸ इत्यति-
- 21 शयाद्विश्वेषु वीराग्रणीः। एकः शूरसहस्राक्षिणि रणे क्षोदधमः [सो]र्जुनः⁹ प्रौढः पल्लवयं(यन्) प्रतापमुदयादित्यस्य नित्यप्रियः ॥१५॥
१५॥ [च]ञ्चद्विष्विचिह्नध्वजपटलैः पाण्डुरैरातपत्रैः पंक्तिन्यस्तैरपास्त[प्र]लयघनरवैर्भीमदक्कानिनादैः। जा(ज्ञा)यन्ते यस्य
सै[न्या]न्यविर-
- 23 लतरलैर्व्वजिभिर्व्वं [जपुं]¹¹जप्रा[यैः] प्रामासिपाशप्रणयिभिरपरैरश्ववारैश्च वीरैः ॥१६॥ शा[ल]प्रान्तु(प्रांशु):¹² सितासु(शु)प्रनि-
निधिवदनः पद्मपत्रायताक्षः
- 24 पीनांशो(सो) दीर्घवा(वा)हुः कनकगिरिशिलामन्निभोरःस्थलश्च [1*] वाह्व्य[हे]U हेपा¹³रवकिमलयितश्रोत्रमूच्छेषु गच्छन्त्यो
मध्ये राजपुत्रेवपि¹⁴ व(व)हुषु परि-

¹ Here Ganguly read *dhya* and corrected it to *ndhya*; but a trace above the horn shows that *n* was engraved; and I agree with Krishnamacharlu in taking it as *ndhya*. And in that case the dot above the preceding *akshara* has to be taken as a fault of the stone.

² This *akshara* has a redundant curve above, making it appear as *ti*.

³ Here the editor of *Ep. Ind. remarks*: "The *Smṛitis* enjoin that the study of the Vēdas should be stopped when there is an evening thunder". Cf. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (T.S.S.), I, 144.

⁴ The bracketed *akshara* is so formed as also to appear as *śrō*, as actually read by Krishnamacharlu.. But it gives no sense.

⁵ Ganguly translated this portion of the verse as this king "produced the only fitting lake which rivalled the ocean." But the word which was taken by him to mean 'produced' is *utpannah*, as used here, and not *utpāditali*; and as far as I can see, the sense intended here is that the king's only suitable rival (or companion) is the ocean which collected the best gems from the universe (as he collected the best learned men). It is *arthōpamā*.

⁶ The *visarga* is omitted according to the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

⁷ The reading of both these *aksharas* is doubtful and a redundant *anusvāra* appears on the preceding *khā*, if it is not a fault of the stone itself.

⁸ This *akshara* has not come out in the Plate in the *A.R.* but it is clear in the impression.

⁹ The *akshara* in the brackets is mutilated in the Plate in the *A.R.* whereas in the impression with me it is lost in the crack. Krishnamacharlu read it as *sō* and Ganguly as *sā*; whereas the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* remarked that it is *schā*, and in that case the *visarga* of the preceding letter is to be taken redundant. I agree with Krishnamacharlu in taking the *pada-chhēda* as *saḥ Arjunah*, the first of these words being intended to denote the sense of 'well-known'.

¹⁰ A sign or a letter was first engraved at the end of this line and was later on scratched.

¹¹ Probably some other *aksharas* were originally incised in place of both these.

¹² The sign of *visarga* was subsequently inserted.

¹³ The reading is uncertain. In his transcript Krishnamacharlu omitted seven letters after *ha*, and Ganguly read them as given here. The intended reading appears to be वाह्व्यहेषु हेपा, which also suits the metre

¹⁴ Originally *trai*, with the *prish/ha-mātrā* erased later on.

- 25 जायते रेखयैव ॥१७॥ सु(शु)द्धो वाचि शुचिर्मनस्य[जि(पि)] जगद्देव[प्रतोवैरिहृद्वद्वद्वहर्]¹नमन्ननुदिनं वा(वा)ल्यात्प्रभृत्येव यः ।
चञ्चचामरम—
- 26 न्तरेण महतीं रा[ष्ट्र]श्रियं² निश्चलां वि(वि)भ्राणः [प्रसभादयं]³ दलयति द्वेपस्पृशः पार्थिवान् ॥१८॥ नत्पत्नी पद्यपवायतनयनयुगा
पद्य—
- 27 [संकाशवक्त्रा] नाम्ना पद्यावतीति विजगति विदिता [रागतः⁴ श्वेत]पद्या । एतस्मिन्नग्रहारे हृहृहृकलुषे कारयामास निम्बा(म्बा-
दित्यप्रासाद—
- 28 — UU UU UU —⁵ करेन्द्रं विमु(शु)द्धं(द्धम्) ॥१९॥ लभतां जगतां श्रोत्रैः संगमं हृदयंगमा । मज्जनत्यस्तभारेयमश्वत्थामकवेः
कृतिः ॥२०॥⁶

No. 30 ; PLATE XXXIII

AMĒRĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1151

THE stone bearing this inscription was found in 1923-24 in the vicinity of a ruined tank at Amērā, a small village on the slope of a hill about three kilometres south of Udaipur in the Bāsōdā *parganā* of the Vidishā District in Madhya Pradesh. The late Shri M. B. Garde who discovered the inscription, noticed it in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the (former) Gwālior State* for 1923-24, page 16 and *Appendix D. No. 1* ; and his notice thereof appeared also in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the same year, on page 135. Subsequently, the record was often referred to because of its historical value in pushing the date of the Paramāra king Naravarman ten years earlier than it had so far been known ; but it has not been edited or even deciphered so far, owing, presumably, to its being in a very bad state of preservation coupled with the slovenliness on the part of the engraver, making a great portion of the record unintelligible. It is edited here from the original and also from an impression which I owe to the kindness of the Deputy Superintending Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal.⁷

The record is inscribed on the sunken panel of a sand-stone slab measuring 95·5 cms. high and 78 cms. broad, with a broad border on all the four sides. The inscribed portion is about 60 cms. high by 53 cms. broad, and consists of 24 lines of writing, which is very crude. The last of the lines, which is slightly separated from the others by an empty space, is only 7 cms. long and contains two *aksharas* appearing as forming a name ; and the line that precedes it is about three-fourth of the length of the others. The height of the letters varies from 1·2 to 2 cms. ; and the mechanical way is extremely sloven. At several places the letters are irregularly

¹ Krishnamacharlu read: *dvaṁdva-dvaṁdva* —, and Ganguly remarked that this expression does not yield any plausible sense. Ganguly also read the preceding expression as *patē Uha* and observed that between *tē* and *ha* there is no space for two *aksharas*. The intended reading appears to be as given above ; and I also agree with the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* who takes it to mean “bowing to the couple (*i.e.*, Śiva and Pārvatī) destroying the bad qualities (*viz.*, passion and ignorance)”. The word *dvandva* here means ‘a couple of opposite conditions or things’, for which cf. *Śiṣupāla-vadha*, IV. 64.

² The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful. It may also have been *ja* (for *jya*).

³ These five *aksharas* are mutilated and the reading is as suggested by the editor of *Ep. Ind.* The sign of *anusvāra* above the second of them, which appears in the impression, is redundant.

⁴ The bracketed letters are badly mutilated and the reading adopted here is only conjectural, so as to fill in the gap.

⁵ All these letters are lost and the reading suggested is: —सभ्युच्छित्तिगिखरलमत्पूर्णचन्द्रं.

⁶ The impression shows that some letters in the following line are totally lost, leaving traces. They may have denoted the date.

⁷ As some of the letters were indistinct in this impression. I requested the Curator of the Gwālior Archaeological Museum to kindly provide me with another, and he obliged me by sending an old impression taken several years back. This impression thus helped me in deciphering some more *aksharas*, also indicating that the stone was then in a somewhat better state of preservation and was less abraded than now.

formed and carelessly cut ; and in the first eight lines they are smaller and written very close to each other. The inscription is also mutilated in ll. 1, 3-6, 11, 14, 18 and 23, owing to its exposure to weather and also due to human frivolities ; and as a result of this, it is completely illegible in the middle of the first eleven lines and in a major part in l. 1. The latter portion of the record (ll. 9 onwards) is somewhat better preserved. However, the sub-joined transcript prepared with patience and perseverance enabled us to form a general idea of this important record.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the late eleventh or early twelfth century A.C., as shown by the usual peculiarities of the forms of letters like *kh* in *mukha*, l. 13, *dh* in *dhavala*, l. 12, *bh* in *sobhita*, l. 1, and those like *p*, *y* and *sh* which often lose their upright stroke, as in *kalpē*, l. 20, *tasya*, l. 11, and *jhasha*, l. 17. To note some other peculiarities, *ch* has developed a triangular loop : cf. *cha*, l. 17 ; but occasionally this form is also to be found in writing *dh* and *v* : see *saṁdhyā*, l. 15 and *vidhātā*, l. 11. The rare *jh* occurs in *jhasha*, l. 17 ; and *ṇ*, whether alone or a member of a conjunct consonant, is occasionally not distinguished from *l* : see *Nārāyaṇa* and *puṇya*, respectively in ll. 4 and 19. *R* has both the forms, the one as in the modern Nāgarī, e.g. in *ghōra*, l. 1, and the other with a wedge drawn downwards and rather longer, as in *Bharadvāja*, l. 11. *J* and *s* show their transitional stage ; their old forms are to be seen in *Bharadvāja*, l. 11 and *snāna*, l. 15, and advanced forms in *prajā*, l. 20 and *saṁlagna*, l. 21. Besides these regular features, there are errors of wrong engraving ; e.g., in some cases the reading of *ś* and *s* is doubtful : in *pratiratha*, l. 3, the consonant of the second letter looks like *v* and of the fourth as *sh*, and the medial short *u* appears as the subscript *r*, e.g., in *kula*, l. 11.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit : and except for the last three lines recording the date and the names of the writer and the engraver, it is throughout in verse. The verses are not numbered, but they appear to be fifteen in all. Because of the mutilated condition of the record, it is difficult to know where a verse actually ends and another begins. The **orthography** does not present anything worth notice except the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vabhūva*, l. 12 ; putting the dental for the palatal sibilant, e.g. in *suddha*, ll. 8 and 15 ; and the doubling of a class-consonant after *r*, as in *kīrtti*, l. 13. The sign of *avagraha* is used only once in l. 5, and the sign of the *anusevāra* does the duty of a class-nasal even at the end of a hemistich, which is of course wrong. The use of *j* for *y* in *jatra*, l. 18, and in *bhuy-* for *bhuj-* and *vāya-* for *vāja-*, both in l. 21, betrays local influence. Punctuation marks are sometimes wrongly used and there are grammatical and other mistakes which are noticed in the text that follows.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the **Paramāra** king **Naravarman**, and the **object** thereof is to record the construction of a tank (evidently the same in the vicinity of which the stone was found), by a Brāhmaṇa named Vikrama, during the reign of this king. The name of the writer consisted of four *aksharas*, the first two of which are lost and the rest two are *pāla*. He is called a *Paṇḍita* ; and the record was inscribed by his son Saumatika. The **date**, as given in numerical symbols in l. 22, is the **seventh day of Āshāḍha** of the (Vikrama) **year 1151**. The date does not admit of verification.

Northern V. 1151 *current* : Saturday, 4th June, 1093 A.C.

Northern V. 1151 *expired* : Friday, 23rd June, 1094 A.C.

Southern V. 1151 *expired* : Tuesday, 12th June, 1095 A.C.

Considering the correct equivalent of the date, we have an important information supplied by v. 5 of the record, *viz.* that it was incised during the reign of Naravarman, and this helps us in this respect. From the next inscription we know that this ruler succeeded his father Udayāditya in V.S. 1151 *current* ; and in the light of this information, we are justified in believing that the present record must have been incised in V.S. 1151 *expired* ; and this is the only way in which we can reconcile the date of the present record with that of the next inscription.¹ Accordingly, Friday, the 23rd June, 1094 A.C. seems to be the true equivalent of the date, and following this, we may reject both the other solutions. The definite date and month when Naravarman actually came to the throne will be discussed in course of editing the next record.

¹ In view of the month of Āshāḍha (V.S. 1151) in which this record was put to stone, the year mentioned in the Dēwās grant (No. 30) of Naravarman, which is Bhādrapada (V.S. 1152) when he performed the death anniversary of his father Udayāditya, has to be taken as *current* and not *expired*. See *J. Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LVII, pp. 80 f.

As already stated above, the inscription is mutilated; and the idea of its contents as may be formed from what is legible is as follows. It opens with two symbols followed by two stanzas which invoke the blessings of Pāñchajanya, the conch of Murāri, and of Nārāyaṇa as the deity is called respectively in the first and the second of the verses. The following four verses are devoted to describe the Paramāra family and three of the rulers belonging to it *viz.*, **Vākpati, Siyaka** and **Udayāditya**. The description is wholly conventional. It is not known if some other names, with that of Bhōjadēva, who was the most illustrious ruler belonging to that family, are lost in the missing portion. However, as all the rulers mentioned here are known from the other records of the house, the present inscription does not add to our knowledge so far as the genealogy of the house is concerned.

The next five verses (5-9) describe the ancestors of Vikrama who caused the tank to be excavated. The first personage introduced here is Stambha of the Bhāradhvāja *gōtra*. His son's name is partly lost in the next verse, but the first three *aksharas* thereof appear to be Ahalla; the latter's son was Vikrama, who was endowed with great fame. He got the tank constructed and the amount spent, mentioned both in words and figures, was 2,500 coins stamped with royal effigy.¹

Verses 10-15 describe the tank, stating that it had wide banks and it was a resort of aquatic animals like fishes, crocodiles and others. It was built with stainless (dressed) stones and for the use of bathing, offering prayers, worshipping gods and sages and presenting libations to the manes of deceased ancestors. It is also said that considering the great merit of making provision for water, it was built by Vikrama by spending the amount which he had earned by just means (*śuddhair dhanair*) and by the strength of his arms (*śva-bhuj-ōpārjita*). This undoubtedly shows that he must have fought some battles under Naravarman, as a general, or a warrior, but the details are not known.

This account is followed by the date and the names of the writer and the engraver, as seen above. And in the middle of the last line is engraved a name *Māluḥ*, which is a subsequent addition, as already seen.

No **place-name** is recorded in the inscription.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verse 1 *Sārdūlavidkrīḍita*; v. 2 *Sragdharā*; vv. 3-4 *Indravajrā*, *Upēndravajrā*, or *Upajāti*; vv. 5, 6 and 9 *Upajāti*; vv. 7-8 *Indrvajrā*; vv. 10-15 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 मिद्धम् [1*] ओम्³ [1*] मध्ये [सो(शो)]भित[दुग्ध]मिधुवि U— —U⁴ [पारो]पमं संमूर्च्छद्धनघोरघोषघटनी⁵व्या[घू]—
- 2 णिता[सां(शां)]तरं(रम्)।] — —क U U—U—UकU— कृष्णस्य पाणौ स्थितं।⁶ युष्माकं स(श)तम् U जालमिव— —
- 3 [स्या]त्पांचजन्यं मुदे ॥[१*] यस्मिना(त्रा)पूर्यमाणे U U U U U करं —U— —U—U [त्रा]मादप्राप्तरे — प्र[ति]र[य]⁷—
- 4 तुरगा नटमा[गी] [1*] प्रयान्ति। व्र(व्र)ह्मा व्र(व्र)ह्मांडखं(ड) U U U U U — स्येति नागयणाम्यं।⁸ तद्वः पाया—
- 5 त्सनादं वदनविनिहि[तः] पांचजन्यो मुरारे[1*] ॥[२*] U—U—स्मिन् परमारवंसे(शे) U—U—⁹ भारिरिहा—
- 6 भवच्च। श्रीवा[क्प]निर्वदन —U— —, U—U— —U U—U—U [॥३*] अजायत —U U नृष —U U
- 7 रागसंति (?)संघट्ट U—रणस्य। U—U— —U U—U—U, U—U— —U U—द[या]कः [॥४*]¹⁰ श्रीमान्ज(ञ्ज)यी —U U

¹ *Taṅkaka*, the word used here, means 'a stamped coin, especially of silver'.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbols, the latter of which is engraved above the line just after the *mātrā* of *dhya*.

⁴ The traces show that the first three of the missing *aksharas* were लमन्.

⁵ Perhaps what is intended is घटना, meaning 'happening'.

⁶ The *daṇḍa* is redundant, as some others below.

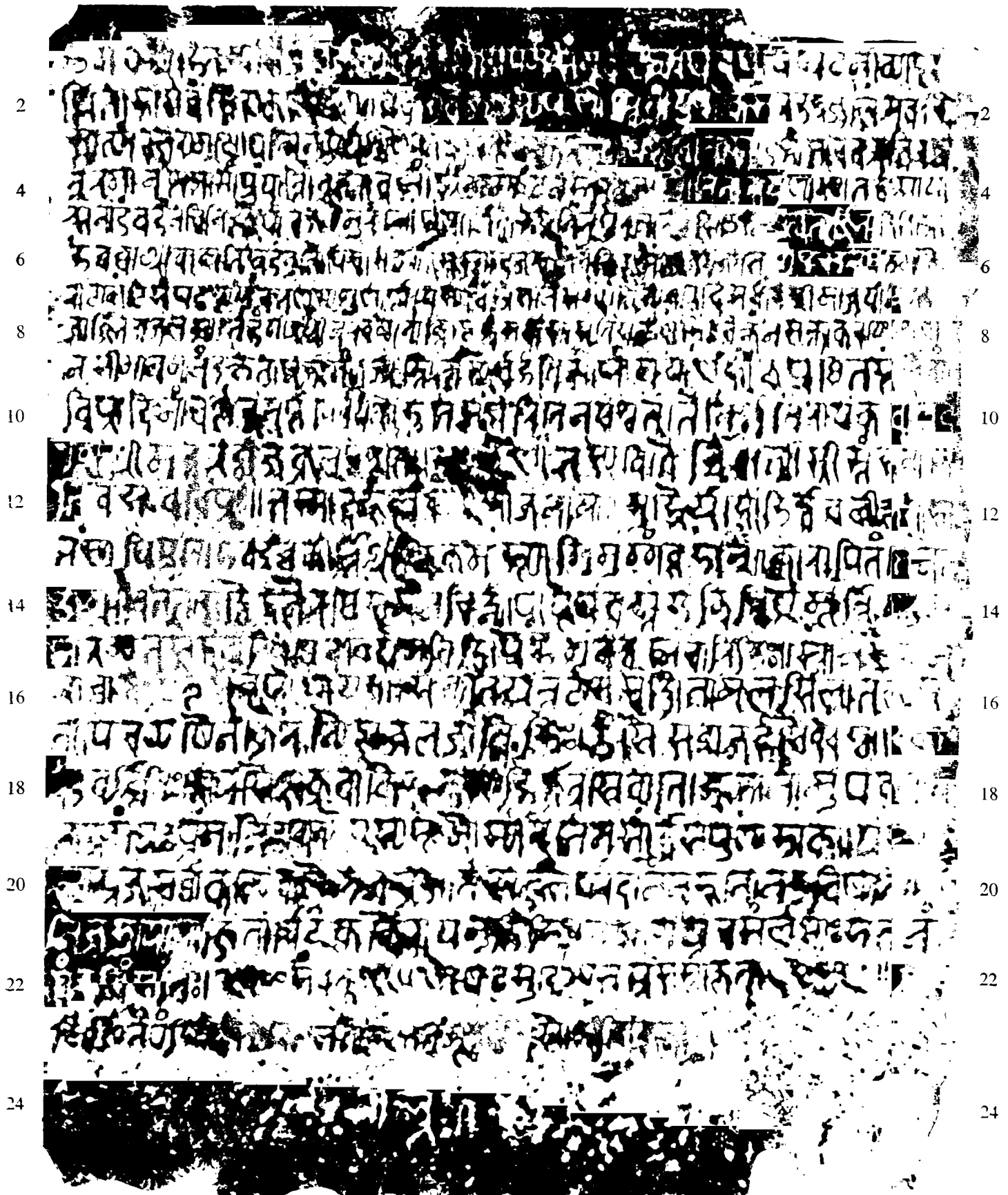
⁷ The reading of this letter is doubtful. Its consonant also appears as *chh*, but the sense is not clear.

⁸ As n. 6 above.

⁹ The lacunae may be filled in as मन्तज्जिताराति by also changing *bhāri*.

¹⁰ The fifth to the seventh of the letters of the third foot appear to read the name of Siyaka. The second foot has five letters more, some of which appear to have been scored off.

AMĒRĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1151



Scale: One-third

- 8 जाज्जितराजल-¹ तदंगजे श्रीनरवर्मनाम्नि । पृथ्वी स[दा] सा(शा)सति मु(शु)[ड]धाम्नि । वक्तुं न स(श)क्ता[ः*] कवयोः-
(यो) [गु]णे-
- 9 न² सीमानमान[द]कृता[त?] प्रजानां(नाम्)³ [॥५*] अस्ति U--UU-U-U, मयाणकाक्ष[ः*] प्रथित[ः*] [पृ]थिव्यां(व्याम्) ।
- 10 वि[प्रा?]दिनां वर्ण U-प्लवे-⁴, यः शोभने मञ्जरिनेन स(श)श्वत् ।⁵ [॥६*] तं निर्म्म[ले]⁶ [न]ायकवा(वा?) लवं-
- 11 [जे]⁶ श्रीमद्भद्राङ्गकुलप्रसूतिः⁷ । U-U णां तस्य [वि]धेः⁸ विधाता ।⁹ स्त्री(श्री)स्नभनामे-
- 12 ति व(व)[भू]व विप्रः ॥[७*] तस्माद[भू]ल्लणराजनामा¹⁰ ॥ मु(शु)द्वैर्यमो(शो)भिर्द्वलीकृतासा(शा)ः [॥१*]
- 13 तस्यापि पुत्रोभवदुचकीर्तिः श्री(वि)क्रमस्त्यागिमुखाञ्ज(खाञ्ज)भानू(नुः) ॥[८*] कारापित¹¹ [ने]न त-
- 14 डागमेतत् ।¹² मु(शु)द्वैर्यनैरा UU- न चिह्न(ह्नुम्) । पीयू[ष]वत्स्तभनिविष्टमूर्ति ।¹² गरुत्म-
- 15 नार[भ्य?]न¹³ सू(शु)द्वारि ॥[९*] UUUUU- द्विपै-U वद् व(व)ह्यचारिभिः ।(॥) स्नानसंध्यान-
- 16 राच्च¹⁴ विपितृसंत[र्प]णाय च ॥[१०*] स(मु)व्यातयत्त¹⁵ मस्व(शश्व)द्वौतामलसि(जि)लाननं(लम्) । प्र-
- 17 तापे¹⁶ च झपैर्नक्रैरन्यैश्च जलजातिभिः ॥[११*] हंसैः[ः] सद्राजहंसैश्च [स्वा]वका-¹⁷
- 18 रंडव(व)हिभिः । मारसैश्चक्रवा[कै]श्च कू[ज]द्भिर्ज(र्य)व¹⁸ मेव्यने ॥[१२*] भूतानामुपकाराय
- 19 ताडागं¹⁹ यः पुमानिह । व्यनष्टे यस्य भूमौ स्यात्²⁰ ते[न] मार्व स पुण्यभाक(क्) ॥[१३*] यस्माज्ज-
- 20 लात्प्रजा[ः*] सवर्वा[ः*] कल्पे [कल्पे]मृजत्प्रभुः । तस्माज्जलं परं दानं न भूतो न भविष्यति ॥[१४*]
- 21 निजभूयो(जो)पाज्जिता U टंककै राय(ज)मु[द्रि]भिः(तैः) । तडागेषु [च] संलभनाः²¹ सत(शता)नां
- 22 पंच[वि]स(श)तिः ॥[१५*] २५०० [॥१*] संवत् ११५१ अष(आषा)ढ मुदि ३ एन(षा) प्रमस्ता(शम्निः) कृता ॥ मिद्धिः²² [॥१*]
- 23 [लिखितं(ता) पंडितराज?]पालेन . . .²³ तत्सूनुना सौमतिकेना(न ।)
- 24 मालुः ॥²⁴

¹ From the context this letter appears to have been *kshmi*. This quarter has two letters in excess. Restore as श्रीमाञ्जयी स्वीयभुजाज्जितश्रीः.

² The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful. Perhaps what is intended is गणानां.

³ Read -कृतः प्रजानाम्.

⁴ The letters are damaged and the reading is not certain.

⁵ Read तन्निर्मले in the sense of तस्मिन्निर्मले.

⁶ This *akshara* is unusually formed but the reading is certain. The reading of the second *akshara* of the name of the family is not certain.

⁷ This *akshara* is preceded by a redundant *danḍa*. Perhaps we have to read प्रसूतिः, but the upper curve of the medial *i* is missing.

⁸ A *prishṭha-mātrā* was first engraved before *dhē* and then scored off. The letter that follows is engraved as च्चि.

⁹ The *danḍa* is redundant.

¹⁰ A conjunct letter is illegible here and the reading of the preceding letter too is doubtful.

¹¹ For कारितं, for which see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62, n. 53. Read उत्खानितः or निर्मापितः which would also suit the metre.

¹² The *danḍa* is redundant.

¹³ The reading of the bracketed letter is doubtful and the fifth letter also appears as *sē*. Probably what the poet means to say is that the water of this pond is as clear as emerald. The construction is defective.

¹⁴ Originally a medial *ā* was attached to this letter and it was subsequently scored off as redundant.

¹⁵ Read मुव्यायत्तटं. A redundant *ta*, engraved before *ya* at first, was scored off later on.

¹⁶ The meaning of this word is not clear to me and the second *akshara* of the word may also have been मा.

¹⁷ The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is uncertain; The first consonant of the first *akshara* is *s* and that of the second is *v*, which is preceded by a *danḍa*. May it be *śyāma* in the sense of the cuckoo? Or, if *śyāva*, it means dark brown or brown.

¹⁸ Possibly we have to read यच्च.

¹⁹ The *mātrā* of *tū* appears to have been scored off.

²⁰ By changing *vyanashṭē* to *vinashṭē* the sense appears to be that 'whosoever rebuilds this pond after it is broken'.

²¹ Drop the *visarga* and read टंकानां राजमुद्रितानां, which, however, would not suit the metre.

²² Expressed by a symbol. An ornamental design precedes the *danḍas*.

²³ The missing *aksharas* appear to have been टंकिनं.

²⁴ This word, as shown by the traces that follow, may have some design after it, or they may have been only scratches.

No. 31 ; PLATE XXXIV A

DĒWĀS COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1152

THE inscription edited here for the first time is on a copper-plate which was found, in 1968, at **Dēwās**, the chief town of a District of the same name and situated about 35 kms. north of Indore, in Madhya Pradesh. The circumstances which just saved the plate from being destroyed are interesting and may be narrated here first. It was on the 4th of October in 1968 that Dr. S. N. Nagu, a medical practitioner of Indore, happened to visit Dēwās, to treat his patient at that place, and incidently knowing that a copper-smith at that place had recently cut into pieces an old copper plate, he ran to the smith's shop and saw two circular fragments bearing fresh marks of cutting. Inquiring into the details, the Doctor came to know that the smith had just then cut those two circular fragments from a copper-plate for fixing them into the bottom of buckets, and that the other pieces which were cut along with them had been sold by him to a merchant from Ujjain, who, in his turn, had sold them to a firm working on metal, some 5 kms. off. Visiting all the different places the same day, Dr. Nagu ultimately succeeded in collecting six pieces which were all inscribed and which he brought to me immediately. Carefully adjusting the fragments, I found that they formed a complete plate, inscribed and issued by king **Naravarman** of the **Paramāra** dynasty : and after getting the fragments welded carefully so as to restore the plate to its original form, I edit the inscription here for the first time.¹

It is a **single** plate and the first discovered so far, of a grant which was written, obviously, on two plates, the second of which is missing. The plate measures 35 cms. Broad by 27 cms. high, and contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space about 31 cms. by 24.5 cms, and is inscribed only on one side. It weighs 2 kgs. and 35 gms. It is about .4 cms. thick at the edges which are raised into rims to protect the writing, which, though not so carefully and beautifully engraved as in the Bētma and the Dēpālpur copper-plates,² is fairly legible and bears a general resemblance to that of the Kadambapadraka grant which is dealt with just below. Parts and limbs of a few letters are occasionally not well formed and the writing has also suffered from the fresh damages as related above. But the whole of it can be restored with certainty. In the lower margin the plate has two holes, each of about the diameter of .6 cms., disturbing the last line of the writing, which is not complete and was continued, obviously, on another plate. It is unfortunate that all attempts to obtain the second plate have failed ; but, in spite of it, the inscription is important, as will be seen below. The rings which originally held the two plates together are also missing like the second plate.

The average **size** of the letters is about 1 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th century A.C. The initial *i* is formed by two hollow dots placed horizontally and subscribed by the *mātrā* of a short *u*, as in *Īṅguṇīpadra*, l. 6 and *iti*, l. 14 ; the consonant *k* loses its loop when used as a superscript, as in *kshiti*, l. 14 ; the letters *ch* and *v* are well distinguished, but occasionally the latter is engraved wrongly in place of the former, cf. *vinaschara-scharūpaṇi*, l. 14 ; *t* and *h* have sometimes not developed their fine tail of the fore-limb ; and *dh* has developed a horn above its left limb, as in *Śundhurāja*, l. 3 and *Dhanapāla*, l. 16. There is little distinction between *p* and *y*, cf. *kalyāṇa* and *kalpānta*, both in l. 2. *R* is formed as a vertical with its lowest extremity slightly bent to right and a horizontal stroke attached to the middle on its left, cf. *parama* l. 3. The form of the palatal sibilant resembles that of the dental in showing the horizontal stroke joining both of its limbs but it is distinguished by its beginning with a loop or a curve or by showing a bend in its tail : cf. *śirasā*, l. 1, where both the sibilants occur.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and, excepting two stanzas in the beginning and two in the middle,

¹ A paper on it, with my own transcript of the text, was contributed by me to the Arch. Sect. of the *A. I. Or. Conf.* held at Vārāṇasī in 1968, and it is printed in its *Proceedings*, on pp. 351 ff.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 320 ff.; and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff., respectively. See Nos. 10 and 13, respectively.

the record is all in prose. **Orthographical** peculiarities are the same as to be noticed in the writing of the time and the locality, viz., (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well; (2) the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* to denote the medial diphthongs and of one *prishṭha-mātrā* and the other *ūrdhva-mātrā* in case of *ai* and *au*, of course, with a few exceptions; (3) occasionally the use of *s* for *ś*; (4) reduplication of a consonant following *r*; (5) the tendency to put an *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence or a hemistich of a verse, with a few exceptions like *phalam*, l. 14 and *ākṛitim*, l. 2; and (6) occasionally the *sandhi* being not observed where it is necessary, as in *śrī-Udayāditya*, l. 5 and *Bhāradvāja-Āṅgīrasa*, l. 16.

To note the contents of the record, we find that after the auspicious symbol and the expression *jayō'bhyudayaścha*, the inscription begins with the two oft-quoted stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, the first eulogising Vyōmakēśa and the second invoking the blessings of Smarārāti (Śiva, in both the cases). Following this, it goes on to state the genealogy of the donor in the usual way, viz., the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Sindhurāja**, his successor *P.M.P.* **Bhōjadēva**, his successor *P.M.P.* **Udayādityadēva**, and his successor *P.M.P.* **Naravarmadēva** (ll. 3-6). Line 6 begins to denote the main **object** of the record, stating that the *P.M.P.* Naravarmadēva, after taking bath on the confluence of the Rēvā and Kuvilārā and after performing the daily duties and having worshipped Bhavānīpati and the god Nīlakaṇṭha, announced, in the presence of Brāhmaṇas, the *paṭṭakila* and all who had assembled at the village of Mālāpuraka in the *Bhagavatpura-pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka*, included in the *Imguṇīpadra-sārdhasaptaśata-bhōga*, the gift of land which is stated to have been made by him when he was staying at the village of Chāmaṭikā (?). The donee was Viśvarūpa, who was the son of Mahirasvāmin and the grandson of Dhanapāla of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* with its *pravaras* Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspatya, who was a student of the Āśvālāyana *śākhā* and hailed from Adriyalavidā-sthāna which is stated to have been included in Dakṣiṇāpātha (ll. 15-16). The **date**, as given in words only in l. 9, is the **the eleventh of the bright half of Bhādrapada of Samvat 1152**, which of course, be referred to the Vikrama era. The equivalents of the date are :—

Northern V. 1152 *current*: Thursday, 24th August, 1094 A.C.

Northern V. 1152 *expired*: Tuesday, 14th August, 1095 A.C.

Southern V. 1152 *expired*: Monday, 1st September, 1096 A.C.

We have no means to verify the date but since while discussing the date of the preceding inscription, I have give reasons to conclude that the year of the present record should be taken as *current*, and thus the true equivalent of the date would be **24th August, 1094 A. C.** Following this line of thought, we are also justified in holding that Udayāditya died in the latter part of 1093 A.C.¹

The gift consisted of two *halas* of land and some other object which cannot be known, as at the point of the very mention of it the rest of the inscription is lost.² It may be stated here, however, that the missing portion of the grant may also have contained the terms of the donation, the benedictive and the imprecatory stanzas, the sign-manual of the king and the figure of Garuḍa, as we find in the other grants issued by the members of the Paramāra house.

We have seen that the gift consisted of two *halas* of land, and it would be of some interest to make an attempt here to know its approximate extent. The land is stated to have been measured 42 times both ways (*ubhaya*), i.e., lengthwise and breadthwise, by a rod (*daṇḍa*) of 96 parts or *parvas* (ll. 17-18), this being then the custom of measuring land (*bhū-nivartana-prathā*) constituting one *hala*, that is, as much as could be cultivated by one plough in a single season. The practice of measuring land by a bamboo-rod is quite common even to-day in Mālwa, as in many other parts of the country. And taking the 96 *parvas* of the rod under reference to be as many *aṅgulas*, this being the smallest unit of practical linear measurement, and considering the length of one *aṅgula* to be about three-fourth of an inch³, the total length of the rod would be $96 \times \frac{3}{4}$, i.e., 72 inches or 6 feet; and multiplied by 42, this would give the

¹ Following the same system of calculation, we find that the equivalent of exactly one year before, with the same *tithi* and month, would be 4th September, 1093 A.C. But here we have to remember that the first anniversary is celebrated some time about and not exactly on the day of death.

² See *n.* in the text below.

³ See *Mārka Purāṇa*, Bibl. Ind. edn., xlix. pp. 38-9.

length of one side of the plot, which would show that one *hala* would give its area to be $252 \times 252 = 63504$ square feet or about 20 *bīghās*, which, according to the popular belief, is known to be ploughed by one *hala* in a single season in Mālwa.¹

As stated above, the names figuring in the genealogy of the house mentioned in the grant are those of Sindhurāja, Bhōjadēva, Udayāditya and Naravarman, in succession. This portion contains nothing new, but what is noteworthy here is the omission of the name of Jayasīṃha, the son and successor of Bhōja, as we also find in the undated Udaipur *praśasti*, the Nagpur *praśasti* of Naravarman, the Ujjain grant of Yaśovarman and the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman just referred to above.² The omission is probably because Jayasīṃha's reign was not long, as rightly assumed by Kielhorn while editing the Māndhātā plate-inscription of Jayavarman himself.³ This problem will be considered separately, while dealing with each of these records, as it is not our concern here.

The importance of the present inscription, however, lies in the fact that the gift was made on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of Udayāditya in V.S. 1152 or 1095 A.C., by his son Naravarman, whose earliest known date is supplied by the preceding inscription,⁴ giving the year to be V.S. 1151 or 1094 A.C., which is ten years earlier than the earliest known date of the king, and here we have also to bear in mind that it is a private record. This date, however, is incidentally corroborated by the present charter which was issued by a member of the royal house himself. It also makes it evident that Udayāditya died a year before V.S. 1152, which is stated to have been the year of his annual funeral ceremony.

As to the **geographical places** mentioned in the record, Inḡuṇīpadra is the modern Ignōdā (23° 44' N. Lat. & 76° 14' E. Long.) now included in the Ratlām District and situated about 5 miles or 8 kms. south-east of the Dhodhar Station on the Ajmer-Khandwā branch of the Western Railway. The name figures as Inḡaṇapadra in an inscription of V.S. 1190, which was found at the same place.⁵ **Rēvā** is the Narmadā, and **Kuvilārā** is evidently the stream of the name of Kōlar (or khōlār) which joins it about 25 kms. west of Māndhātā from where some other grants of the dynasty were issued. **Bhagavatpura**, which is mentioned as a *pratiḡāgarāṇaka* (*parganā*) in l. 6, is probably the modern town of Bhagor (in 23° 53' N. and 75° 25' E.) on the Chambal, as Ignōdā too is, from which it is about 25 kms. north-east and is an old place.⁶ The village of **Mālāpuraka** in which the gift land is said to have existed and the place mentioned as **Adriyalavidā** in *Dakṣiṇā-patha* from where the donee had hailed, I am unable to identify. The maps at my disposal show a place of the name of Mālkhēḍa situated about 22 kms. south-southeast of Bhagor and one Mālāpura to the south of Bhagor almost about 40 kms. distant; but for want of a definite clue neither of them can be identified with the Mālāpuraka of our record. The name of the place where the grant was originally made cannot be read with confidence and hence it too cannot be identified.⁷

¹ See A. N. Bose: *Political Economy*, II, p. 279. My personal investigation particularly with reference to Mālwa also points out the same. The measure intended in the present grant seems to be 40 *daṇḍas* on either side, that is, 40 by 40 = 1,600 square *daṇḍas*, as also in the Kālvaṇ grant of the time of Bhōjadēva (No. 16). Consequently, the remaining two *daṇḍas* (out of 44 mentioned here) seem to have been left fallow as the boundary-mark between the two adjoining fields. It is known in Mālwa as *Mēḍa* or *kāṇkādā-padaṭī*.

² See Nos. 24, 33, 38 and 34, respectively.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III. Also see above, No. 18.

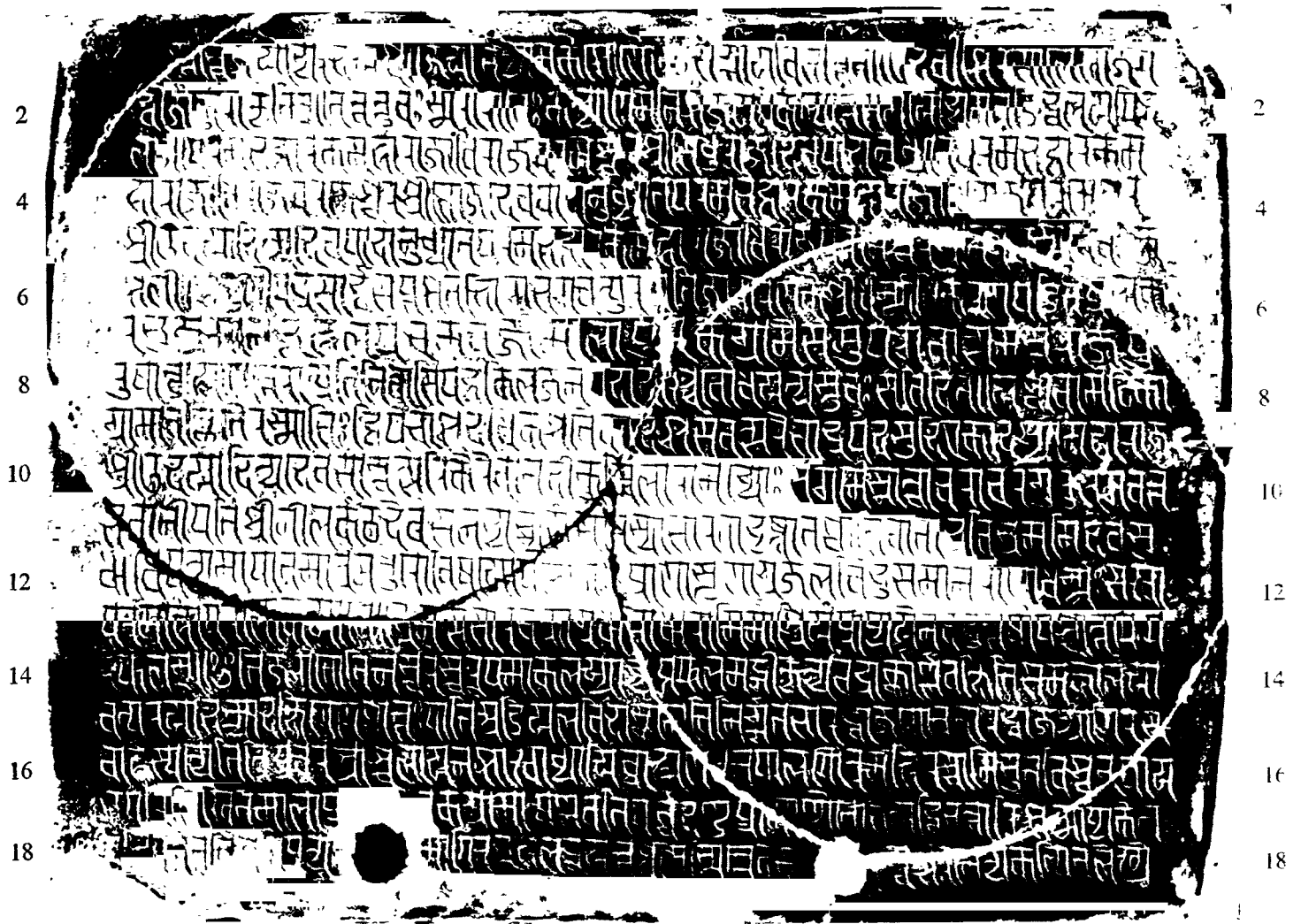
⁴ See the preceding inscription. Also see *A.R.A.D.G.S.*, for 1980, No. 1.

⁵ D. R. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 229, in which the name is spelt exactly as in the present grant, and for this reason I take it less likely to be identified with the village Inḡōriā, situated about 20 kms. west-southwest of Ujjain.

⁶ *Western State Gaz.*, Mālwa, p. 348. There is a place bearing exactly the name Bhagvatpur, about 30 kms. north of Tarānā in the Ujjain region. But its distance from Riḡnōd, which is mentioned here as a *bhōga*, is not less than 80 kms. The name appears also in No. 5, l. 12.

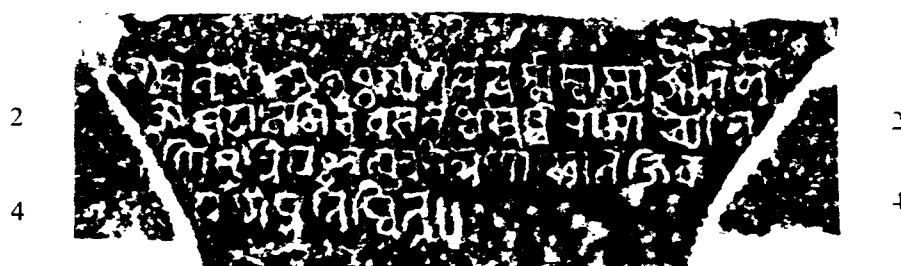
⁷ See *n.* on this name in the corresponding portion of the text. As the forms of *ch*, *dh* and *v* are often confounding in this inscription, we cannot be sure whether the first consonant of the name is any one of these. If it is intended to be *dh*, the place where the king had then encamped is *Dhāmatikā*, which may perhaps be identified with the modern village Dhāmnōd, lying about 90 kms. straight west of the temple of Amarēśvara near which the Kōlār joins the Narmadā.

A — DEWAS COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN:
(FRAGMENTARY), (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1152



Scale: One-half

B — BHŌJPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
NARAVARMAN: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1157



Scale: One-third

TEXT¹[Metres: Verses 1-2 and 4 *Anushūbh;* v. 3 *Vasantatilakā*].

- 1 ओम्² स्वस्ति [1*] जयोभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति व्योमकेशो³सौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्ति तां(ताम्) । ऐदवीं शिरसा लेखां जग-
 2 द्वी(द्वी)जंकुराकृतिम् ॥[१*] तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिङ्ग-
 3 लाः ॥[२*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
 4 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
 5 श्री⁴उदयादित्यदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनरवर्म्मदेवः कु-
 6 शली ॥ इङ्गुणीपद्रसार्द्धसप्तशतभोगे भगव⁵त्पुत्रप्रतिजागरणके श्रीधर्म्मधिकरणे(ण)पडितप्रभाक-
 7 रभुज्यमानभूहलपंचकवर्ज्ज मालापुरके ग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपु-
 8 रुषान्ना(न्ना)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं(तम्) ॥ यथा चामटिका⁶-
 9 ग्रामावस्थितैस्माभिः द्विपंचाशदधिकशतैकादशसंवत्सरे भाद्रपं(प)दसु(शु)दि एकादस्यां(श्यां) महाराजः-
 10 श्रीउदयादित्यदेवसाम्ब(सांव)त्सरिके रेवानदीकुविलारानद्योः⁷ संगमे स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगव[त्]तं
 11 भवानीपतिं श्रीनीलकण्ठदेवं समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा तथा हि ⁸वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसु-
 12 धाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ।⁹ प्राणास्तृणायजलविंदु(विन्दु)समा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा
 13 परमहो परलोक्याने ॥[३*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) [1*] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः प-
 14 रं फलम् ॥[४*] इति जगतो विनश्च(श्च)रं¹⁰स्व(स्व)रूपमाकलय्यादृष्ट¹¹फलमङ्गीकृत्य चंद्रावर्कान्णवक्षितिसमकाल या-
 15 वत्परया भक्त्या दक्षिणापथान्तःपातिअद्रियलविदास्थानविनिर्गतभारद्वाज[गो]त्रभारद्वाजगिरिस-
 16 वा(वा)र्ह[स्पत्ये]तिप्रवरआश्वलायनशाखाध्यायित्रा(त्रा)ह्मणधनपालपौत्र¹²म[हि]रस्वामिसुतविश्वरूपाय
 17 उपरिलिखितमालापुरकग्रामात्पणवतिपर्व्वदण्डप्रामाण्येनोभयद्विचत्वारिंशन्माप्यकेन
 18 [भू]निवर्त्तनविशतिप्रथामापितभूहलद्वयन्तथा अस्मिन्नेव सम्ब(संव)त्सरे नित्यकल्पितलेख्ये.....

No. 32 : PLATE XXXIV B

BHOJPUR IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1157

THIS inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha in an old Jaina temple at the village of **Bhōjpur**¹³ in the Goharganj *tāluka* of the Raisen District in Madhya Pradesh. It was discovered by Dr. D. C. Sircar, then

¹ From the original plate.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The palatal sibilant, wherever it occurs in this inscription, has its loop so curved as to appear as the mid-stroke of the dental, and the distinction between the two letters can be noted only in a close study.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been performed here and also in l. 10 below, where the expression again occurs.

⁵ Here and in some other cases below, which have not been pointed out separately, the letter व् is engraved as च्.

⁶ The first letter of this name is somewhat like व् or भ् or न् ; but I take it as च्. The reading is doubtful. Near the confluence of the two rivers there was a village of the name of Chamaradaha, suggesting its identification with Chāmatikā.

⁷ Better read रेवाकुविलारानद्योः.

⁸ This verse and the following one are put by way of a parenthesis and the sentence is continued with इति जगतः in l. 14.

⁹ As the vacant space shows, this *danḍa* was originally engraved but has disappeared in the process of cutting the plate. The व् in मात्र was originally engraved with three horizontal strokes and later on one of them was rubbed off.

¹⁰ As stated above in n. 6, this and the preceding व् look like च्.

¹¹ The slanting bar of the member of the conjunct consonant is not engraved and thus it looks like प्.

¹² *Sandhi* is not performed in all the instances in this and the preceding lines, though compulsory; and the top-stroke showing the *mātrā* of *pau* is so engraved as to appear as the sign of the long medial ॐ

¹³ For another inscription from the same place, see above, No. 17.

the Government Epigraphist, in his epigraphical tour in the season of 1959-60 and was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year, as No. B-253. The same scholar edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia India*, Volume XXXV, p. 186. It is edited here from an impression supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

The record is damaged and contains only four lines of writing in the form of a trapezium, of which the top side is longer than its parallel side. The length of the first line is 26 cms., and of the last, which ends in about half of its complete measurement, is about 10 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and the **language** is Sanskrit. The record is composed in prose and verse, there being only one stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The letters are neither properly shaped nor carved with due care. The height of an individual letter is 1.2 cms. With reference to **orthography**, we may note the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in *śrēṣṭhī* and the general use of the *ūrdhva-mātrā* to denote the medial *ē* and *ō* occurring in it.

The inscription commences with the mention of the year, **Samvat 1157**, corresponding to **1100-01 A.C.** No details of the year are mentioned. Following this, there is reference to *sāmrājya* (i.e., sovereignty or dominions) of **Naravarman**, who is evidently to be taken the Paramāra king of that name whose known dates range from Vikrama 1151 (1094 A.C.) to 1190 (1133 A.C.). Then is recorded the **object**, i.e., the installation of two images of Tīrthaṅkaras by Chillāṇa, who was a son of Śreṣṭhin Rāma and a grandson of Nēmichandra. We have no details in this respect too.

The record does not contain any **geographical name**.

TEXT¹

- 1 सम(व)त्² ११५७।³ [श्र]ीनरवर्मस्वा(सा)म्राज्ये वेम⁴—
- 2 कान्वय⁵नेमिच[द्र?]म(मु)तः स्त्रे(श्रे)ष्ठी रामा[ख्यो] नृ—
- 3 णिसुतियः⁶ [।*] तत्पुत्रचिल्लणा[ख्ये]न⁷ जिव(न)—
- 4 युग्मं⁸ प्रतिष्ठितं(तम्) ॥

No. 33 ; PLATE XXXV

NAGPUR MESEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1161

THIS inscription was first edited and translated into English, in 1843, by the late Bāl Gaṅgādhara Śāstrī, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume I, pages 259 ff., and was re-edited, with a German translation, by Prof. Lassen, in *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges.*, Volume VII, pages 194 ff. It was again edited, in 1894, by Prof. F. Kielhorn, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff., with text in Nāgarī characters (pp. 182-88) and a fresh English translation (pp. 189-95), but without a facsimile, from estampages supplied to him by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess. Kielhorn has rightly stated that “for the proper understanding of some really difficult verses more help may be derived from the English,

¹ From an impression supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

² The horizontal bar of *ma* has a redundant chisel stroke, making the letter appear to be probably *mva*. Sircar read it as *saṁ[va]t*.

³ This mark of punctuation is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign. — D.C.S.

⁴ The reading of this and the preceding letter is doubtful, as of some others too.

⁵ Sircar read: *k-ānvaya(yē)*, followed by a *daṇḍa*; but it is not necessary if we take the *daṇḍa* to be superfluous and read it as a compound word.

⁶ The intended reading may be मुनिसुतियः (D.C.S.)

⁷ A wrong chisel stroke has made this letter look like *ta*.

⁸ A faint trace below *ya* shows that the original has an *u-mātrā*, which has not come out in the impression.

though not altogether correct, than from the German translation."¹ But he had no opportunity of examining the stone on which the inscription is engraved and had to depend on impressions. He therefore could not read some of the letters correctly. The inscription is edited here from two excellent inked impressions prepared fresh and kindly supplied to me, at my request, by Shri V. P. Rode, the Curator of the Central Museum, **Nagpur**, where the stone bearing it is exhibited. Its original find-spot is unknown.²

The record is incised on the countersunk surface of a loose stone slab measuring 139.5 cms. broad by 84 cms. high, including the double border on each of the four sides. The writing covers a space 136 cms. broad and 80 cms. high, including the flourishes above. It consists of forty lines which form the main body of the record : and an additional line, which is meant to beseech the readers to appreciate the worth of the composition, is inscribed on the lower border of the stone, in letters almost double in size of those appearing in the main record. The writing is not in a good state of preservation : it has suffered deplorably, specially in the lower half of the stone : and, taking the inscription as a whole, a good number of letters have suffered severely, some of which are totally lost and the others can be recognised only in their outlines. There are instances when the text had to be conjecturally restored even after my personal examination of the stone, and despite this, there are three lacunae in ll. 24, 33 and 37, where Kielhorn's transcript too fails to afford any help. The subjoined transcript, however, has been prepared by a patient and careful examination of both the impressions referred to above and also from my personal examination of the stone on which the record is inscribed.

The height of an ordinary letter is about 1.5 cms.: conjuncts with subscripts are about 2 cms. high. In the lower half of the record their size is slightly reduced. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 12th century, to which the inscription belongs. Of the vowels, the initial short *i* is formed of two hollow circles placed horizontally and endowed with a top-stroke, as in *it=yanuṣamah*, l. 8, and also when the first of these circles shows a fine tail and the second a hook above : cf. *iva*, l. 11. The initial *ē* has assumed its modern form : see *ēka ēva*, l. 1. Of the consonants, *k* as the first member of a conjunct has its loop joined to the vertical not directly but by a horizontal stroke, cf. *muktā*, l. 3 : the left limb of *kh* as a subscript is shown only by a serif, e.g. in *prēṅkhat*, l. 4 : the letter *ṇ* continues to be devoid of its dot, see *gaṅgā-saṅgama*, l. 7 : and *chh* and *th* in their subscript form are laid flat and look almost alike : cf. *-chchhalād-*, and *sthūla*, both in l. 13. *Dh* has a horn on its left limb and the verticals of *dhā* are joined by a horizontal stroke, as in *satyābhīdhānō-*, l. 8. On rare occasions the forms of *ch*, *dh* and *v* are hardly distinguishable, e.g. *cha valaṇ*, l. 19, where the first two letters are almost alike, and *durddharā-* : l. 2, where the subscript *dh* is engraved as *ch*. The letter *bh* is in a transitional stage : for, whereas it shows its earlier form in *vibhūtavē*, l. 1, occasionally it is slightly to be distinguished from *t*, as in *bhūtim bhajatē*, l. 3, where both these letters are dissimilar, and *lēbhē*, l. 5, where it has developed a fine tail of the left limb. *R* occasionally shows a wedge, as in *varūthinī*, l. 15, but not in *karaṭa*, l. 21 : and as a latter member of a conjunct it often appears in its complete form with the first member only half engraved, as in *travē-* and *prabhṛitayaḥ*, both in l. 1 and *prāyaḥ* in l. 15.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit : and except for *ōm namō Bhāratyai* in the beginning and the date at the end of l. 40, the whole record is metrically composed. It contains 58 verses : they are not numbered.—**Orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as to be noticed in the contemporary records, viz., (1) *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, cf. *vibhrāṇā*, l. 1 : (2) the consonant following *r* is very often reduplicated, see *garuva*, l. 4 : (3) the medial diphthongs are generally denoted by *prishṭha-mātrās*, but in the first line we find the *mātrās* at the top with ornamental flourishes : (4) the final *m* is wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of a stich, as in vv. 4, 9 and 13 : (5) combinations of consonants and nasals have been indiscriminately represented either by *anusvāra* or *para-savarṇa*, e.g., in *saṁchāra*, l. 28, but

¹ For Kielhorn's remarks on the English and German translations of the inscription, see his article in *op. cit.*, p. 180 and also n. 3 on the same page.

² In his *Des. List of Ins. in C.P. and Berar* Rai Bahadur Hiralal says that the information supplied by the Museum records that the stone was originally brought from Amarakantaka seems to be incorrect, as no accurate record has been kept of the provenance of inscriptions collected before the establishment of the Museum (p. 1). He conjecturally relegated the stone to Bilhārī in the Jabalpur District. But also see the last paragraph of this article on the identification of place names mentioned in it.

kāñchana, l. 11, *maṇḍala* and *mañḍala*, both in l. 5, *nandinī* and *sañtati*, both in l. 8, and *paramparā* and *kumbhāyamāna*, both in l. 29; (6) the *jihvāmūlīya* is used once in l. 12; (7) the *kāka-pada* sign or a single or double-*daṇḍa* is marked at the end of some of the lines to denote that the word is not completed in that line and is continued in the following line, e.g. at the end of ll. 15-17, 24-25, 33 and 38; and (8) there are occasions when a *daṇḍa* used as a punctuation mark has a top-stroke as any letter, e.g. the one after *kautukāt*, l. 14, and in rare instances it is engraved as somewhat resembling the sign for *r*, as in the same instance. Again, in some instances the sign for medial *ā* is separated from the letter to which it belongs and is placed closer to the following letter, as in *adhō dṛishṭvā*, l. 16, where the *mātrā* attached to the second letter is closer to the third.

The language is generally correct, but wrong spellings are occasionally to be noted by mistakes on the part of the person who wrote the *praśasti* on the stone. In l. 6 *shanna* occurs for *shaṇṇa*, which is repeated in l. 10; and we have *dig-maṇḍala* for *diṇ-maṇḍala* and *nistrumśa* for *nistrumśa* both in l. 16, *an̄hri* for *aṅhri* in l. 20 and *chakshuh-karṇa* for *chakshush-karṇa* in l. 24.¹

The inscription contains a *praśasti*, and as such, is of great literary value. The composition is in the *gaudī* style, as is quite in consonance with *vīra-rasa*, and not infrequently it uses figures of speech like *anuprāsa*, *ślēsha*, *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprēkshā*, *vyatirēka*, *atīśayōkti* and *vīrōdhābhāsa*. It is also full of words of unfrequent occurrence²; and rare metres like *prithvī* (v. 38) and *rathōddhatā* (vv. 2, 4 and 14) and still rarer the *pañchachāmara* (v. 15) are used. It may also be noted here that in two verses (28 and 31) there is *yati-bhaṅga*. The style is ornate, and in the words of Kielhorn, 'highly bombastic and artificial.' But it does not lack the *prasāda-guṇa*. The composition, on the whole, reminds the reader of a *vīrakāvya*, e.g. of the XIIth canto of Śrīharsha's *Naishadhīya-charita*, describing the chiefs assembled in *Damayantī-svayamvara*. But with all this, the historical material contained in the inscription is much less.

The inscription is one of the reign of king **Naravarman** of the **Paramāra** dynasty of Mālwa, and was composed, as it appears from the contents of v. 55, by himself.³ The purpose of the inscription is to record the assignment of the village **Mōkhalapātaka**, by Naravarman himself, instead of two villages (not mentioned by name) which were donated previously on a solar eclipse, by his brother Lakshmadēva and which existed in the **Vyāpura-maṇḍala** (the donee's name being not mentioned) and to construct a temple at which the present inscription was put up and which is stated to have been adorned with many eulogies and hymns composed by the king himself (vv. 55-56). The inscription is dated in **Samvat 1161** (expressed in numerical figures only). The year of course must be referred to the Vikrama era and would correspond, if expired, to **1104-05 A.C.** No other details of the date are mentioned.

We shall now briefly review the contents of the record. Beginning with a small sentence in prose paying adoration to the goddess of learning (Bhārati), it has seven *maṅgala-ślōkas*, invoking the blessings, respectively, of the same goddess and of Dēvī (Durgā), Śrīpati (Lakshmi's husband), the learned with their utterances, Śiva, Brahmā, Harihara and Viṣṇu, one verse being assigned to each of them. Verse 4, which is in praise of Śiva, indirectly also introduces the fire-born race which is said to have excelled the solar and lunar races. It is noteworthy that invocation to some of the deities occurs here for the first time in the records of the Paramāra house. The invocatory section, as we may call it here, ends with a floral design, as each of the sections describing a prince in the composition that follows.

The *praśasti* then proceeds to trace the origin of the house of the Paramāras, by describing the Mt. Arbuda (Ābū), which is here said to have humbled the pride of the noblest of the mountains (the Himalayas), and refers to the creation of the eponymous hero of the name of

¹ Besides these, Kielhorn has also noted two instances of wrong spellings; they are *tajjñair* in l. 35 and *vidhadvam*; but I suppose that these expressions are correct.

² And there are also allusions to old legends, e.g. in verses 2, 7, 25, 33 and 50. In *op. cit.*, p. 181 Kielhorn says that he could find no authority for *brahmāṇḍakhaṇḍa* denoting 'the vault of heaven', used in ll. 5, 7, 13 and 13; and for this I may mention Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta* (*Pūrva-Mēgha*), v. 30, describing Alakā as a portion of the heaven (*divaḥ khaṇḍam*).

³ The poet's name is not specifically mentioned but can be inferred from the statement in v. 56 that the temple where the stone was put was adorned with many *praśastis* composed by Naravarman himself.

Paramāra by the sage Vasishṭha who was performing penance there, from his sacrificial pit, as we find in the Udaipur *praśasti*, dealt with above.¹ The following four stanzas (16-19) describe Paramāra's descendant **Vairisimha** as a warrior endowed with valour, liberality and fame, and verses 20-25 introduce Vairisimha's son **Siyaka** and the latter's son **Muñjarāja**, devoting three stanzas to describe them each. Muñjarāja mentioned here is no other than Vākpatirāja II of the Udaipur *praśasti*, as is evident from the genealogical contents. It is noteworthy that the first four names occurring in the Udaipur *praśasti*, i.e., those of Upendra, Vairisimha (I), Siyaka (I) and Vākpati (I) are omitted in the present inscription which begins from the mention of Vairisimha. Muñjarāja's younger brother **Sindhurāja** is glorified in vv. 26-28, and the latter's son **Bhōjadēva** in the following three verses (29-31).² The description of all these princes is highly poetical and worthless for the historian. The next three verses (32-34) introduce Bhōjadēva's relative (*bādhū*) **Udayāditya**, who, according to the Dōngargāon inscription,³ was his brother.

Verse 34, which is historically important, states that 'when, after the death of Bhōja, the kingdom was troubled by the enemies, Udayāditya played the part of the primeval Boar in delivering the earth (i.e., his kingdom) which had submerged in the mighty ocean in the form of Karṇāṭas, Karṇa and other kings, as we know from the word *prabhṛiti* used in it. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* tells us that in the last days of Bhōja the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma made an alliance against him and invaded Mālwā, respectively from the east and the west and took possession of his kingdom.'⁴ As we have seen above, Bhōja's unfortunate end is also hinted at in the Udaipur *praśasti*; and we know that in that predicament his successor Jayasimha regained his hereditary kingdom through the help of the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara-Āhavamalla, who sent his son Vikramāditya VI to help him against the enemies.⁵ The expression *rājyē cha kuly-ākulē* in the verse under reference may also hint at some internal disturbance in the Paramāra kingdom after Bhōja had deceased, and Kielhorn's suggestion that it was 'possibly crowded with nobles' appears to be correct in view of the use of the particle *cha* in the first foot of the verse.

Āhavamalla was succeeded by his eldest son Sōmēśvara II in 1069 A.C., and with his succession the situation on the Deccan underwent a change. Sōmēśvara entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramāditya; and in the fratricidal war that ensued between the two brothers, the latter appears to have been helped by Jayasimha, who was indebted to him for help in regaining his throne. To subdue Jayasimha, Sōmēśvara sent a contingent against Mālwā under his general Gaṅga Udayāditya and his feudatory, the Hoysala Eṛeyaṅga,⁶ and he also appears to have made an alliance with the Kalachuri Karṇa, who too advanced towards Mālwā almost simultaneously with him. Jayasimha's army was utterly routed in the battle, resulting in a severe catastrophe befalling his kingdom. He was possibly also killed in the battle, as the expression *magna-svāmini* of the verse indicates. Considering this, I am inclined to hold that the Karṇāṭa king mentioned in the present inscription appears to be Eṛeyaṅga and Karṇa was no other than the Kalachuri king⁷ who had once before invaded Mālwā but was repulsed by the Chālukya Vikramāditya coming for Jayasimha's help, as just seen. The word *prabhṛiti* of the verse under reference thus appears to denote the other king to be the Gaṅga Udayāditya. And this confederacy of three enemies attacking Mālwā from different sides, with the agreement of exterminating it appears to be also referred to in v. 5 of the Dōngargāon inscription, which tells us that the attacks of three enemies were repulsed by Udayāditya who acted as the great Boar at the time of the *pralaya*, which corroborates the statement of the present record.

¹ Above, No. 24.

² It is rather strange that Bhōjadēva's description should contain no reference to his learning.

³ No. 28, above.

⁴ Tawney, pp. 73 ff.

⁵ Also see Bilhana, *Vikramāṅkacharita*, Canto III, v. 67.

⁶ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. Also see *ibid.*, p. 107; and the Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (1075 A.C.) which mentions the Chālukya king as 'a blazing fire to the ocean that was the race of the Mālavas.'

⁷ As shown by Dr. V. V. Mirashi in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 ff. He also places Karṇa's campaign in Mālwā in c. 1070 A.C. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 179, n. 2. The latter half of the inscription known as Udaipur *praśasti* clearly mentions the word *Dāhalādhīśa*. See *A.R. of Arch. Deptt. of Gwalior State for V.S. 1982 (1925-26)*, p. 13. Also see No. 24, above.

Verses 33-34 speak of Udayāditya's valour and glorify him. But the description is all general, not mentioning any specific exploit undertaken by him. The next two verses introduce his son **Lakshmadēva**: and the following twenty verses are devoted to give a laudatory account of his bravery and his victorious expedition in all the four directions, appearing almost as a *dig-vijaya*. His victorious campaign against Tripuri is mentioned in vv. 39-42, stating that at that time he had encamped on the banks of the Rēvā (Narmadā) and his elephants roamed at their own sweet will on the Vindhya mountains. This account seems to contain a historical reference. The Kalachuri Karṇa at that time was dead and succeeded on the throne of Tripuri by his son Yaśaḥkarṇa (1072-1115 A.C.): and Lakshmadēva's expedition in that region endowed him with success, although it may have been only a sweeping raid. Among his other victories, the description of which appears to be only poetical, the one with the Turushkas is also mentioned in v. 54. From this reference Dr. D. C. Ganguly is inclined to hold that Mahmūd Gaznavī attached Mālwā in Lakshmadēva's time.¹ But the fact that Mahmūd died in 1030 A.C. makes this view untenable. Elsewhere the same scholar says that Lakshmadēva repulsed an attack of Mahmūd, governor of the Punjab, when the latter invaded Ujjain. But this statement too appears to be a mere conjecture, there being no grounds to support it. No Governor of the Punjab with this name invading Ujjain is known to history.

This grandiloquent account, with its high literary value, is of little use to the historian, as we have often stated; but the importance of the inscription lies in the fact that this is the only record where we find the name of Lakshmadēva, who was the eldest son of Udayāditya and who is otherwise unknown. The last section of the *praśasti* (vv. 55-56) mentions the **object** of the record, which we have seen above, and also that Lakshmīdhara was the architect who built the temple at which it was put up. Verse 57 contains the request of the poet to the readers to consider the worth of the composition; and verse 58, which is the last of all, is to wish good to all, *viz.*, the learned, the poet, and finally, to those who listen to it with all pleasure and delight.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, that of the village **Mōkhala-pātaka** appears also in the Bilhārī stone inscription (now exhibited in the Nagpur Museum); and Rai Bahadur Hiralal, suggesting that the name sounds like Dhaṅgala-pātaka, Khaila-pātaka *etc.*, which are in the Jabalpur District, conjectured that the Bilhārī stone inscription may have come from the same District.² But while editing the Mallār plates of Mahāśivagupta in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and referring to this name which is mentioned in it, Mm. Dr. V.V. Mirashi states that 'No such name can be found in the list of villages of the Jabalpur District'; and he also points out that the name Mōkhala suggests Mōkhara, which is about 50 miles (80 kms.) east of Bhāṇḍaka in the Chāndā District, and Vyāpura, the name of the *maṇḍala* in which it was included, may have been Wurgāon, about 30 miles (48 kms.) north-east of Mōkhara. On the basis of these conjectures, Dr. Mirashi is tempted to hold that the stone bearing the Bilhārī inscription may have been originally found in the Chāndā District.³ And in view of the fact that the present inscription also mentions the same two place-names, it too appears to have come from the same District. But it may be stated here that I have been able to trace out two names which rather more closely resemble those of the two places mentioned here. A village of the name of Mōkalvādī lies about 56 kms. straight east of Hoshāṅgābād in the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh, and **Vyāpura**, the name of the District in which it was then situated, may be represented by Byāvarā which is about 6 kms. straight south of Hoshāṅgābād.⁴ If these identifications are correct, they would show that the stone with the present inscription originally came from the Hoshāṅgābād District. But all these are mere conjectures, with nothing in the record to verify our statement.⁵

¹ *H.P.D.*, p. 156.

² *S.E.*, p. 68.

³ See his *List of Inscriptions*, 2nd ed., p. 1.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 117, n. 6.

⁵ *Mazmuli* map of Hoshāṅgābād District., published by the Government of Madhya Pradesh.

⁶ In the Centenary Vol. of the Nagpur Museum (p. 19). M. M. Mirashi stated that there is much uncertainty about the provenance of this inscription; and suggesting both the places mentioned in it, *viz.* Vyāpura and Mōkhalapātaka, to have been situated in the Chāndā District, he also held that the stone bearing this inscription was brought to the Museum from that district. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXIII, p. 117, n. 6. This is, of course, doubtful in view of our identification of the places with those lying in the Hōshāṅgābād District, as above.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 5, 7, 46, 56 and 58 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 4 and 14 *Rathōddhatā*; vv. 6, 8-10, 13, 17-20, 22-26, 28, 29, 31-37, 39, 41, 43-45, 47, 48, 50, 51, and 53-55 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 10 and 12 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 15 *Puñchachāmara*; vv. 16 and 42 *Sragdharā*; vv. 21 and 27 *Mālinī*; v. 30 *Prthvī* v. *Vaṁśastha*; vv. 40, 49 52 and 57 *Upajāti*].

- 1 ओं² [॥*] ओं नमो भारत्यै ॥ प्रमादौदार्यमाधुर्यममाधिसमतादयः । युवयोर्गुणाः सन्ति वाग्देव्यौ नेपि सन्तु नः ॥[१॥*] एक एव भुवनत्रयेऽपि स श्रीपतिर्भवतु वो विभूतये । यस्य मध्यमपदाश्रितोऽप्यमी भास्करप्रभृतयश्चक्रामति ॥[२॥*] जाति वृत्तञ्च वि(वि)-[भ्राणा]³ गु-
- 2 णात्कारचारवः । मरमाश्च प्रसीदन्तु सूक्तयः सूरयश्च नः ॥[३॥*] दुर्द्धरास्त्रिपुरभङ्गभीषणो भूरिभूतिसविज्ञे[षभूषणः] ।⁴ [रा]जराजकृतमन्त्रियः क्रियाद्वल्लिवंशमदृशः शिवः शिवं(वम्) ॥[४॥*] जाता महार्णवोत्पन्ने ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डे श्रुतिसंपुटे । महेश[स्याच्चि]-
- 3 ता मुक्ता अद्यन्त्यम्भोज्योनयः ॥[५॥*] वैराग्यं च मरागतां च नृशिरोमाला च मा⁵ल्यानि च व्याघ्रानेकपचर्मणी च वसने चाहीश्च हारादिच । यद्भूतिं च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च तद्दिश्याद्रूपमुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वः ॥[६॥] वैश्वरूप्यं सम[भ्य]-
- 4 म्य मीनाद्याकृतिर्कैतवात्⁶ । स्वाभिन्ननिर्मिताणेष्विष्वो विष्णुः पुनातु वः ॥[७॥*] अस्ति ग्रस्तगिरिन्द्रगर्वगरिमा नीलाश्वसानू-ल्लसत्कान्तिव्रातविडम्बि(म्बि)ताम्ब(म्ब)रतलः श्रीमान्नगेन्द्रोर्व्वु(र्व्वु)दः । यस्य व्योमतलोद्विलङ्घिष्विखरप्रागभारपद्माकरप्रेङ्खत्पद्मपरागचक्रमि-
- 5 तरत्र(त्र)ह्माण्डखण्डायते ॥[८॥*] देवैरावृतमभ्रमण्डलमिदं मर्त्यैश्च भूमण्डलं कृत्वा धर्मतुलायमानवपुषो यन्त्रान्त्योन्यस्य च । जाने यावदवैतुमिच्छति विधिः किं शुद्धमित्येतयोर्द्वर्वा तावदगादमर्त्यशिखरिस्तम्भान्नभोमंडलं(लम्) ॥[९॥*] लेभे विभिद्य जलधिप्र-
- 6 धि भूमिचक्रमाकाशचक्रमपि येन दिगन्तनेमि । संसारवर्त्मनि महाविषमे निपन्न(ण)भग्नोन्नतैकतटविश्वरथाक्षलक्ष्मीः ॥[१०॥*] तस्मिन्वेदविदां वरः स भगवानाकाशगङ्गापयःपूरप्लावितकान्तकोमलतटेनिष्ठद्विष्टो मुनिः । यस्त्रेतानलधूमवर्त्तियमु-
- 7 नां प्रीत्यै पितुर्व्रं(व्रं)ह्माणो गङ्गासङ्गमसिद्धये समनयद्वृ(द्वृ)ह्माण्डखण्डं प्रति ॥[११॥*] विद्यामहामरिदुपान्तविर्वतिघोरसंसारसैकतविषक्त-ममकतमेते । यस्य विलोकरथमुत्पथसंप्रवृत्तमुत्तारयन्ति शतशोऽप्युपदेशधुर्याः ॥[१२॥*] आयातस्य कदाचन क्षितिपतेराच्छिन्दतः कौशिकस्याति-
- 8 थ्योचिनवस्तुजातजननादानन्दिनी⁷ नन्दिनीं(नीम्) । निज्जैता कुपितेन तेन हविषा संहृषिताद्वृ(द्वृ)हिषो वीरः श्रीपरमार इत्यनुपमः सत्याभिधानोभवत् ॥[१३॥*] राज्यवर्द्धनविशालधर्मभूतस्यकेतुपृथुकीर्तिपार्थिवः । वर्द्धतेयमहिमांशुचन्द्रमःसंततिप्रतिकृतिर्यदन्वय-
- 9 ॥[१४॥*] वराजराजराजितोऽनलोद्भवः सभारतः । ग्रहेन्द्रचन्द्रयोरिव व्यजायतायमन्वयः⁸ ॥ ॥[१५॥*] वंशेऽस्मिन्वैरिंसिंहः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूरिभूतिप्रभावप्रागल्भ्यौदार्यशौर्यप्रचयपरिचयप्राज्यसौराज्यसिद्धिः । नम्रधमापालभालस्थलदलितलुलकान्तको-
- 10 टीरकोटिवृत्त्यन्माणिक्वचक्रस्थपुटितमणिमत्पादपीठोपकण्ठः ॥ [१६॥*] सर्वशा⁹विजयप्रयाणममये यस्येन्द्रनीलप्रभैर्मयूरातपवारणैः शुशुभिरे नष्टावकाशा दिशः । मर्त्यन्मत्तकरीन्द्रचक्रचरणप्रागभारदीर्णस्थिरारन्ध्रोद्भूतविपन्न(ण)जेषसविष-
- 11 श्वाभावबद्धा इव ॥[१७॥*] पाताले वडवामुखानलमिषात्पृथ्वीतले च स्फुरत्सौवर्णाचलकैतवाद्वियति च ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छलात् । [च]ञ्चत्काञ्चनचक्रवालवलयव्याजाच्च दिङ्मण्डले यस्याद्यापि समुल्लसत्यविचलीभूतः प्रतापानलः ॥[१८॥*] स्वर्लोकेषु च विद्विषक्षितिषु च व्यालेन्द्रगेहेषु च
- 12 स्वाराज्यं च रिपुव्रजं च मुरजिन्नागाधिराजं च यः । ऐश्वर्येण च विक्रमेण च धराभारक्षमत्वेन च न्यक्कुर्व्वश्च पराभवश्च समतिक्रामश्च पृथ्वीमपात् ॥ [१९॥*] तस्माद्वैरिन्प्रावरोधनवधूवैधव्यदुःखोद्भवद्वा(द्वा)प्याम्भश्शुक्लशान्तकोपदहनः श्रीमीयकोभूतपुः¹⁰

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The *aksharas* in brackets are damaged but the reading is certain.

⁴ The *aksharas* in brackets have disappeared, leaving only traces thereof. Kielhorn also observed that they are 'entirely illegible'.

⁵ Perhaps मो was originally engraved and the sign for the top-*mātrā* was later on scratched off.

⁶ First कि appears to have been engraved and later on the top-*mātrā* denoting the medial *ē* was also put without scoring off the curve.

⁷ This *akshara* appears as मी in the impressions.

⁸ The expressions in the first hemistich of this verse are, by the use of *double entendre*, intended to be construed with the word *anvaya* (this family) as well as with those born from the Sun and the Moon. It means that this family which had sprung from Fire (अनलोद्भव) surpassed by the best and ever-young immortals (वरैः अजरैः अमरैश्च अजितः) and took delight in the assemblies of the learned (सभारतः), shone like those of the Sun and the Moon. Before the number of this verse, as also of the numbers of verses 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 55 and 58, a flora design is engraved between the double *danḍas*. It is not noted separately and the space is left vacant.

⁹ This letter has also the loop of the palatal and the horizontal mid-stroke of the dental sibilant.

¹⁰ Here is a double *danḍa* scored off by a slanting stroke.

- 13 आविर्भावितनूतनस्थितिरयं ब्र(त्र)ह्माण्डखण्डच्छलाद्यस्याद्यापि विलोक्यते विय[द]धो¹धूमः प्रतापान्तलः ॥[२०॥*] अनुगगनमुदस्थुः
स्थूलमुक्तोच्चया ये यदसिदलितकुप्यत्कुम्भिकुम्भस्थलेभ्यः । सततमपि पतन्तस्तेद्य यावन्न पृथ्वी पृथुलतरलताराव्या—
- 14 जभाजो भजन्ते ॥[२१॥*] अत्याश्चर्यमदृष्टमश्रुतमिदं कस्मै समाचक्ष्महे कोन्वेतत्प्रतिपद्यते च तदपि प्रस्तुद्यते कौतुकात् । उद्धृत्यापि
वसुंधरामसदृशीं लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)पि लक्ष्मी च यः कुर्वन्कार्यमनेकशः सुमनसामागात्र वैकुण्ठतां(ताम्)² ॥[२२॥*] तस्माद्वै—
- 15 रिक्खथिनीव(व)हृविधप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)[यु]द्धाध्वरप्रध्वसैकपिनाकपाणिरजनि श्रीमुञ्जराजो नृपः । प्रायः प्रावृत्तवान्पिपालयिषया³ यस्य
प्रतापान्तलो लोकालोकमहामहीध्रवलयव्याजान्महीमण्डलं(लम्) ॥[२३॥*] यस्मिन्सर्पति लीलयापि ललितैः सैन्यैः⁴ समुज्जृ—⁵
- 16 म्भितं बाह्व्यूहविसारिधूलिपटलव्यालुप्तदिग्म(ङ्म)ण्डलैः । अत्यद्वी[न्द्र]करिन्द्र[सञ्च]यपदप्रेङ्खोलनो[च्छृ]ल्लप्रेङ्खल्ललनाद-
निर्गर्भभूतब्र(त्र)ह्माण्डभाण्डोदरैः ॥[२४॥*] यन्निस्तुं(स्त्रिं)शनिरस्तमस्तकतया लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा)यथा दुर्लभ देवत्वं स्ववव(व)-
न्धमु[द्ध]लमधो दृष्ट्वा भटै—
- 17 व्वेष्टितं(तम्) । संहर्षितपततो विमानशिखरादाधिलप्य कण्ठे हठाद्वीरा[न्सङ्ग]ररागिणो हरधरे सभ्य सिद्धाङ्गनाः ॥[२५॥*]
तस्यासीदथ पार्थिवः पृथुयशाः श्रीसिन्धुराजोनुजः स्फूर्जद्वाडवपवकस्फुट[म]हः[सौन्द]र्यशौर्यानिः । यः संग्रामयु—
- 18 गान्तवत्पितभुजादुर्वीतदूरोल्लसत्कल्लोलयितमण्डलाग्रप[ट]लेनामज्जयद्भूतः ॥[२६॥*] व्रजति जयिनि यत्तामित्रजातेन जज्ञे
तरलतुरगवेगोद्भूतभूरेणुराजिः । [वि]कटकरटिभारभ्रष्टभूपृष्ठरन्ध्रादुदित इव समन्तादन्तकालाग्निधूमः ॥[२७॥*] गाम्भीर्यं प्रल—
- 19 यार्णवस्य च व(व)लं कल्पान्तवातस्य च स्थेमानं कमठेशितुश्च [गुरु]तां [ब्र(त्र)ह्माण्ड]भाण्डस्य च । तेजः कालहताशनस्य च महीयस्त्व
द्युचक्रस्य च स्वीकृत्येव विनिर्मितं यमविदुः प्रत्याजि पृथ्वीभुजः ॥[२८॥*]⁶ तत्सूनुर्भुवनैकभूषणमभूद्भूपालचूडामणि—
- 20 च्छायाडम्ब(म्ब)रचुम्ब(म्ब)तांहि(हि)कमलः श्रीभोजदेवो नृपः । यस्याद्या[पि] स[माश्र]यन्ति चरणौ शक्रामना[ध्या]सिनः⁷ स्पृष्ट्वाव(व)-
न्धविनम्रनिर्जर्जरनटकोटीरकोटित्विपः ॥[२९॥*] रटपटहपाटवप्रकटझञ्झरस्फूर्जितस्फुर[ड्ड]म[रुड]म्ब(म्ब)रोडुमरडिण्डिमोडुमरा । स्फु—
- 21 टत्करटकुञ्जरप्रपदसंपतत्संभ्रमभ्रमद्भुवन[म]भ्रमज्जग[ति] यच्चमू[रुच]कैः ॥[३०॥*] वैकुण्ठः कमलासनाय चतुरास्याय स्वयंभुः
पुनः पञ्चास्याय हराय शम्भुरपि पङ्क्ताय पुत्राय च । सेनानीरपि दन्दशूकपतयेजसं स्हस्त्राननायाद्यापि स्पृह्य—
- 22 त्यमर्त्यसमितौ य[त्कीर्त्ति]मुक्तीर्त्तयन्¹⁰ ॥[३१॥*] तस्मिन्वासवव(व)न्धुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुले मग्नस्वामिनि तस्य व(व)-
न्धुरुदयादित्योभवद्भूपतिः । येनोद्धृत्य महार्णवोपमिलत्कर्णाटकर्णप्र[भृत्यु]र्व्वीपालकदक्षिता¹¹ भुवमिमां श्रीमद्वराहायितं(तम्) ॥
[३२॥*] ॥ य—

¹ Originally धौ was engraved and later on corrected to धो, by scoring off the *prish!ha-mātrā* by a horizontal stroke which is faintly visible.

² There is a contradiction here, since the king Siyaka, who delivered the earth, who obtained (wedded) the goddess of fortune and who did the work (helped) gods (also good people), but who was still not Vaikuṇṭha (Vishṇu). But the contradiction is only apparent when we take *vaikunṭhatām, nāgāt* to mean that he did not show dullness. The figure is *Virōdhābhāsa*.

³ Here the sign for the *akshara* प resembles a rectangle, and the slanting bar which distinguishes it from प is not engraved, as also in वेष्टितं in l. 17. below.

⁴ The sign of *visarga* was inserted afterwards.

⁵ A *kāka-pada* sign appears here, showing that the word is completed in the following line. This sign or two *danḍas* appear throughout at the end of some of the lines below; they are not noted separately.

⁶ The reading of the two bracketed letters is doubtful.

⁷ Reading from the traces left.

⁸ As Kielhorn has also noted, the third foot of this verse has no censure after the 12th syllable.

⁹ The reading of the bracketed letter is certain. Kielhorn, however, read it as छ्या and observed that द्वा appears to have been engraved originally. In fact, a hero dying in a battle is known to occupy only half and not complete of Indra's throne.

¹⁰ The second foot of this verse too has no censure.

¹¹ Kielhorn read the *aksharas* in the brackets as मुमु U, thus taking the whole expression as कर्णाटकर्णप्रभुम् and translated it as "(the earth which was troubled by) kings and taken possession of by Kārṇa, (who), joined by the Kārṇātas....." But as the word उद्धृत्य goes with भुवम्, the expression ending with प्रभुम् remains unconstrued. And from my personal examination of the original in the Nagpur Museum, I am inclined to agree with Mm. V. V. Mirashi, who, following the ingenious suggestion of the late Shri V. V. Vaidya, read the two *aksharas* in the brackets definitely to be भृत्यु, and taking the whole expression as कर्णाटकर्णप्रभृत्युर्व्वीपालकदक्षिता, has concluded that 'the Mālwa country was invaded by a confederacy of more than two kings'. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 179, n. 5. For Vaidya's suggestion, see his *Hist. of Med. India*, Vol. III, pp. 169-70, n. In my examination of the original I also find that the *mātrā* of the first of the *aksharas* in the brackets is distinct and also that the superscript of the second is rather faint, with its subscript somewhat resembling p.

- 23 स्मादुग्रतरप्रताप[पवनो]पारुढदुर्गतासादृष्योत्थरविभ्रमादभिमुखैः प्रापञ्चि यैः पञ्चता । मन्ये सोयमिति प्रतीतिविततामर्पप्रकर्षेण ने भि[त्वा] भास्करमण्डलं रिपुभटाः प्रापुः परां निर्वृति(तिम्) ॥३३॥*¹ एकस्यां समितौ² विलोक्य विजयं य-
- 24 स्यापरस्यां स्तुव[न्स्त्री?] - - [वक्तु?]ता समर्थयति दृग्जिह्वासहस्रद्वये³ । कित्वानन्दनिमीलनेक्षणतया श्रौत्रैः मुखैर्वञ्चितश्चक्षुःक- (क्षुष्क)र्णमकर्णमप्यहिपतिः स्वीयं वपुर्निन्दति ॥*॥३४॥* पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्त्रयैकतरणेः सम्यक्प्रजापालनव्यापारप्र-
- 25 वणः प्रजापति[रिव श्री]लक्ष्मदेवोभवत् । नीत्या येन मनुस्तथानुविदधे नासी न वैवस्वतः सर्वत्रापि सदाप्यवर्द्धत यथा कीर्त्तिर्नैव स्वतः ॥३५॥* संभूय ध्रियतां गुरुर्व(र्व)लभराद्भूः कूर्मराजादयः सद्यो नश्यत [वा द्रु]तं नमत वा प्रत्य-
- 26 धिपृथ्वीभुजः । चक्षुर्मक्षु⁴ पिधीयतामनिमिपाः पांसुः पुरा पूरयत्येवं व्याहरति प्रयाणपटहो यस्य स्वनच्छदना ॥३६॥*⁵ यस्मिन्सर्प[ति] वा(वा)न्धवोपि विधुरैः पूर्वैः परित्यज्यते कल्याणस्य कथापि कान्तरतया नापेक्ष्यते दक्षिणैः । [आशाव]ल्लिरस-
- 27 त्फलेति विकलैर्निश्चीयते पश्चिमैर्मर्तुं केवलमृत्तरैर्नृपतिभिर्द्वेधाप्ययोध्याम्यते ॥३७॥*⁶ प्रयाति यस्मिन्प्रथमं दिशं हरेर्जिह्वापया- नन्यसमानदन्तिनां(नाम्) । यथाविशद् गौडपतेः पुरंदर[स्तथा] शशङ्के सहसा पुरंदरः⁷ ॥३८॥*⁸ उत्माहोन्नतिसन्निमित्तजनि-
- 28 ताजलप्रयाणक्रमेणाक्रम्य त्रिपुरी रणैकरमिकान्वि[ध्व]स्य विद्वेषिणः । येनावास्यत विन्ध्यनिर्जरमरुत्संचारचाहलसल्लीलोद्यानलताविता- नवततौ रेवोयकण्ठ[स्थ]ले ॥३९॥*⁹ जातानि जन्यश्चमार्ज्जनानि वी(वी)जानि यत्कुञ्जरमज्जनानि । तटाचलो-
- 29 च्चाटनन्तराया रेवाप्रवाहोऽस्मिपरंपरायाः ॥४०॥*¹⁰ ये व्यालोलकरालनिर्जरकराः कु[म्भा]यमानोन्नमत्कृटान्ताः कटकान्तभागविल- द्दानायमानाम्भसः । प्रायस्तेपि विरोधिस्तिन्धुरधिया यद्वाहिनीवारणैरुन्मीलनमदमेदुरैर्वि(वि)भिदिरे विन्ध्यम्य
- 30 पादाचलाः । (॥) [४१॥*¹¹ स्फार[त्त्वक्मा]रवारमथगिनगुरुटीकूटकुट्टाकटङ्कप्रायप्रेङ्खुराग्रत्वरित[ह]रिचमूचक्रच[ङ्क]म्यमाणाः । येनालङ्घयन्त सेनाकारिकरतटोहामदानाम्बु(म्बु)गन्धव्याविद्धागण्य[वन्त्य]द्विपकुलपटल[श्या]मला विन्ध्यपादाः ॥४२॥*¹² ये दिक्मिन्धुरव(व)-
- 31 न्धवः क्षय[मरुल्लोला]द्रिस्[त्ता]भूतः क्रीडाक्रोडकुटुम्ब(म्ब)का[न्ति]जलमुक्सत्र(त्र)ह्यचर्याजुपः । यत्सेनानृप[ग]न्धस्तिन्धुरमरुमैर्वा- विहृन्ती¹³कृतैस्तैरप्यङ्गकलिङ्गकुञ्जरकुलैर्युद्धा[य] व(व)द्वोज्जलिः ॥४३॥*¹⁴ देवोसौ पुरुषोत्तमः स भगवानाग्निश्रिये यः श्रिया
- 32 येनेदं व(व)लिवैरिव(व)न्धविधिना विश्वं समाश्वसितं(तम्) । येनाधारि वमुन्धरेति¹⁵ दधतः सानन्दमन्दाक्षतां यस्य प्राच्यपयोनिधौ वु(वु)धजनैर्व्याजस्तुतिः प्रमृता ॥ [४४॥*¹⁶ ये कल्पानलधूममण्डलनिभाः [कादम्बि(म्बि)]नीविद्विपः संवर्त्तोल्लसितान्धकारमुहदम्बुत्य-
- 33 द्वियद्वा(द्वा)न्धवाः । [व] - - U U [आहव]श्मनुदे पा[थो]वगाहोद्यतैर्यत्सामन्तमतङ्गजैरधरितास्तेप्यम्बु(म्बु)धेरुर्मयः ॥४५॥*¹⁷ कुम्भमभवसोदयं यत्पापाचीमुपा[च्छे]ति । चोलाद्यैर्ची[च]कै[भू]त्वा विन्ध्यवा(वा)न्धवतादधे ॥४६॥*¹⁸ ली[ला]म्भःप्लवने यदीयपूतनामामन्त-
- 34 सीमन्तिनीश्रोणि[श्रे]णि[विशी]र्यमाणर[ण]नामुक्ताः पतन्ति स्म याः । ताभिः संप्रति पप्रथे नु पृथिवी यत्ताम्रपर्णीपयः पद्याद्यापि तदेव पाण्ड्यनृपते[र्ज्जी]वातवे [जा]य[ते] ॥४७॥*¹⁹ स्वामिन्नेप न सेतुरत्रभवतो रामस्य यो मारुतिप्रायोपाहृत-
- 35 शैलशृङ्गारचितो वडि[ण्णु]विन्ध्या[श्रिते] । इत्या[दृ]त्य कुतूहलेन कथितं तजै(जै)रवजाय यः सेनाहास्तिकमेतुनैव विदधे द्वीपान्तरोपक्रम- (मम्) ॥४८॥*²⁰ अथावभज्योभयथा यमाशां यस्या[नवे] सर्पति सैन्यरुद्धे । अभूत्स्वकीयां ककुभं व्यपायाद् गो-
- 36 पायितुं पाशभृदप्यपाशः ॥४९॥*²¹ मैनाकप्रमुखा वसन्ति कुहचिक्कालाग्निरास्ते ववचित्सन्ति²² ववापि तिमिगिलप्रभृतयः कुत्रापि जेते हरिः । एतद्वेत्ति न कोपि यत्र जलधौ [त]स्याप्य[शेषं] पयः[ः] [पीत्वा] यत्करिभिः वृत्तैकचुलुकैस्तै-
- 37 रगस्त्यायितं(तम्) ॥५०॥*²³ यैः संभूय निमिङ्गलप्रभृतिभिः संसर्पिणस्त[न्व]ते पोताधानसव(व)न्धुतां शिखरिणो मैनाकमुह्या अपि । भ्राम्यन्मन्दरडम्ब(म्ब)राणि दधिरे²⁴ तैरप्यशेषेम्बु(म्बु)धौ यत्सेनागजराजं(पीव)रकरा - - U नोच्छृङ्खलैः ॥५१॥*²⁵ अथातितिक्षोरिव राज-

¹ The second *akshara* of this word has totally disappeared and the restoration is conjectural. On the stone it is clear though faint. In the previous verse the reference is to *Pārīvara-smṛiti* (Calcutta edn.), p. 626, according to which, a warrior killed in a battle goes to *Sūrya-lōka*. The reference is due to Kielhorn.

² Both these letters are damaged and the reading is doubtful.

³ First मां appears to have been engraved and later on corrected, by scratching off the *anusvāra* and scoring off the *mātrā* by two horizontal strokes.

⁴ The consonant of this *akshara* appears as *m*. This verse describes Lakshmadēva's victorious march in all the four directions.

⁵ The east is supposed to be Indra's direction. There is a play on the word पुरन्दर, meaning (i) Indra and (ii) *puram* (to the town) and दर, 'dread'.

⁶ As Kielhorn has already noted, विहृन्तीकृतैः means 'bewildered' and also 'deprived of their trunks'.

⁷ By a redundant chisel stroke व् appears as च् here.

⁸ The bracketed letters are not clear in the impression.

⁹ A redundant *anusvāra* appears on न्, which is due to a fault of the stone.

¹⁰ Some other letter with the medial short *i* was originally engraved in place of the first letter of this word, probably धि, as Kielhorn observed.

- 38 राजमन्यं तदाशां प्रति यस्य यातुः । द्विधापि भीत्युज्जितवित्तपाशैर्भूयैः प्रतीर्वैव्विभयैर्व्व(र्व)भूवे ॥[५२॥*] आरामाः समरामरावपि तदा पुत्रागपूगादिमद्गुल्मान्तर्व्वनदेवतायितजयश्रीमद्यशःपादपाः । यस्यासन्भुजदण्डच[ण्ड]मलसल्लोलासिलक्षीकृतक्षोणीपालक—
- 39 पालमण्डलगलकीलालकुल्याकुलाः ॥[५३॥*] खेलोखाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्वाहावलीवेल्लनक्लाम्यत्कुङ्कुमकेसराधिकमृदौ वक्षूपकण्ठस्थले । येनावस्थ सरस्वतीसविश्रतामाधिक्यवाक्काटवश्चाटूनुत्कट[प]त्रिपञ्जरगतः कीराधिपोध्याप्यत ॥[५४॥*] तेन व्यापुरमण्डले सुकृति—
- 40 ना यस्मै ग्रहेन्द्रग्रहे¹ यद् ग्रामद्वयमग्नियेण विधिना विश्राणितं श्रद्धया । तद्भ्राता नरवर्मदेवनृपतिः पश्चात्परीवर्त्य तद् ग्रामं मोखलपाटका-
ख्यमदिशद्देशत्र² यस्येच्छया ॥ ॥[५५॥*] तेन स्वयंकृतानेकप्रशस्तिस्तुतिचित्रितं (तम्) । श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीधरेणैतद्देवागारमकार्यत ॥[५६॥*]
सं ११६१॥
- 41 हंहो वु(वु)धाः साधु समुत्सहृवं कुशाग्रकल्पा च धियं विधुध्वं (ध्वम्) । मध्यस्थभावं च समाश्रयध्वं सुखं च नः सूक्तिमुधामुपाध्वं (ध्वम्)
॥[५७॥*] वन्दनीयावुभौ सूक्तिश्रोतारौ तौ विपश्चितौ । यावश्च मुञ्चतः सान्द्रमानन्दालस्यनिर्व्वर्भ(वर्भ)रौ ॥[५८॥*]³

No. 34 ; PLATE XXXVI

KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1167

THIS inscription, which is incised on **two rectangular copper-plates**, was first brought to notice by the late R. D. Banerji, in his *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 1920-21, p. 54, and the same scholar edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XX (for 1929-30), pp. 105 ff., where he gave his own reading of the text, in Roman characters (pp. 106-07), with its English translation (pp. 107-08) and illustrations between pages 106-07. This article, which was published after Banerji's demise, was revised by N. P. Chakravarti, then Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy. But the inscription needs to be re-edited, particularly after the discovery of a new grant of Naravarman, which has been edited above ; and I edit it here from an excellent impression kindly placed at my disposal by the Chief Epigraphist, Government of India, Mysore.

As stated above, it is a set of **two copper-plates** which are said to be thick and "belonging to Mr. J. J. Gardar of Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, who purchased them at some place in Central India." Unfortunately their original find-spot is not known. Each plate measures 29·5 cms. long by 20 cms. broad, and each has two roughly circular (or hexagonal) holes, cut in the lower border of the first and in the upper border of the second, showing that originally they must have been fastened together by means of rings which are now missing. The writing, which is inscribed on the inner side only, covers a space measuring 27·5 cms. long by 16·5 cms. broad on the first and 13 cms. broad on the second. In all there are twenty-nine lines of writing, the first plate containing seventeen lines and the second only twelve. The second plate has the **sign-manual** of the king, which is separated by about 1·5 cms. from the end of the main inscription. On the proper right side of this plate, as to be found on most of the other grants of the Paramāra house, is engraved, in a space measuring 7 cms. broad and 9 cms. high, the figure of **Garuḍa**, facing left and kneeling, with wings spread and holding a hooded snake in each of the hands, occupying a space which reduces the length of the last three lines of the inscription by about 7·5 cms. The weight of both the plates is stated to be 15 lbs. 7 oz., i.e., approximately 6·5 kgs.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C., closely resembling those employed in the preceding grants. The **height** of letters excluding the *mātrās* above, varies from ·6 to ·10 cms. ; but those existing in the sign-manual and the last two lines of the record are slightly bigger.⁴ The execution of letters is bold and the writing is in a fair state of preservation ;

¹ That is, on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

² Originally देशो was engraved.

³ This line is separated 'by a narrow empty space' from the main body of the inscription.

⁴ In his article referred to above, Banerji mentions the average height of letters to be $\frac{5}{8}$ ", which is only of those employed in the sign-manual of the king.

though it is full of scribal errors. Occasionally, the arbitrary touch of the chisel has transformed the exact shape of letters which are to be read correctly only by the context, as will be known from foot-notes appended to the text ; and that the limbs of some of the letters are occasionally omitted in the process of engraving is to be seen from corrections made in the text itself.

To note the **palaeographical peculiarities** of the writing, we find that the letter *ṇ*, which occurs only once in *-ṅkur-ākṛitīm*, l. 1, is devoid of its dot ; the letter *j* in *Mahārāja*, l. 2, shows its form advanced than the others ; the letter *dh* shows a transitional stage ; it exactly resembles *v* in *-dhirāja*, l. 3, has a horn on the left limb but no top-stroke, as in *madhurō*, l. 8 and *vidhēyāḥ*, l. 20, and no horn but the top-stroke on the first limb, as in *vasudhā*, l. 8 and *dhārā-dhārā*, l. 9, where the two verticals are joined by a bar in the middle. *Ch* which is occasionally in its developed form, as in *charāchara*, l. 7 and *chakrāgra*, l. 9, continues to show its older form resembling *v*, as in *jayō'bhyudayaś=cha*, l. 1. Sometimes no distinction is made in carving *t*, *n* and *bh* ; cf. *pradantā* for *pradattā*, l. 19, *sēnu* for *sētu*, l. 25, *nūta* for *bhūta*, l. 17 and *nūyō* for *bhūyō*, l. 25. The letter *ṇ* often resembles *l*, as in *parvāṇi*, l. 17, *trīṇa*, l. 18 and *nṛipāṇām*, l. 25. The vertical and the slanting strokes forming *d* are sometimes joined in the middle so as to make the letter appear to be *v*, e.g. in *jayō'bhyudayaś=cha*, l. 1 and *udāhṛitām*, l. 27 ; and an example of the reverse is to be seen in *vibhartti* appearing as *didhartti* in l. 1.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and, with the exception of two verses in the beginning, two in the middle and five imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is composed in prose. With reference to **orthography**, we may note that (1) the letter *v* denotes *b* as well ; (2) a consonant following and occasionally preceding *r* is doubled, e.g. in *sarggāya*, l. 1, *chandrārkkārṇṇava*, ll. 10-11, and *māttira*, l. 8 ; (3) excepting perhaps two instances, viz., *Āsādhārāya*, l. 12 and *vaṁsa*, l. 21, the sibilants are correctly used throughout ; (4) nasals too are correctly used, with a very few exceptions, but the final *m* is generally wrongly changed to an *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence or a hemistich of a verse ; (5) the medial diphthongs are shown by the *prishṭha-mātrās*, excepting those in the first line on each plate and certain others, e.g. in *yānē*, l. 9, *dvivēda*, l. 12, *vilōpyāḥ*, l. 27 and *kēśavaḥ*, l. 28, but in case of the medial *ai* one of the *mātrās* appears as *prishṭha-* and the other as *ūrdhva-*, as in *śataika-*, l. 14.

The inscription opens with the customary short sentence *Śrīr=jayō'bhyudayaś=cha* (wealth, victory and prosperity), followed by two verses which are generally to be found at the beginning of a Paramāra grant ; the first of these verses eulogises *Vyōmakēśa* and the second invokes the blessings of *Smarārāṭi*. It then proceeds to trace the genealogy of the ruling house of the **Paramāras**, beginning it from the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Paramēśvara Sindhurāja*, his successor *P.M.P. Bhōjadēva*, his successor *Udayāditya* and his successor **Naravarman** (ll. 2-5). This portion is identical with the corresponding portion of the previous grant. The **object** of the record is to register the grant of certain pieces of land given on different occasions to a Brāhmaṇa named *dvivēda-Āsā(śā)dhara*, son of *dīkshita Dēvaśarman* and grandson of *dvivēda Nārāyaṇa*, who had hailed from *Sṛīṅapura* in *Madhyadeśa*, who was a student of *Mādhyandina śākhā* and whose *gōtra* was *Kātyāyana*, with three *pravaras*, viz. *Kātyāyana*, *Kapila* and *Viśvāmītra*. We are then told in ll. 13-14 that Naravarman himself donated twenty *nivartanas* of land, measuring it by a *daṇḍa* containing ninety-six *parvas*,¹ to this Brāhmaṇa on the **12th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1162, corresponding to Thursday, the 3rd February, 1110 A.C.**, when the charter was issued. The document in ll. 14-18) also refers to previous grants of twenty *halas* of land, as shown below, in a tabular form :

- (a) Ten *halas* donated by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* Rājya(ja)dēva on the **15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year 1154.**
- (b) Four *halas* by his wife,² the illustrious Mahādēvī (probably on the same date?).
- (c) Six *halas* by the king Naravarman himself, on the **15th day of the bright half of Pausa in the year 1159**, on the occasion of *Bhūtaraprana(?)parvan*.³

¹ For details in this respect, see the preceding grant, No. 31.

² The word employed here is *vadhū*, which is translated by Banerji as 'daughter-in-law'. But I feel agreeing with Chakravarti, who, while revising the article, observes that it is probably to be taken in the sense of 'wife'. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XX, p. 105, n. 5.

³ For this expression, see n. on the corresponding portion in the text below.

Thus all the different grants are registered in the present charter which was issued by Naravarman from his stay at Dhārā (l. 7), and the land is stated to lay in possession of the *Mahā-maṇḍalika* Rājya(ja)dēva and was situated in the *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇa* (*parganā*) of Mandārikā in the Upēndrapura-*maṇḍala*. Lines 19-21 state the terms of the grant and sound a note of warning usually to be found in those of the Paramāra dynasty, and this account is followed by five imprecatory verses. Then the date is repeated in numerical figures, and stating the name of the *dūtaka* to be *Ṭhakkura* Kēśava, and with the **sign-manual** of Naravarman in the end, the record is closed.

The grants donated previously in 1097 A.C. are referred to in this charter probably because they were to be confirmed by the supreme ruler: but that this confirmation is made after as many as thirteen years appears to be rather strange, violating the usual course. Besides this, we have also to consider what might have been the reason for the reference to the gift made by Naravarman himself some eight years before in the year 1159 V.S. And to solve these problems satisfactorily, it is necessary to take into account the political situation of the time. As we shall presently see, the localities showing the situation of the gift land were all lying in the western Bētṡā valley, just opposite to that region which included in it places like Jhānsī, Lalitpur and Dēogaḍh on the east of the river which was a part of the Chandēlla kingdom, since 1193 A.C., as we know that Kīrtivarman's general Vatsarāja had built a *ghaṭṭa* on this river and he had also established himself in this region.¹ Similarly, the evidence of the Ajayagaḍh rock inscription of Vīravarman, V.S. 1317, which states that 'Sallakshaṇavarman took away the fortunes of the Mālavas along with those of the Chēdis', goes to indicate the success of the Chandēlla king against the Mālavas, who, under Naravarman, had to lose a part of their kingdom in this region. It is possible that Naravarman's constant preoccupation with the Chaulukyas on the western boundary of his kingdom may have facilitated Sallakshaṇavarman's task. But that the Bētṡā region was a bone of contest between the two rivals, *viz.*, the Paramāras and the Chandēllas is certain. That Sallakshaṇavarman's grandson Madanavarman had once again to acquire this region is shown by his own Augasī plate record of V.S. 1190 (1133 A.D.), stating his gift of land from his residence at Bhillasvāmipura (modern Bhilsā), when he was probably leading a campaign against Mālwā. This incidence may have happened some time before the present grant was issued, and all this shows that Naravarman was constantly busy struggling with his enemies, not only on the other side of the Bētṡā but also on the west with the Chaulukyas, as we have just seen, and probably also with the Chāhamāna Abhayadēva who had conquered Ujjain and took prisoner the Paramāra general Sulhaṇa. And viewing all these circumstances, it appears reasonable that this probably necessitated a reference of all the grants made during this period of unrest.

As for the **localities** occurring in the present grant, Banerji called attention to a town named **Upēndrapura** mentioned in the Rānōd inscription of the Mattamayūra ascetics and observed that it seems to have given its name to the *maṇḍala* appearing here.² But the place cannot be located. This part of the *maṇḍala* seems to have been in the south-eastern portion of the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh, just to the west of the Bētṡā and around Rānōd. Prof. V. V. Mirashi suggested that **Mandāraka** which is mentioned here as a *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka* (l. 5) may be identical with Mundair, about 15 miles (24 kms.) north-east of Ujjain, and **Kadambapadraka** with the modern Kāmlīkhēḍā, lying about a mile (2 kms.) to the east of Mandāraka.³ This suggestion, though based more on similarity in the names, may be accepted till we get a confirmatory evidence. And if so, I may also suggest that Upēndrapura may be the modern village of Upāḍī, situated in the same locality. **Madhyadēśa** (l. 11) is evidently the region of the Sarasvatī and the Ganges, and **Dhārā** (l. 7) is, of course the well known Paramāra capital. **Śrīṅgapura**, from where the donee had hailed (l. 11) cannot be identified in absence of the details.

¹ See No. 111, v. 7, below.

² For the Rānōd inscription, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

³ *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. clii. As regards the name Kadambapadraka, it may also be suggested here that in the same locality as of Rānōd lies a village known as *Kadvāhā*, which has been identified with Kadambaguhā, mentioned in another inscription of the Mattamayūra clan. *Padra* or *padraka*, which is the latter part of the name, is the same in both the instances, for which compare Aranipadra which is situated at a distance of about 9 kms.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4 and 5, *Anushubh*; vv. 3 and 7, *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6, *Indravajrā*; v. 8, *Sālinī* v. 9 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 ओं² स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीज(र्ज)योभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति [व्यो]मकेशोसौ यः मर्गायि वि(वि)भक्ति(त्ति) तां(ताम्) । ऐन्दवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्धी-
(द्धी)जाङ्कुस(रा)कृति(तिम्) ॥[१॥*]
- 2 तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः । कल्पान्तमम[यो]दात(दाम)तडिद्वलयपिगलाः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टा(ट्टा)रकमहाराजा-
- 3 धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमिन्धुराजदेववा(पा)दानुध्यातपरन(म)भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्या-
- 4 तव(प)रमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीउ³दयादित्यदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप-
- 5 रमेश्वरश्रीनरवर्मदेवः कुशली ॥ उपे[⁴]*द्रपुरमण्डले मन्दारकप्रतिजगरणके महामंडलीकश्रीराज्य(ज)देवभुज्य(ज्य)-
- 6 मानकदम्ब(म्ब)पद्मग्रामे समुपगतात्म(न्स)मस्तराजगुरुपान्त्रा⁵(न्त्रा)ह्मणान्त(णोत्त)रा[न्त्र]तिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादी[⁶]*]श्च वो(वो) ॥⁵
- 7 । धयत्यस्तु वः संविदिनं(तम्) । यथा श्रीमद्वारावस्थितैरस्माभिः स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्य[⁷]*र्च्य संसा-
- 8 रस्यासारता[⁸]* दृष्ट्वा । तथा हि । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तु ॥⁵
- 9 णाग्रजलवि(वि)न्दुममा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमन्मसारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमां श्रियं(यम्) ॥[१*]
- 10 प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फलं(ल्म) ॥[४॥*] इति जगतो विन[श्च]रं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चन्द्रार्क-
11 णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भ[क्त्या] ॥⁵ श्रीमध्यदेशान्तःपातिशृंगपुरस्थानविनिर्गतकात्यायनगोत्रकात्यायन-
- 12 कपिलविश्व(श्वा)मित्रेतिप्रवरमाध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायित्रा(त्रा)ह्मणद्विर्वे(वे)दनारायणपौवदीक्षितदेवस(श)र्मसुतद्विवेद-आसा(शा)धरा⁶य
- 13 उपरिलिखितया(या)मात्पण्णतिपर्वदं(द)ण्डप्रामाण्येनो⁷भय-द्विचत्वारिं(श)माध्यकेन भूनिवर्त्तनविशतिप्रत्या⁸ भू-
- 14 हलवि[⁹]*जतिः परमतो महामण्डलीक[श्री]राजदेवेन चतुःप[¹⁰]*चास(श)दधिकशतैकादशसम्ब(संव)त्सरे कात्ति(त्ति)कणुदिपंचद-
- 15 श्या[¹¹]* स्वभुक्तो कस्यैतत्त्वाद्वापित(?)भूहलदशकति(भि)र्व्वि⁹ महामण्डलीकश्री¹⁰राजदेववधूश्रीमहादेव्या पू[¹²]*र्ध्वकल्पे त(द)¹¹-
- 16 त्वान्(त्तं) भूहलचतु¹²ष्टयं(यम्) । तथा अस्माभिरेकोनषष्ट¹³यधिकशति(तै)कादशकसम्ब(संव)त्सरे पौष शुदि-
- 17 पंचदश्या[¹⁴]* संजातभूतराप्रनपर्व्वणि कस्यैतत्त्वं (?)¹⁴ भूहलपट्क[¹⁵]*[¹⁵](म्) ॥ एवं यथायथं भूहलवि[¹⁶]*ज- ॥¹⁵

¹ From impressions.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here as we find in some other inscriptions using the name of this king. For example, see below, No. 40, l. 2.

⁴ This *akshara* is engraved as व्वा.

⁵ The *danḍa*, as also the one beginning the next line, is superfluous and appears to have been put to show that the word is completed in the next line.

⁶ This letter is deformed by a superfluous stroke of the chisel, or appears to have been corrected later on.

⁷ Here Banerji read *-na bhēya*, and Chakravarti, who revised the article, corrected it to *mēya*; but our reading is supported by the same expression found in Naravarman's grant of V. 1152, above, No. 31. The vertical of the *prishīha-mātrā* attached to the first of these *aksharas* shows only a faint trace. In view of the new evidence supplied by the Dēwās grant, Chakravarti's translation of the passage as "twenty *nivartanas* of land from the abovementioned village out of the forty-two (*nivartanas*) measured by the rod....." cannot be accepted, as the word *vinśati* has to be taken with *prathā* which cannot be distinctly read in this grant but is clear in the grant referred to above.

⁸ This *akshara* is not only damaged but is also followed by what appears to be a *kāka-pada* sign, indicating that something which is omitted here is supplied near about it; and the traces in the margin suggest its probable existence there, though not distinct. And following the other inscription of Naravarman, the reading appears to be प्रत्या(था)मापित-.

⁹ Probably to be read as स्वभुक्तौ कल्पितत्वाद्वापितं भूहलदशकं निद्धा(तथा), as suggested by Chakravarti. He explained the expression as "Additional twenty plough-measures of land (were also granted). Out of these ten *halas* of land were caused to be given in his own *bhukti* by the *Mahāmaṇḍalikā*, the illustrious Rājādēva.....from (his own) settlement (?) and six *halas* of land (are now given) by us....."

¹⁰ The curve of the *mātrā* of this *akshara* is not engraved.

¹¹ Read पूर्व्वकल्पितत्वात्.

¹² This *akshara* is engraved as *nu*.

¹³ The slanting mid-stroke distinguishing this *akshara* is not to be seen in the impression.

¹⁴ This expression is unintelligible to me. Banerji read it as भीतरपण(भूतरात्रि-) and Chakravarti suggested it to be corrected to नु(उ)दगप्र(य)नपर्व्वणि कस्य(त्पि)तत्त्व(त्वा)त्; but at the same time he observed that "according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Ind. Ephemeris*, the Udagayana *Saṁkrānti* took place on Wednesday, the 24th December, 1102, two days before the date given in the present grant. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 106, n. 6.

¹⁵ The sign of punctuation is redundant, or is put to show continuation.

Second Plate

- 18 तिः ससीमातृण[यू]तिगोचरपर्यन्ता सहिरण्यभागहो(भो)गसोपरिकरसर्वादायसमेता
 19 सावा(माता)पिल्लोरात्मनश्च पुण्यशोभिह(वृ)द्धये शासनेनोदकपूर्वकतया प्रदत्ता [1*] ते(त)न्मत्वा¹ तन्नि-
 20 वासिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिके(क)माज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भू(भू)त्वा सर्वममुष्मे(ष्मै) सम्प-
 21 नेतव्यं(व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु(वु)द्ध्वा अस्मडंस(डंश)जैर[न्यै]रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प(प्र)दत्तधम्मा(म्मा)दायोयं(य)-
 मनुमन्तव्यः ।
 22 पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व(व)ट्टभि[र्व्व]मुधा भुवता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भु(भू)मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल[+ (म्)] ।
 [1५॥*] यानीह
 23 दत्तानि² पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि ज्ञानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत । [1६॥*] अस्म-
 24 त्कुलक³ममुदारमुदाहरद्विरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्या(क्ष्या)स्तडिद्वलयवृद्ध(वृद्ध)दचचलाया दान फलं परप(य)शः-
 25 परिपालनं च । [1७॥*] सर्वानिब्रह्मा(तान्भा)विनः पाथिवेद्रान्नृपोनृपो (भूयो भूयो) याचते स(रा)मभद्रः । शा(सा)मान्योय धर्मसे[तु]-
 नृपाणां काले काले पा-
 26 लनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८॥*] इति कमलदलांवु(वु)विन्द(विन्दु)लोलां श्रियमनुचित्र(त्य) मनुष्यजीवितं च ॥ (१)
 27 सकलमिदमुदाह(ह)त(तं) स वृधा(च वृद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः(पैः) परकी[र्त्त]यो विलोप्या[ः*] [११॥*] इति ॥ सवत् ११८३
 28 माघसु(शु)दि १२[१*] दू⁴ ॥ ठक्कु(क्कु)रश्रीकेशवः ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ च श्रीः ॥
 29 स्वहस्तोयं महाराजश्रीनरवर्मदेवस्य ॥

No. 35 ; PLATE XXXVII

A JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHĒRGADH

[Vikrama] Year 1191

THIS inscription was discovered in 1953 by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist, who also edited it, with transcript in Roman characters and a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81 ff. From the same facsimile the record is edited here.

The inscription is stated to have been found on the pedestal below the central figure of a group of three images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort of **Shērgadh**, a town in ruins in the Atrū *tehsil* of the Kōṭā District in Rājasthān.⁵ The figure of the Tīrthaṅkara bearing it represents Kuntalanātha, the other two being the images of Śāntinātha and Aranātha. The inscription consists of 8 lines of writing, which covers a space about 45 cms. broad by 13 cms. high. It is not well preserved and some of the letters in ll. 1-3 are entirely lost. The size of the letters is about 1 cm., but this uniformity is not maintained throughout the record. The mechanical execution was done in a slipshod way, e.g., the letter *v* in *vipula*, l. 1, is cut as *ch* and as *y* in *-vardhana*, l. 3; the sign of *mātrā* in *kula*- is only a stroke and *tanaya* is engraved as *tnaya*, both in l. 2; and *t* in *saṃvat*, l. 7, is written as *tu*. Signs of the *anusvāra* and *mātrās* are occasionally omitted, and there are mistakes of grammar, the most glaring of which is *ratna-trayaḥ kāritaḥ* for *ratna-trayaṃ kāritaṃ* in l. 4.

Except for the portion bearing the date in the end, the record is composed in verses, which are all marked by numbers 1 to 5. It is a sectarian record, and its **object** is to mention the installation of three images (*ratna-traya*) at the base of (the hill-fort of) Kōśa-vardhana, by one

¹ What is intended is प्रदत्ता । तन्मत्वा, but the sign of punctuation is joined to the top-stroke of the following letter and thus it appears as *tē*.

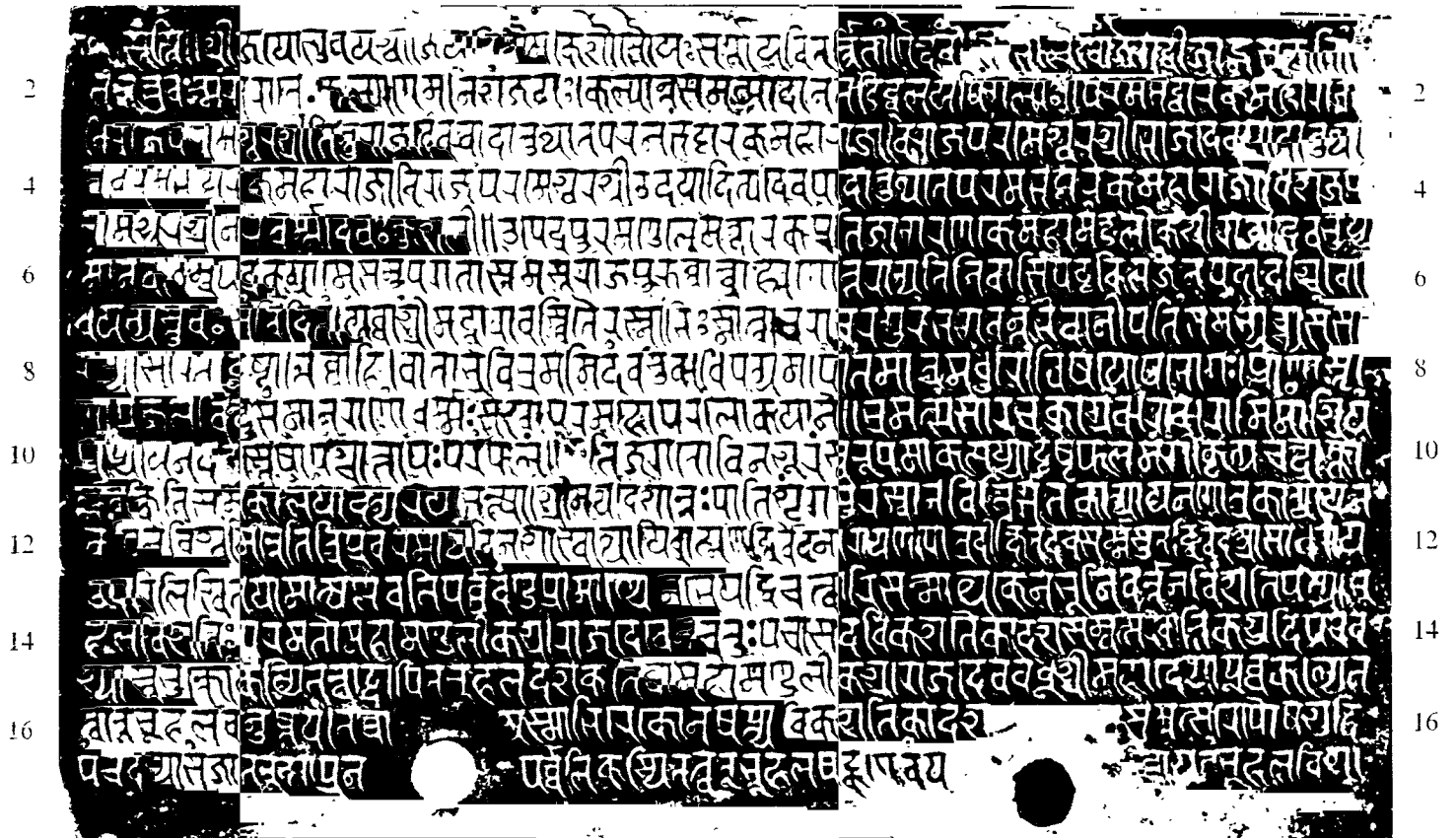
² The first two *aksharas* in this line are not well engraved.

³ The subscript is very faint in the impression as it was lightly engraved.

⁴ That is, *dūtaka*.

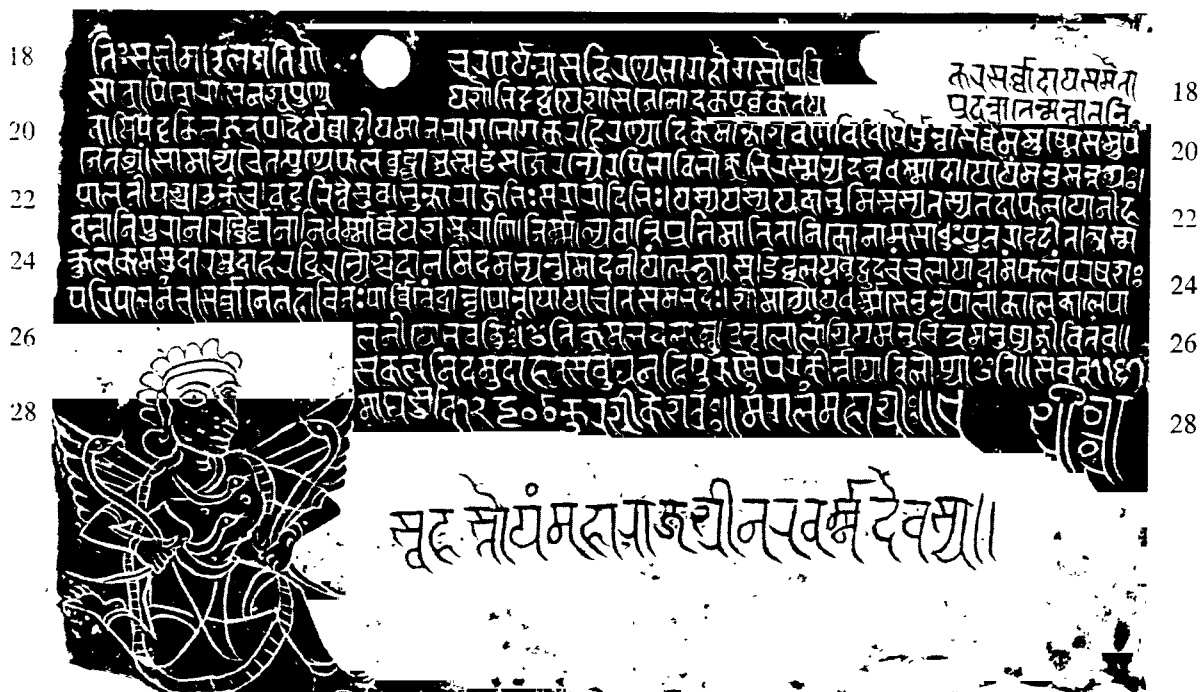
⁵ For the details of this place, see above, No. 23.

⁶ Dr. Sircar has also noted that the early images of these three Tīrthaṅkaras are rather rare. See *op. cit.*, p. 84, n.

KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1167

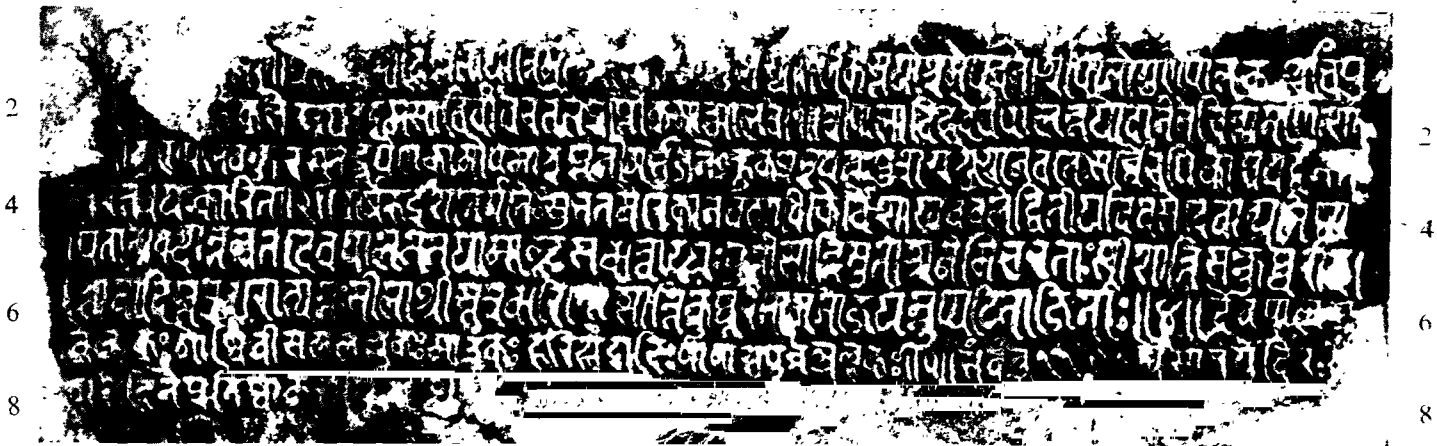
Scale: Three-fourths

ii



From Facsimiles

A JAINA INSCRIPTION FROM SHĒRGADH:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1191



From Facsimile

Dēvapāla and his nephews belonging to the Khaṇḍelwāl family, whose ancestor Māhilla had migrated to Mālava (v. 2). The **date** of the record, as given in figures in verse 3, is the **second of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha of 1191** (the hundred figures being mentioned in word-numerals as *Rudraśata*). The date is given also in figures in the end. As calculated by Dr. Sircar, it corresponds to **29th March, 1134**, but he also observes that the week day was **Thursday** and not **Tuesday** as given in the inscription.¹ The record was engraved by Dāmdī, the son of the mason Silāśrī.

The inscription commences with the mention of the wife of a person named Māhilla, probably residing at a township (*pattana*) called Sūryāśrama or a hermitage associated with the Sun-god. This portion of the record is damaged, but what follows appears to state that she begot two sons whose names were Śrīpāla and Guṇapālaka or Guṇapāla, both of whom migrated to Mālava. The second verse states that Śrīpāla's son was Dēvapāla; and Guṇapāla (called *Ṭhakkura* here) had a son whose name was probably Śānti, and who again had nine sons, the names of four of whom were Pūnī, Martha, Jana and Ilhuka, and all these persons caused to be made the *Ratna-traya*, i.e., the images of the three Tīrthaṅkaras, viz., Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Aranātha, at Kōśavardhana. The third verse mentions the date, as discussed above, and also records the devotion of all these persons; and verse 4 contains an adoration to the three Tīrthaṅkaras, also stating the name of the mason, which too we have seen above. Verse 5 mentions Dēvapāla's son Ilhuka as well as Goshṭhika, Vīsala, Lalluka, Māuka and Hariś-chandra, and also Allaka, son of Gāgā, all of whom, appear to have belonged to the family, and, as observed by Dr. Sircar, may have been associated with the installation of the images.

The record does not mention the name of any king in whose reign it was incised. We know that the Paramāra king Yaśovarman performed the anniversary of his father Naravarman either in October or in November of 1135² A.C.; and from the date of the present inscription which fell in March of 1134, it is clear that the images were set up about 7-8 months before the death of Naravarman.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Mālava** (v. 1) is of course Mālwa, and **Kōśavardhana** (v. 2) is evidently the earlier name of Shērgaḍh where the inscription was found. While identifying this place, Dr. Sircar observed that "the apparent inclusion of Shērgaḍh (in the heart of Rājasthān) in Mālava is interesting". But the modern political divisions are quite different from those of the past. It may also be remarked here that the place is only about 40 kms. north-east of Jhālrapāṭan where Udayāditya's inscription³ was found; and it is also in a region which is bordered on the south by the modern district of Rājgaḍh and on the east by the Gunā District, now in Madhya Pradesh but on the borders of Mālwa. In view of all this, it is quite reasonable to conclude that the region in which Shērgaḍh is situated was one of the bordering provinces of Mālava in the days of the Paramāras. The third place mentioned in the inscription, viz. **Sūryāśrama** (v. 1) cannot be identified.

TEXT⁴

[Metres: Verses 1-3 *śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*].

1 --- U U - U [णे श्रित] U - माहिल्लभार्यान्तिमा (?), --- U U - U [ज]स्यति[ल]के सूर्याश्रमे प[त्त]ने । श्रीपालो गुणपालकश्च वि[पु]-

¹ Of the reading *maṅgalē*, taken by Dr. Sircar, the first letter is altogether missing in the facsimile plate published in the *Ep. Ind.*, and what is at the lowest extremity of *ga* may have been the sign of short *u*. The upper part of the last letter is partly visible; it may be *ra*, and with the sign of the secondary *u* misformed, it may have been *ru*, making the whole to read *guru*-. Here we have to bear in mind that the record was engraved in a most careless way, as shown by some of the instances given above. Moreover, even with the reading *maṅ* (for *maṅgalē*), Sircar calculated the date only for the Chaitrādi V. 1911 expired, but according to the reckoning of the kārṭtikādi V. expired, the second *tithi* began on Tuesday, 16th April, 1135 A.C., at 8 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise; and it is possible to take this as the intended day, presuming, of course, that the function began late on that day.

² See below, No. 40, p. 134.

³ Above, No. 22.

⁴ From facsimile facing p. 84 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI.

- 2 ले] [खण्डिल्लवा]¹ ले कुले सूय(या)चंद्रमसाविवां(ब)रतले प्राप्तौ क्रमान्मालवे ॥१॥ श्रीपालादिह देवपालात्न(तन)यो दाने[न]
चि[न्ता]मणिः शा-
- 3 [न्तेः]² श्रीगुणपालठकु(क्कु)रसुताद्रूपेण कामोपमात् [1*] पूनीमर्थजने[ल्लु]कप्रभृव(त)यः पुत्राग्र(श्च)येग्रा नव³ ते(तैः) सर्व्वरपि
कोशवर्द्धनत-
- 4 ले रत्नत्रयः(यं)⁴ कारित(तम्) ॥२॥ वर्षे रुद्रशते(तै)र्गनैः सु(शु)भतमैरेका⁵ नवत्याधिकैर्वैशाख(खे) धवले द्वितीयदिवसे देवान्प्रतिष्ठा-
5 पितान् । वन्दन्ते नतदेवपालतनया माल्लू[क]साधान्वादयः पूनी[शा]न्तिसुताश्च नेमिभरताः⁶ श्रीशान्तिस[त्कु]⁷धवरान् ।
- 6 ॥३॥ दादिमूत्रधरोत्पन्नः(न्न)सीलाश्रीमूत्रधारिणा [1*] शान्तिकुंभ(ध्व)रनाम(मा)नो जयन्तु(न्तु) घटिता जिनाः ॥४॥ देवपालसु-
7 तेल्लूकः गोष्ठिवीसलल्लुक(का)ः [1*] माउकः हरिचंद्रादिः [गागा]स्व[सु]पुत्र अल्लकः⁸ ॥५॥ संबतु(त्) ११६१ वैसा(शा)प(ख)
शुदि २ [मं]⁹-
- 8 गलदिने प्रतिष्ठा करापिता¹⁰ । ॥

No. 36 : PLATE XXXVIII

VIDISHĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN

(Undated)

THIS inscription was first noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, then the Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, in his *Annual Report*, for 1913-14, p. 59, and subsequently, by M. B. Garde, in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeology Department of the (former) Gwālior State, for V.S. 1974 (1916-17 A.C.).¹¹ But the inscription, though referred to a number of times, has neither been systematically edited nor the transcript thereof has so far been published. It is edited here from fresh and excellent impressions prepared and supplied to me at my request, by the Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, Central Circle, Bhopāl, and one estampage supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

The inscription is incised on a pillar in the Bījā Mandir, originally a Hindu temple and converted into a mosque some time later, at **Vidishā**, the head-quarters of a District in Madhya Pradesh and a station near Bhopāl on the Central Railway.¹²

The record consists of twenty-six lines of writing, which is well preserved, excepting a few letters in the initial five lines which are mutilated. It measures 63 cms. high by 16 cms. broad. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century and the **size** of letters varies from 2 to 2.5 cms. The initial *i* and the consonant *bh*, each of which occurs only once in *iti*, l. 9 and *lēbhē*, l. 18, show their antique forms: the fore-limb of *ch* is triangular, cf., e.g., *vichitraiḥ*, l. 7; *dh* has not developed a horn on its left limb, see *āvādhutā*, l. 5, where the letter *r* also shows its

¹ These four *aksharas* are altogether lost in the facsimile and have been adopted from Sircar's reading of them.

² This *akshara* is lost but the preceding *śā* shows that it was as taken here, as also adopted by Dr. Sircar.

³ What would metrically be more appropriate is पुत्रा नवाग्राश्च ये.

⁴ This refers to the three images which were constructed and installed there.

⁵ The vowel of this *akshara* is made long for the metre. It is not known if it may be a mistake for *kō* (?), reading *ēkōnanavat-*; and if so, we have to take the last two figures of the year as 89. But nothing can be definitely said in this respect.

⁶ As already remarked by Sircar, the intended reading is नेमिभरतादयः.

⁷ Sircar read this letter as कु and corrected it to कुं. But a faint sign as of the *anusvāra* is visible on the plate.

⁸ The latter half of this verse is metrically defective. The violation of the rules of *sandhi*, i.e. of not changing *kah* to *kō* in two places in this verse, may also be noted.

⁹ This letter again is lost and has been restored from the reading of Dr. Sircar. Also see the note in the corresponding portion in the edition above.

¹⁰ Read कारिता.

¹¹ Some of Garde's Reports, including this were never printed.

¹² For the antiquities of this place, see Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. of Ind., Annual Report*, X, pp. 34-36; *Gwālior State Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 203-07.

ch-like form, whereas in all the other instances it appears as a vertical stroke with a horizontally straight or curved stroke attached to its left in the middle, cf, *e.g.*, *para-nārī*, l. 13.

The **language** is Sanskrit, generally correct; and excepting a verse in the beginning and another in the middle in ll. 14-19, the record is in prose. To note the **orthographical peculiarities**, we find (1) the use of *v* to denote *b* as well, cf, *lavdhuh*, l. 9; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, *e.g.* in *nirvāṇa*, l. 12; (3) occasionally putting the dental for the palatal sibilant, see *srī* for *śrī*, in ll. 1, 11, 22 and 26; (4) the occasional use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* for the medial *ē* and *ai*, see *khēchava*, l. 7 and *kusumair-*, l. 6, but not in the case of the medial *ō*, as in *sahōdara*, ll. 14 and 23; and (5) the representation of a class-nasal by the *anusvāra* at the end of a hemistich, of which we have one example in each of the verses.

The **object** of the inscription is to express devotion to Chachchikā or Charchikā, who was a favourite goddess of the *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Naravarmadēva* alias *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*: who was made by her "fit for his work" (ll. 18-19). It bears **no date**, but can be safely assigned to the reigning period of Naravarman, *i.e.*, between 1194 and 1133 A.C., to which time the palaeography of the record belongs.

The inscription opens with the auspicious symbol, and after a panegyric of the goddess Charchikā or Chachchikā¹, who is described in the first verse as bestowing her devotee with the power of flying in the sky, when properly worshipped: this account is followed by the statement to the effect that she made Naravarman fit for his work, as seen above, in verse 2 (ll. 14-18). Then we are told that the record was composed by *Ṭhakkura Śrī-Mādhava*, a son of the *Ṭhakkura Sūpaṭa* and a grandson of *Ṭhakkura*² *Nījāsa* and a *dvija* belonging to the *Māthura* clan. And with the words *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ*, (auspicious, great fortune), the inscription ends.

The record goes to indicate that the pillar on which it is incised belongs to the temple of Chachchikā or Charchikā, which may have been constructed on the spot where it stands or near about it, by Naravarman *alias* *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa*, in devotion to the deity.

No **geographical** name occurs in the inscription.

TEXT³

[Metres: Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 2 *Anushṭubh*].

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ ॥ स्त्री(श्री)च[च्चि]का⁵ स्म-
- 2 रणमात्र[कृत]प्र-
- 3 सादात् [संप्रा]प्यति(ते)-
- 4 कलि[युगेपि]⁶ धरा-
- 5 धिपत्यं(त्यम्) । [आ]राधि-
- 6 ता विधियुता कुमुदै-
- 7 वि(वि)चित्रैः सा(सा) खेचर-
- 8 त्वरससिद्धिपदम्य
- 9 लब्धिः(विधः)⁷ ॥१॥ इति महा-

¹ Compare *uttarōshṭhē tu Charchikā* in the *Kavacha* of the *Saptaśatī*. This name of the goddess occurs also in the *Pujārīpālī* (Bastar District) stone inscription of *Gōpaladēva*, for which see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 591, v. 16 and *n.* The *A.S.I.*, *A.R.* for 1935-36, p. 80 mentions an image of Charchikā near *Ōmkāra Māndhātā*. The details are not known.

² In the first of these instances the title is spelt as *ṭhakkura* but as *ṭhakura* in the second and third. See the transcript that follows.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The second letter of the name is mutilated and I am not certain whether it is superscribed by *र*, whereas in l. 14 below, the reading is clearly चच्चिका.

⁶ The fourth letter in this line is totally lost, leaving only faint traces thereof, and the third and the fifth syllables are mutilated. The consonant of the third letter is definitely *क्*. Thus it is difficult to be certain about the reading of these three letters.

⁷ The word लब्धि, acquisition, needs the construction of the sentence in the passive voice.

- 10 राजाधिराजपर¹-
- 11 मेस्व(श्व)रस्त्री(श्री)नरवर्म²दे-
- 12 वस्य निर्व्वणनारा-
- 13 यणस्य परनारी-
- 14 सहोदरस्य³ ॥ चन्चि(चिच ?)-
- 15 काख्या समाख्याता दे-
- 16 वी सर्व्वजनप्रिया । य-
- 17 स्याः प्रसादमात्रे(त्वे ?)ण
- 18 लेभे संसारयोग्य-
- 19 तां(ताम्) ॥१॥(॥२॥) कृतिरियं ठ-
- 20 कुरसूपटसुतठ-
- 21 कुर।⁴ णीजाससु(सु)तठ-
- 22 कुरस्त्री(श्री)माधवस्य ॥
- 23 परनारीसहोदर-
- 24 स्य । द्विजस्य । मा-
- 25 थुरवंशजस्य ॥
- 26 मंगलं(लम् ।) महास्त्रीः(श्रीः) [॥*]

No. 37 ; PLATE XXXIX

EULOGY OF SUN-GOD COMPOSED BY CHHITTAPA

(Date lost ?)

THE stone bearing this inscription was found about forty years ago in the ruins at **Bhilsā** (now known as Vidishā), the chief town of a District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh, and for some years was lying among the antiquities exhibited in the garden of the Dawk Bungalow, forming a sort of open-air Museum at that place. The inscription was very briefly and wrongly noticed in the *Quinquennial Administrative Report* of the Archaeological Department of the (former) Gwalior State, for the years 1942-46, page 25, where it is said that "it seems to have been a *prāśasti* recording the merits of a distinguished personage, perhaps a king or a minister who is compared to the Sun but whom, very unlike the Sun, Rāhu could not hold in his grip. As the inscription is badly mutilated, its object cannot be made out."⁵

In 1953 Dr. D. C. Sircar, who was then the Government Epigraphist for India, happened to inspect the stone and realised the importance of the inscription which, as found by him, was devoted neither to a distinguished personage, nor to a king, but to eulogise the Sun-god : and his conclusion that the inscribed stone slab originally belonged to the temple of Bhāilla- or Bhāilla-svāmin at the place appears to be quite sound.⁶ From the impressions he prepared there, Dr.

¹ By mistake, two horizontal strokes instead of one are attached to the vertical of this letter.

² This *akshara*, which was omitted while engraving, is later on written above, at the close of the preceding line, with an arrow-mark to draw attention to it.

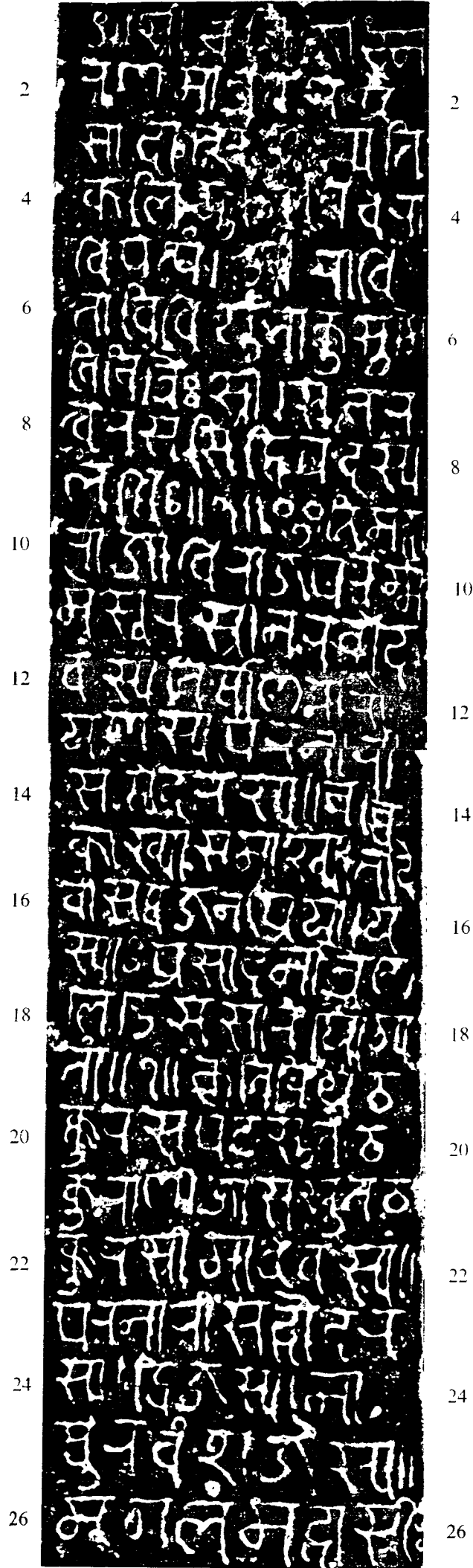
³ Cf. परकुलांगनापुत्र used for the Rāshtrakūta King Kṛishṇa III in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 289-90.

⁴ The punctuation mark is so close to the preceding letter as to appear as a *mātrā* attached to it. It is also redundant, as some others in the lines that follow.

⁵ Also see *ibid.*, p. 69, No. 2 where a different statement is made. The same is repeated in Pt. Harihar Nivas Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājya-kē Abhilēkha* (Hindi), which also is a publication of the Gwalior State or Madhya Bhārat. See his No. 666.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 215. The name Bhilsā still retains the memory of the Sun-deity, a temple dedicated to whom existed there some time back. See *ibid.*, p. 210. The name Bhāilla or Bhāila, denoting the local image of the deity worshipped at the place, appears to have a base in Sanskrit, viz., *bhā* (lustre) and a Prakrit suffix *illa*, in the sense of possessor (cf. *chāilla*), the whole word signifying 'one who possesses or is the store-house of lustre' (cf. *bhāskara* or *prabhākara*). मत्वर्थे उल्ल-इल्लौ (Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-Prakāśa*).

VIDISHĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN: (UNDATED)



From Photograph

Sircar edited the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXX (for 1953-54), pages 215 ff., giving his reading of the text in Roman characters, on page 219, with a facsimile facing the same page. The scholarly world is indebted to Dr. Sircar for bringing out the importance of the inscription, which is really significant in the history of Sanskrit literature, as will be shown below, and a composition of a *mahākavi-chakravartin* of the name of Chhittapa¹ who is otherwise known; but this beautiful composition of his would have, of course, remained unknown for ever at least for some years to come. But Dr. Sircar, though he had an opportunity to inspect the original stone in the open air Museum at Vidishā, could not naturally afford more time there and had to prepare the text from the impressions taken by him. The stone has deplorably suffered from long exposure to weather, and a number of the *aksharas* being abraded, the text prepared by him needs some amendments to be made; and occasionally it has some lacunae, besides those letters which are partially preserved in vv. 3-5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 21 and 23, as Dr. Sircar himself has pointed out. This aroused my curiosity to prepare the text from the original stone which is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Gwālior where it was transported in 1956-57; and a patient examination of the same has enabled me to prepare the subjoined transcript, from which the inscription is edited here.²

The inscription is on a loose slab of stone, as stated above, measuring 98·5 cms. broad (at the top) and 54 cms. high. The stone is 5·5 cms. thick. It is broken at the top and the left side. The writing, which occupies its upper part, covers an area measuring 96·5 cms. in length and 28 cms. in height. The space below it is left vacant. The length of the last line is 34 cms. On the left side the stone is broken, as stated above, from top to bottom, losing, in some cases, 3-4 and in others, one or two more of the letters. Whether one or more lines have been lost at the top cannot be known; and for the sake of convenience, the existing line has been regarded here as line 1. I have also restored conjecturally the letters lost on the left, as suggested by the context; but it is after all a conjecture. The **height** of an individual letter is from 2 to 3 cms. They are boldly and regularly drawn. The existing portion contains 12 lines.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.C. Worth noting among the forms of letters is that of the initial *i*, occurring only once in *inah*, l. 11, which has a fine tail of the first of the loops and a hook on the second. The loop of the consonant *ch* is triangular, and it begins with a horizontal stroke and can thus be distinguished from *v*; cf. *yāchatē*, l. 3; *t* is sometimes confounded with *v*, which is the engraver's error, see *gīyatē*, l. 4; *th* in its full form differs from its subscript, as in *vikatthanōrthēna*, l. 6; the left limb of *dh* is surmounted by a horn but the letter is devoid of its top-stroke, cf. *tōyadhēḥ*, l. 4; the subscript *r* is marked complete with its superscript drawn half, cf. *pratīchyāḥ* and *dravaḥ*, both in l. 5, and *prabhātāya*, l. 7; and the loop beginning the letter *ś* is occasionally so marked as to make it appear as *s*, cf. *kauśalaṃ*, l. 2. Some of these peculiarities and particularly the last one are to be seen also in the Dēwās grant of Naravarman.³

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is generally correct; and excepting the last portion showing the name of the poet and the person at whose instance it was composed, the whole inscription is in verse. The extant portion has in all 23 verses which are all in the *anushṭubh* metre. They are not numbered. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark; the sign for *v* is throughout used to denote *b* as well, for which cf. *śavdēna*, l. 6; a class-consonant is generally doubled after *r*, as in *tē=rchchiḥ*, l. 5; *anusvāra* is used in place of a class-nasal and even at the end of a hemistich; and the medial diphthongs are denoted both by the *prishṭha*- and the *ūrdhva-mātrās*, the former of which is often curved or shows a loop at its end, as in *kauśalaṃ*, l. 3 and *inō*, l. 11.

The inscription contains a eulogy (*stuti*, as the word occurs in v. 23). All the verses are addressed to the Sun-deity, each being complete in itself. Before proceeding to give the import

¹ And not Dvittapa, or Dvittaya, as we find in the *Report* of the Gwalior State Archaeological Department (*op. cit.*).

² I examined the stone for the first time in August 1968, and making a few amendments in Dr. Sircar's reading. I contributed a paper to the Archaeology Section of the Oriental Conference, Vārāṇasī. For preparing the subjoined transcript I had a second opportunity in October, 1969. In the transcript given here, I have also tried to fill in gaps in the lost portion of the inscription; but they are all based on conjecture, as I have stated.

³ Above, No. 30.

of the verses, we may divide the whole composition into section : thus, vv. 1-10 speak, in a general way, of the splendour of the deity ; vv. 11-15 show the different actions thereof ; vv. 16-20 still further mention the same, and vv. 21-23 are devoted to praise the deity in various ways. It may be stated here, however, that this classification is not very rigid.

The first two verses are completely lost with the portion of the stone which has peeled off. The third verse, which has retained only its fourth foot and a few other letters, is too fragmentary to be made out ; it probably means to say that the eulogy is composed without any selfish aim. The next verse, which has lost its first half, is apparently intended to say that the Sun does not tolerate even the name of anybody who is powerful or bright. Verse 5 refers to Agastya, who sipped all the seven oceans instantaneously, and the other powerful stars who all beg of the Sun to supply them lustre : *i.e.*, they are all dependant on him.¹ Verse 6, which is fortunately wholly preserved, says that the Sun's younger brother, *i.e.* Vishṇu who is also known as one of the Ādityas, only beheaded Rāhu when the latter bore malice to him (the Sun) for his brilliance (and sought to assail him).² Verse 7 informs us that the Sun's rays appear mild (assume a mild form) in mild objects, whereas in fierce objects they appear fierce. The latter half of this verse is again lost : but from what we find in its former half, it seems to cite the instances of the moon and fire which are beautiful and brilliant to look at, respectively, though with the same type of lustre falling in them from the Sun.³ The next verse refers to the Sun's splendour shining on the hood of the Śeṣha-nāga, on the pearls in the ocean, and on the stars in the sky.

The following verse again refers to the sun-light, which is variously known, such as moonlight, the evening and the rain-bow, when it enters (comes into contact with) the moon, the horizon and the cloud, respectively.⁴ Verse 10 is intended to show how the Sun's splendour appears differently as decorating the different limbs of the West, *e.g.*, as a mark on her forehead (*kumkuma*), lac on her feet, affection of lasciviousness on her cheeks, and as dripping saffron on her precipitous breasts.

Verses 11-15 refer to the Sun-god's amorous actions. In the first of these verses the poet addresses the Sun and says that Rāhu (who too is called *bhānu*) is able to catch (do harm to) the moon but not you,⁵ as you hide yourself in the lotus-creeper : for love's way, is tortuous.⁶ Verse 12 again addresses the deity and states that he (the Sun), as a true and faithful lover, makes bloom (only) the day lotus but not the night-lotus (as the latter is *parakīyā*). Oh Sun, you are indeed *vikatthana* (self-illuminating) though *vikartana* by name. Verse 13 points to the deity as connected with a number of objects (which are all so chosen as to be in the feminine gender), but in spite of this, the lustre of the day (*dina-śrī*), like a faithful housewife, is devoted to him. We are further informed, in v. 14, that as she has herself wooed him as her husband, she approaches him when the day closes ; and getting up before him, she retires later, like a devoted wife (v. 15).

Verses 16-22 again praise the Sun in different ways. The first of these is intended to pay him regards ; the second (v. 17) to praise his brilliance ; and the third (v. 18) to say that simply when he touches the sky (*div*, in feminine), with his rays (as a lover touches his beloved by hand),

¹ It is well known that all the stars get splendour from the Sun. *Rāga-vyājēna* means under the pretext of radiance (*aruṇima-chchhalēna*), and *bhartuṃ* means 'to fill up (their bellies)'. A beggar is known to show the various forms of entreaties and feelings. There is a pun on the word *rāga*, the other meaning being 'mode' or 'emotion'.

² The skill lies in sparing Rāhu's life and thereby make him feel the pain more rather than to end his life and thus deprive him altogether of the feeling.

³ For the fire shining due to the Sun's lustre, see *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 1.

⁴ That the rainbow is nothing but the Sun's rays reflected in a cloud was known to ancient Indian writers : cf. *Mēghadūta*, *Pūrva-mēgha*, v. 15, where the poet says that the rainbow generates from the cloud. The word used here is *valmīka*, which, according to the *Sabda-kalpa-drūma*, is *sātapa Mēgha*. As regards the Sun's rays falling on the moon, Dr. Sircar gives some references, of which the following are noteworthy : *Raghuvamśa*, III, 22 ; Varāhamihira quoted in *Prithūdaka's* commentary on Brahmagupta's *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* (Ch. VIII), the *Sūrya-siddhānta* quoted in the commentary of Utpala (966 A.C.) on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*.

⁵ Cf. *Śiśupālavadha*, II, 49.

⁶ This is as the verse is interpreted by Dr. Sircar. To me the latter half of the verse appears to express an altogether separate idea, *viz.*, the Sun, though making the lotus-creeper (*abjinī*) bloom, remains aloof from her ; and this is not the straight way of love, as lovers generally like to live together, quite close to each other.

EULOGY OF SUN-GOD COMPOSED BY CHHITTAPA: (UNDATED)

2 4 6 8 10 12

2 4 6 8 10 12

From Facsimile

the stars disappear (as the maiden closes the pupils of her eyes, due to delight). Verse 19 shows how the Sun-deity's very appearance is welcomed; the sky-maiden (*div*) is delighted, and from her is snatched the moon, in the form of her ear-ornament, by the West, her evening-garment by the East, and her star-necklace by the day.¹ Verse 20 almost repeats the idea of verse 13, stating that the Sun has equal regard for all his maidens, which are the East (*prāchī*), the West (*pratīchī*), and the sky (*div*). Verse 21 again embodies a praise and the next verse states that the deity (also) destroys internal darkness, i.e. ignorance, as of outside. The verse that follows (23) summarises to mention the different synonyms of the deity, viz. *ina*, *arka* and *sūrya*, which are all significant, showing his residence in the three worlds, viz., *bhū*, *bhuva* and *sva*.²

The following prose portion states that the eulogy was composed by *Paṇḍita* Chhittapa who enjoyed the title *mahākavi-chakravartin*. The same line (21) contains the name of the person who wrote the *stuti* on the stone; but unfortunately his name is lost. Then there are the usual expressions meaning 'auspicious, great fortune', followed by the statement that the eulogy was got composed by Śrī-chandra,³ who was a *daṇḍa-nāyaka*. He was probably in charge of the region around Bhilsā (Vidishā).

The extant portion of the inscription does not show any date, nor has any complete work of Chhittapa come down to us. But we have some means to know his approximate time. Dr. Sircar has noted that the *pratīkas* of all the stanzas attributed to this poet have been quoted in alphabetical order by F. W. Thomas in his edition of the *Kaṇḍavachanasamuchchaya*; and six of his stanzas have been quoted in Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, one in the *Kaṇḍavachanasamuchchaya* which was compiled before the end of the twelfth century, and forty-nine in the *Sadūktikarṇāmaṇḍita*, compiled by Śrīdharadāsa at the court of Lakshmaṇasēna of Bengal.⁴ From all these evidences Sircar agrees with Thomas who held that Chhittapa was a contemporary and probably a court-poet of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva.

No **geographical Name** appears in the inscription.

TEXT⁵

[Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 [॥१॥*] [॥२*] [गृह्णाति]⁶
- 2 . . . न् । . . . म्येते . . . [तृष्णाहीनो लिलेख ते] ॥३॥*] . . . नूनं तेजस्विनोऽन्यस्य न त्व[] नामापि मृष्यमि ॥४॥*]
चुलुकाचान्तमस्ताब्धि (विध) रगस्त्योऽन्येपि तादृशाः ।
- 3 [स्वकीय] रागव्याजेन भर्तु भिक्षां नु याचते ॥५॥*] राट्स्वद्रोचिषे द्रुह्यन्न हतस्तेनुजन्मना । शिरो लूत्वापि दुष्टेरौ या[त]⁸ ना-
कौशलं हि तत् ॥६॥*] तेजस्तवाद्द्रमाद्द्रेषु कूरं कूरेषु जृभते । भक्ताभिप्रायतिघ्नस्य चंद्र-
- 4 [वह्नीयोरिवे]क्षते ॥७॥*] फणामणिषु शेषस्य मुक्तामणिषु तोयधेः । तारामणिषु च व्योम्नस्तव रोचिर्विरोचते ॥८॥*] तव
मंकान्तमेणांके चक्रवाने पयोमुचि । ज्योतिर्जोत्सनेति संध्येति मुरधन्वेति गीयते ॥९॥*]
- 5 [भाले वि(वि)न्दुः प]दे⁹ लाक्षा मदरागः¹⁰ कपोलयोः । पयोधरतटे तेर्च्चिः प्रतीच्याः कुंकुमद्रवः ॥१०॥*] स्वर्भानुस्त्वां न गृह्णाति
क्रीडालोलः कलावति । अन्तर्द्वित्वे त्वमविजि (विजि) न्याः प्रेम्णो ि[ह] कु[टिला] गतिः ॥११॥*] न तयोन्निद्रमव्जा (व्जा) म्य-¹¹

¹ As stated by me in a *f. n.* in the transcript, the fourth letter of the latter half of this verse is *hnō* and not *hō*. And the word *pūrṇa-pātra* means 'a cup filled with valuable things (clothes, ornaments, etc.), to be scrambled by servants or relatives on festive occasions'; and the idea expressed here is that friends and servants snatch away (the splendour of) the sky (*div*) on the Sun's arrival.

² The synonyms given here are *ina* (*ētīti inah*, i.e., *sva-lōkā*); *arka* (*bhū-lōka-vāsī*); and *sūrya* (*sarati ākāśe, lōkani suvati*, i.e. *karmaṇi prērayati vā*).

³ It cannot be known whether his name was Chandra or Śrīchandra.

⁴ Dr. Sircar has also quoted a stanza of the same poet from the *Sadūktikarṇāmaṇḍita* (III, 36), the third foot of which reads: *Ślāghyaḥ syāt tava Bhōja-bhūpati-bhuja-staṇḍa-stutāv=udyamaḥ*. This clearly shows that Chhittapa was Bhōja's court-poet. There are, however, two more references in the same work, the first (III, 1) giving the name of Bhōjadēva and the second (III, 30) having the expression *Mūlav-ākhandala*.

⁵ From impression and the original stone.

⁶ Excepting these three, all the *aksharas* in this line, which contained two and a quarter verses, are lost. Some are visible in the form of traces.

⁷ As here, at the beginning of each line also, the missing *aksharas* are supplied by context, of course conjecturally, and are put in brackets.

⁸ The *akshara* in brackets is damaged; but it is more like न than च.

⁹ This *akshara*, as it can be read on the stone, is दे and not दे, as taken by Sircar.

¹⁰ The sign of *visarga* was inserted subsequently.

¹¹ The medial ā attached to this letter was subsequently scored off as unnecessary.

- 6 [मनुगृह्णा]सि पद्मिनी(नीम्) । नूनं विकत्यनोर्थेन [श]ब्दे(ब्दे)न त्वं विकर्त्तनः ॥[१२॥*] ग्रामालिगाब्जि(ब्जि)नी¹ चुम्ब(म्ब) श्रया-
पाची व्रजोत्तरां(राम्) । रज प्राच्यां प्रतीच्याम्वा(च्यां वा) दिनश्रीस्वान्न मुच[ति] ॥[१३॥*] प्रातर्हि रहसा यत्वं(त्वं) दिनलक्ष्म्या
- 7 [स्वयं वृतः । ?] [रो]चमानं पुनः सा त्वामह्लामन्तेनुगच्छति² ॥[१४॥*] पूर्वमुन्थीयते प्रातः पञ्चात्संविध्यते निशि । ऋहो सुगृहिणी-
वृत्तमुपमा तेनुगृह्यते ॥[१५॥*] नमस्तमै प्रभाताय गच्छते द्यां स्थिराय ते ।]
- 8 . . . [f]दवं त्वमुपगृह्मि ॥[१६॥*] कपोलभि[त्तौ ?] स्वच्छायां स्वच्छायां त्वं विलोकयन् । दि[वो]दे[व्याश्चिन्त]या[त्त]दोपावेशं
विशंकमे³ ॥[१७॥*] करस्पर्शेपि ते नाथ द्यौर्निमीलिततारका⁴ । यासौ सत्त्वर्गसंक्रान्ते] न विद्यः किं करिष्यति ॥[१८॥*]
- 9 [प्रतीच्या] चंद्रताटकः⁵ प्राच्या मांध्यंशुकं दिवः । ह्रियतेह्योडुहारश्च पूर्णपात्रं तवागमे ॥[१९॥*] प्राच्यामुद्गच्छतो यातुः प्रतीची
श्लिष्यतो दिवं(वम्) । स्वदने नाथ व(व)ह्नीपु प्रतिपत्तिः प्रियामु ते ॥[२०॥*]
- 10 [नृणां पापा ?]नि गृह्णासि पुण्यानि च महात्मनां(नाम्) । न तथा स्मितेज्जसि विद्यतोभ्युद्गते (वयि ॥[२१॥*] तमो हेतु दथा
वा(वा)ह्यं तथान्तरमपीशिषे । तवोदये यथा रात्रिस्तथा निद्रापि नश्यति ॥ [२२॥*] न नौति त्वां [द्वा]-
- 11 [दशात्म] गुणसंपन्नूपया । इनोस्यवर्कोसि सूर्योसि पर्याप्तेत्येव ते स्तुतिः⁶ ॥[२३॥*] वृत्तिरियं महाकविचक्रवर्त्तिपंडितश्रीदत्तपस्य ॥
लेखक
- 12 ⁸. . . [मं]गलं [म]हाश्रीः ॥ कारितेयं दंडनायकश्रीचन्द्रेण ॥ छ⁹॥

No. 38 ; PLATE XL A

UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YAŚOVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1192

THE plate, which is apparently the second of the two plates bearing a complete record, is said to have been found at **Ujjain**, some time in the early years of the nineteenth century, by Major (afterwards Colonel) Tod, who presented it, with two other plates found by him in the same city,¹⁰ to the *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, in 1824.¹¹ All the three inscriptions were edited, with facsimiles and translations thereof, by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions of the Society*, Volume I, pp. 230 ff. and his paper on them was subsequently reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Volume II, pp. 297-314.¹² They were all re-edited by F. Kielhorn, from Fleet's photo-lithographs, *Indian Inscriptions*, Nos. 50-52, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XIX (for 1890), pp. 345 ff., with transcripts in Roman characters, but without facsimiles. The plates are now in the British Museum, London, and they are edited here, each separately, on the basis of my own transcripts prepared from photographs kindly procured from the Museum and supplied to me, at my own request, by Dr. G. S. Gai, the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

¹ The *anusvāra* appears on the left side of the curve.

² What appear like *anusvāra*-signs on this and the preceding three letters are only scratches on the stone.

³ The latter half of this verse probably means to say that when the goddess of the sky is full of anxiety (because of the thought of separation from you at the time of the evening) you take the blame on your own self (स्वयमान्नः दोषस्य आवेगः येन).

⁴ The word कर here means 'hand' and 'ray'; and the word तारका means both 'the stars' and 'the pupils of eyes'. The figure of speech is *śleṣha*.

⁵ It appears that first डं was engraved and subsequently it was corrected to टं.

⁶ A floral design is engraved here between double *danḍas*. It is to show that the eulogy ends here.

⁷ Similarly, another floral design appears here between double *danḍas*.

⁸ Unfortunately the name of the person who wrote the composition on the stone before it was engraved, is lost. It appears to have ended with the second or third letter of l. 12.

⁹ This letter is usually found at the end of some inscriptions, denoting the end or auspiciousness. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218, n. 1. The double *danḍas* on either of its sides show that the record is complete.

¹⁰ Below, Nos. 39 and 40.

¹¹ See *Transactions of the R.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 207, and n. 1 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 345.

¹² As Kielhorn has noted in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 346, n. 2, Colebrooke's readings were corrected at some places by F. E. Hall in *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII, on the two inscriptions of Arjunavarmadēva.

As stated above, it is the second of the two copper-plates bearing the whole inscription, the first of which has not so far been discovered. The present plate, which shows two holes at the top for rings to pass through and hold both the plates together, measures about 37·78 cms. broad by 27 cms. high and its edges were raised into rims to protect the writing. It weighs 2·07 kgms. It is inscribed on one side only and the writing measures about 37 cms. by 16 cms., excluding the letters containing the **sign-manual** and another line below, which is about 26 cms. long and 6 cms. high. Both these lines are beneath the main body of the inscription, separated from it by a narrow empty space. Excluding these two lines which contain letters of the size of about three times larger than those of the main inscription, there are fourteen lines of writing. The last of these lines is only about 8 cms. long, and begun in level with the upper border of a rectangle formed of double lines, it measures about 10·5 by 9·5 cms. It contains a representation of **Garuḍa**, kneeling, half front and half to the proper left, in human form, but with a pointed nose. The image holds three snakes in the left hand, with the right one raised up so as to strike at them.

The average **size** of the letters of the main inscription is about ·8 cms. They are well formed and carefully engraved, with the exception of a few here and there, an example of which is afforded by the writing of *nyam* and *vyam*, both in l. 6 and both almost alike. The inscription is completely legible, though the concluding portions of ll. 7-13 have slightly suffered from corrosion, as also noted by Kielhorn.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. to which it belongs. To note the peculiar features of the writing, however, we find the initial *a* almost resembling *mra*; see *asmat*, l. 9 and *adhi*, l. 16; initial *i* is formed by a horizontal stroke (and not two dots), with its ends slightly curved below, in level with the top-strokes, and subscribed by a sign resembling the medial short *u*; cf. *iti* in ll. 11 and 12; and the medial long *ū* is occasionally without the sharp curve at the end, e.g. in *yūti*, l. 3. Of the consonants, *ch* is occasionally distinguished by a triangular loop from *v*, as in *gōchāra*, l. 3, but in most of the instances both these letters are alike in formation, as in *grāmārdha*=*ścha* and *sva*- in the same line; *t* and *n* in their superscript form resemble almost a horizontal stroke slightly curved at the beginning, cf. *tan*=*matvā*, l. 5; *dh* has developed a horn on its left limb and the verticals of *dhā* are joined by a mid-stroke, cf. *vasudhā*, l. 7; *bh* and *h* are sometimes written alike, as in *bhū-hala*, l. 1, in which the slanting stroke of the second of these letters is missing; and *r* shows at least three different forms; e.g. in *purushaiḥ*, l. 12, this letter appears as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle on the left; in *purā*, l. 8, it shows a wedge, and in *Rāmabhadraḥ*, l. 10, a triangular loop.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit: and, excepting five customary imprecatory verses in ll. 7-12, the existing portion of the grant is **in prose**. With reference to **orthography**, it shares the same peculiarities as to be seen in the inscriptions of the time and found in the region of Mālwa, viz. (1) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* also, e.g. in *vrāhmaṇa*, l. 1; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *parivarttēna*, l. 1; (3) the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* in the case of a medial diphthong, cf. *saptadaśak-ōpēta* and *hal-aikādaśa*, both in l. 2; but we have a few exceptions in which the *ūrdhva-mātrā* is used, e.g. in *dēvī*, l. 1 where the very preceding word shows the *prishṭha-mātrā*, in *mō*; (4) occasionally the wrong use of the sign of *anusvāra*, for example, at the end of a sentence or a verse, as in *samupanētavayam*, l. 6 and in *abhyānumōdanīyam*, l. 9; (5) the dropping of the *visarga* of *vilōpyāḥ*, the last word of a verse, in consideration of the following initial *i* in l. 12. It may also be remarked here that throughout the record all the three sibilants are correctly used and the sign of *avagraha* appears only once in the whole record; in the *sandhi* of a final *ā* with an initial *a* in l. 6.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Yaśōvarmadēva**, whose pedigree must have been mentioned in the now missing portion of the preceding lines of the charter and who, from the fact that the plate was found at Ujjain and belongs to the time, is obviously no other than the son of the Paramāra Naravarman, whose last date is known from an inscription discovered at the same place to be the (Vikrama) year 1190. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of *Laghu-Vaṇṇaṇapadra*¹ and a half of the village of

¹ As the text reads in l. 2, the gift village was *saṁvadha*, i.e. *Saṁbaddha* or connected with land measuring eleven *halas* together with seventeen *nivartanas*. Both these are technical terms, the first used to denote a plot of land worth being cultivated in a season by a pair of bullocks, and the second meaning 20 rods, one rod (*daṇḍa*) being equal to 96 *parvas* or 198 feet. See above, p. 57, n. 3.

Ṭhīkarikā, falling in the Ṭhīkarikā or Ṭhikkarikā sub-division of villages,¹ to two persons² whose names must have been given in the writing of the first plate which is now missing. As it would appear from the construction, these two villages were granted in exchange of some other land which had been so far enjoyed by these two donees, as a grant made on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of the illustrious Mōmaladēvī, about whom nothing besides the name appears in the record but who was very probably the mother of Yaśōvarman.

Lines 3-7 contain the usual terms of the grant: and this portion is followed by five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. Then comes the date, given in figures only, **'the third of the dark half of the month of Mārgaśirsha of the (Vikrama) year 1192'**, which, as observed by Kielhorn, corresponds **'probably to either the 27th October or the 25th November, 1135 A.C.'**³ Then follows the mention of the names as *dūtakas*, of the *Purōhita*, the *Ṭhakura*, the illustrious *Vāmanasvāmin*; the *Ṭhakkura*, the illustrious *Purushōttama*; the *Mahāpradhāna*, the *Rājaputra*, the illustrious *Dēvadhara*, and others (*prabhṛitayaḥ*). Line 14 contains the usual expression wishing bliss and fortune, followed by what Kielhorn takes to be the letter *ra*, but more probably appearing as an ornamentation.⁴ In l. 15 we have the **sign-manual** of the king, the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Yaśōvarmmadēva, which again is followed by the word *adhi-śrīḥ*, both its parts written separately.

Fortunately all the **place-names** mentioned in the inscription can be identified. **Dēvala-pāṭaka**, where the land obtained originally by the donees is said to have existed (l. 1), appears to me to be represented by the modern villages Deul or Dewlā, and Pādalyā in the Bhikangāon *parganā* of the West Nimār District, both situated north-northwest of Dharampurī,⁵ the latter at a distance of 8 kms. and the former about 2 kms. Both the villages appear to have formed a single unit, as in modern times, since they are both known by the common name of Dēul-Pādlyā.⁶ **Thikkārikā** is evidently the modern village of Ṭhīkrī on the Bombay-Agra highway, situated in 22° 4' north latitude and 75° 27' east longitude, about 11 kms. south of Dharampurī. Both these villages were the headquarters of *parganās* of the same names in the former State of Dhār and are now included in the Rājapurā *tehsīl* of the West Nimar District of Madhya Pradesh. About 10 kms. to the south-east of Ṭhīkrī there are two villages of the names of Bēgandā and Bēgandī; and the latter suggests its identification with the *Laghu* (or small) *i.e.*, *khurd*, **Vaiṅgaṇapadra** of the present inscription (l. 3). The distance between both the groups of villages, *i.e.* Dēvalā and Pādalyā on the one side and Ṭhīkrī and Bēgandī on the other, is about 50 kms. and they are both on the south of the Narmadā, indicating that in the 12th century this region was included in the Paramāra kingdom.

¹ As the name is spelt in 11.2 and 3, respectively. From the construction it would appear that the village formed the headquarters of the unit of villages grouped for convenience of administration, resembling the expression *antaḥpātī* in some other records. The expression *Brāhmaṇa-māpyakīya* is equally inexplicable. Kielhorn took it as used in a technical sense, but possibly it appears to signify correctness of the measurement of the plot, when measured by a *Brāhmaṇa*, who was expected to do the work following the injunctions of law.

² In l. 2 Kielhorn read '*ubhaya-jana-dvābhyām*' and remarked that it is ungrammatical. My reading of the first word, however, is *ubhayaṁ* (see text, n. 5), *i.e.* *ubhayaṁ hala-dvayaṁ*, and if so, it would signify 4 *halas*. But as the language is not clear here, this is not certain. It may also be surmised here that the expression *jana-dvābhyām* has been perhaps wrongly used in the sense of *jana-dvayābhyām* (?) or *dvi-janābhyām*, which too is grammatically incorrect.

³ Taking the month respectively to be *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta*, and the year as Chaitrādi V. expired. In the *Ind. Ant.*, the date 29th (instead of 25th, as given here) appears to be a printing error. For the *kārttikādi* V. expired, the date would correspond to 15th October (for *pūrṇimānta*), and to 13th November (for *amānta*), of 1136 A.C.

⁴ Admitting his inability to explain the letter *ra*, which is of a much larger size, Kielhorn suggests that "it may stand for *rachitam* (which we also find in the grants of Arjunavarman), and that it should have been followed by the name of the official who executed the grant". *Op. cit.*, p. 349, n. 20. But as the name of the official is missing, I take it merely as an ornamentation.

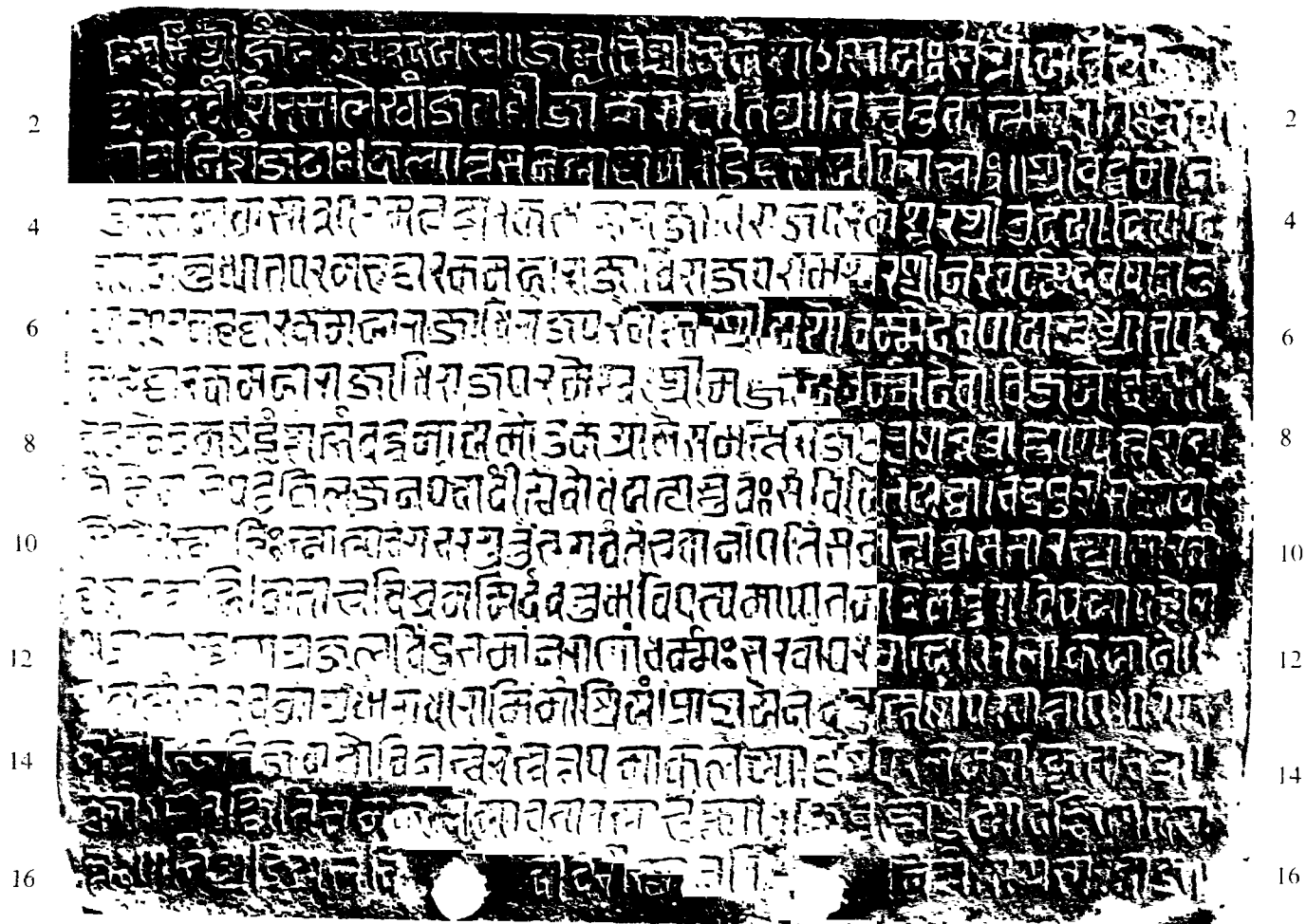
⁵ This is the find-spot of Vākpatirājadēva's grant of Saṁvat 1031 (above No. 4).

⁶ We have a number of instances of the type, current in ancient and in modern times. For one of ancient times, see Cunningham, *A.S.R.I.*, Vol. VII, p. 64 ad *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 69, where he describes two villages of the names of Barō and Pathārī in the Bhilsā (Vidishā) District, as forming one and the same village formerly, though now they are at the distance of about 3 kms. from each other.

A—UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF YASOVARMAN:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1192



B—UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF JAYAVARMAN: (UNDATED)



TEXT¹

[Metres:² Verse 1 *Anushūbh*; v. 2 *Indravajrā*; v. 3 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 4 *Śālinī*; v. 5 *Pushpitāgrā*].

- 1 श्रीमोलदेवीसांवत्सरिके³ कल्पितत्वाद् भुज्यमानदेवलपाटकाद्भूहलद्वयपरिवर्त्तेन⁴ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमाप्यकीयभूहल-
- 2 द्वयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धे ठीकरिकाग्रामविभाग उभयं⁵ जनद्व्याभ्यां भूनिवर्त्तनसप्तदशकोपेतभूहलैकादशकसंवधे⁶ समस्त उप-
- 3 रिलिखितलघुवैगणपद्रग्रामस्तथा ठीकरिकाग्रामार्द्धश्च स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः
- 4 सहिरण्यभागभोगः सोपरिकरः स्वर्वादायममेतश्च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये शासनेनोदक-
- 5 पूर्वकतया प्रदत्तस्तन्मत्वा यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमा⁷ज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमेताभ्यां स[मु]प-
- 6 नेतव्यं(व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा)ऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमन्त-
- 7 व्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व(व)हृभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[१*]
- 8 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयज्ञस्कराणि । निम्मर्त्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुन-
- 9 राददीत ॥[२*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्मास्तद्विलयबुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा)द[चं]च-
- 10 लाया दानं फलं परयज्ञःपरिपालनं च ॥[३*] सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामा-
- 11 न्योयं धर्ममेतुर्पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[४*] इति कमलदलांबुवि(बुवि)दुलोला[] श्रियमनुचि[त्य म]
- 12 नुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥[५*] सम्बत्⁹ ११६२ मा[र्ग]व-
- 13 दि ३[॥*] दू¹⁰ पुरोहितकुरश्रीवामनस्वामिकुरश्रीपुरुषोत्तमराजपुत्रश्रीदेवधरप्रभृतयः ।
- 14 मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥ २¹¹
- 15 स्वहस्तोयं महाराजश्रीमद्यशोवर्मदेवस्य ।
- 16 अधि ॥ श्रीः ॥¹²

No. 39 ; PLATE XL B

UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF JAYAVARMAN

(Fragmentary)

THE plate which bears this inscription was found at Ujjain as early as in the second decade of the nineteenth century, by Major (afterwards Colonel) Tod, who presented it to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1824. The inscription was edited, with a facsimile and translation, by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions of the Society*, Volume I, pp. 230 ff., and Colebrooke's paper, dealing also with two other inscriptions found by Tod at Ujjain and presented to the Society along with it, was subsequently reprinted

¹ From photograph.

² The verses are numbered as in this plate.

³ Kielhorn read this *akshara* as क and remarked that it may possibly be read as के. But I take it to be के, considering that the *mātrā* has left a trace above the top-stroke. On the word *kalpita* that follows, see *n.* in No. 12, l. 10.

⁴ To be restored to परिवर्त्तनेन.

⁵ The sign of *anusvāra* is faint but it is there.

⁶ Possibly to be read as संबद्धे. It is interesting to note that along with *nivartana*, the standard measure of land, the extent of land is also shown here by the use of the measure of *hala*, one *hala* signifying as much land as could be ploughed by a single pair of bullocks.

⁷ The *mātrā* is faintly visible.

⁸ The व appears as न.

⁹ Possibly the sign of *anusvāra* is also engraved on the letter स.

¹⁰ This is a contraction of दूतक.

¹¹ Kielhorn remarks: "This *akshara*, which is engraved on a level with the preceding words but is of much larger size, I am unable to explain properly. I can only suggest that it may stand for *rachitam* (which we find in the grants of Arjunavarman), and that it should have been followed by the name of the official who executed the grant." To me, however, it appears to be an ornamentation, as already stated above.

¹² I think that the word अधिश्रीः is broken into two and is so written for the sake of symmetry.

in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 297-314. His reading of the text was amended at various places, by F. E. Hall, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VII, pp. 36 ff., and in 1890 all the three inscriptions were re-edited by F. Kielhorn, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX (1890), pp. 345 ff., with transcripts in Roman characters but without facsimiles. The plates are now in the British Museum, London, and the present inscription is edited here on the basis of my own reading of the text prepared from a photograph thereof which was kindly procured and supplied to me, at my request, by Dr. G. S. Gai, the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India, to whom my thankfulness is due.

It is a copper-plate, the **first** of apparently the two which bore the whole inscription, and measures about 27·62 cms. by 21·90 cms. Its edges were raised into rims to protect the writing. It weights 0·91 kgms. It has two circular holes bored at the bottom, disturbing the writing in the last line, for **rings** to pass through so as to hold it with the second plate, which has never been discovered, along with the rings. The **size** of the individual letters is about ·8 cms. They are carefully written and well engraved but contain occasional redundant strokes and omission of some of their parts, as will be pointed out below. The whole of the extant writing, however, can be made out with certainty. It contains sixteen lines.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth century A.C. To mention some of its outstanding features, we find that the initial *i*, unlike that in the preceding one, is represented by two hollow dots horizontally placed and subscribed by the *mātrā* of *u* showing a fine curve, as in *iti*, l. 14; the initial *u* occurs only once, in l. 4, where its formation may be noted; and the medial *u* in *bhyu*, l. 1, is altogether different from that which appears throughout the record. The conjunct consonant *gg* is engraved as *gn* in *sarggāya*, l. 1. Of the forms of the other consonants, we note that the letters *t* and *bh* are almost alike; cf. *bhyu* and *ti*, both in l. 1; the short slanting stroke which indicates the final consonant has been engraved as the sign for a subscript *r*, but it is straight and not slanting; see *m* in *tām* and *kṛitim*, both in l. 2; but there is a singular exception to this in l. 8, where the *n* of *purushān* is engraved as *nū*. The slight difference in the formation of *r* may be noted in *rāja*, *purushān* and *rājya*, all side by side in l. 8, indicating that the letter was then in a transitional stage.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of two invocatory verses in ll. 1-3 and two customary verses in ll. 11-14, the whole of the extant portion of the record is in prose. The **orthographical peculiarities** are almost the same as to be found in the inscriptions of the time, *viz.*, (1) denoting *b* by the sign for *v*, throughout; e.g. in *vibhartti*, l. 1; (2) writing of *s* for *ś* only in a singular example in *vinasvaram*, l. 14; (3) doubling of a consonant following *r*; cf. *sarggāya*, l. 1; and (4) the use of the sign of *anusvāra* for the consonant *m*, only in one instance at the end of a verse in l. 14, whereas *m* is correctly used in all the three instances where it occurs at the end of a hemistich, twice in l. 2 and once in l. 14; (5) the sign for *avagraha* is employed twice in l. 1, to indicate both the times the merging of *a* into *ō*; and (6) the *prishṭha-mātrā* appears six times in all — three times to denote the medial *ē* (in ll. 4, 5 and 13), and as a component of the *mātrā* of each of the other diphthongs in ll. 10, 12 and 1, respectively. Attention may also be drawn to the spelling of *shaṭ-triṃśat*, l. 8, as *shaṭ-triṃśat*, and of *triṇāgra*, l. 12, as *truṇāgra*. It may also be noted here that the writing contains some redundant chisel strokes, e.g. the first letter in *vyōma*, l. 1, has also the *i-mātrā* above the top-stroke; *vah* in l. 2 is carved as *tah*; and *kālān* in l. 15 is engraved as *kārta*, as the sign for *anusvāra* is not fully engraved. Examples of omitting the parts of letters in the process of engraving are to be seen in *smara*, l. 2 and *snātvā*, l. 10, where the upper part of the left limb of *s* remains uncarved; and the second and the fourth letters in *sama-bhyarchchya*, l. 10 and *ṇṇ* in *-ṇṇava*, l. 15 are not properly engraved.

As in the case of many Paramāra grants, the inscription opens with *Om svasti* and *Śrīr=jjayō=bhyudayaś=cha*, followed by two verses in *Anushtubh*, in praise of Śiva. It then gives the genealogy of the house of the Paramāras, mentioning the names of **Udayāditya**, **Naravarman**, **Yaśovarman** and **Jayavarman**, in succession, and each of these with the epithets of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* (ll. 4-7). The relationship of the first three of these princes, from father to son, is known from the records edited above, and the present inscription which only adds to our knowledge by mentioning Jayavarman as the successor of Yaśovarman, is however silent about their mutual relationship. The Piplīnagar

grant of Arjunavarman¹ explicitly states that the latter of the princes mentioned here was the father of the former, calling Jayavarman as Ajayavarman; but they were both identical, as we shall see while editing that record. The **object** of the inscription is mentioned in ll. 3-4 and again in ll. 8 ff., which is to make an announcement, by Jayavarman himself, from his residence at **Vardhamānapura**, that while staying at **Chandrapurī** he had granted the village of **Māya-mōḍaka**, connected with **Vaṭakhēṭaka**, thirty-six (group of villages), to a person whose name is unfortunately lost in the record, as the writing on the plate comes to an end just at this point. The donee is stated to have hailed from **Adriyalaviddhāvārī**, included in the *Dakṣiṇa-dēśa*, and living at **Rāja-Brahmapurī**.² He was of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*): and from the details given here he was doubtless the same as the donee of the following inscription.

It is necessary to discuss here the reason that might have led Jayavarman to re-announce to the people at Vardhamānapura, a grant which he had made some time before, at Chandrapurī. The former of these places is unquestionably the modern Badnāvar in the Dhār District and the latter appears to be in the Bhopāl region, as we shall presently see. To settle the point in hand, however, it is necessary to make a reference to the contemporary historical incidents. The long-drawn war of the Paramāras with their western neighbours who were the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, is well known; and we also know that the Paramāras had to face a disaster when the whole of their kingdom was annexed to the Gujarāt empire by Jayasimha Siddharāja (V.S. 1150-1200), who proclaimed himself *Avanti-nātha* and also captured the contemporary Paramāra prince Yaśovarman and threw him in a prison.³ The date of this incident, as recorded by Jayasimha himself in his inscription found at Ujjain is Thursday, the fourteenth of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha, (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1195,⁴ which is equivalent to 9th June, 1138 A.C. The inscription also tells us that Jayasimha, who on this occasion assumed the title of *Avanti-nātha*, appointed one Mahādeva as his governor at Ujjain. And under the circumstances it appears to be quite natural for Yaśovarman's son, Jayavarman, to leave the capital immediately and to resort to a secluded place somewhere in a remote part of Mālwā, which was possible either in the south or in the east, the north being threatened by the enemical power of the Chandēllas who, under Madanavarman, had by that time crossed the Betwā and annexed a considerable portion of Mālwā to their kingdom.⁵ On the south the Paramāra province was conterminous with that of the Western Chālukyas, the contemporary Chālukya king being Jagadēkamalla ((1138-1151 A.C.), whose grandfather Vikramāditya VI had good relations with Jagaddēva, the brother of Naravarman who was the grandfather of Jayavarman.⁶ But Jayavarman may be assumed to have had more intimate relations with his contemporary Kalachuri king Gayākarna, who had married Alhaṇadēvī, the grand-daughter of Udayāditya;⁷ and in view of this, we may hypothetically hold that soon after the capture of Mālwā and of Yaśovarman, Jayavarman may have moved to the eastern fringe of his kingdom where he ruled for some time as an independent king, as is indicated by the expressions *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-dhirāja-Paramēśvara* of the present inscription. And it appears that at this time, from his stay at Chandrapurī, which is quite close to Bhopāl as we shall presently see, he granted the village of Māyamōḍaka situated in the Vaṭakhēṭaka thirty-six. But taking advantage of the

¹ No. 47, below.

² Kielhorn stated his doubt as to whether this name should be taken as the name of a town, or it means at the king's Brahmapurī (*op. cit.*, p. 350, n. 1). But the name may also be explained to mean the great Brahmapurī, as we find in expressions like *rāja-mūṣha*, *rāja-haṃsa* and *rāja-skandha* (a horse). I am also doubtful whether the use of the locative in this word should be taken to mean whether the donee was then living at that place or whether the gift was made there.

³ *Sukṛita-saṃkīrtana*, Canto II; *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, I.A., Vol. IV, p. 266; *P.C.M.*, pp. 85 ff. Jayasimha calls himself *Avantinātha* for the first time in his Gālā grant of V. S. 1193 (1136 A.C.). See *I.N.I.*, No. 236.

⁴ *A.S.I.*, *W.C.R.* for 1912-3, pp. 54-55 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 258. It is Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 240. The inscription has not so far been edited, nor even transcribed. From an impression thereof which was kindly sent to me by the Chief Epigraphist, I transcribe the relevant portion here, also confirming it from the original stone which is at Ujjain. Lines 1-2 read: *Svasti Vikramāditya-kāl-ātīta-saṃvatsara-śat-aikādaśa(śa)su pañchanavaty-adhikēsu || aṅkatō'pi . . .* and ll. 7-8 read: *pratāpa-jīta-Mālava-rājyaṃ śrī-Yasa(śō)-varma-nāmānaṃ rājānaṃ cha jītvā . . .* The latter of the expressions suggests that Yaśovarman too had to reconquer the kingdom.

⁵ As we know from Nos. 118 and 125, respectively.

⁶ See No. 28, v. 9, above.

⁷ The Bhēdāghaṭ stone inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 12, vv. 17-25.

unsettled conditions that followed Jayasimha's death in V.S. 1200 or 1142-43 A.C., Jayavarman re-occupied Mālwa,¹ and on his way back to his home province he made an announcement of the grant already made at Chandrapurī, before the people at Vardhamānapura, where he had his temporary stay.

We are justified in stating that the **date** which does not appear in the writing on the present plate must have been given on the second plate. Kielhorn assigns the grant to the time between Vikrama years 1192 and 1200.² But we can minimise the time and hold that it was between the Vikrama years 1195 and 1200, the first being that of the capture of Yaśovarman and consequently Jayavarman leaving Dhārā,³ and the second, of Lakshmīvarman confirming the grant made by his father Yaśovarman. Up to 1195 A.C. when Yaśovarman was on the throne, his son Jayavarman cannot be considered to have issued a charter in his own name.

The **localities** mentioned in the inscription are: (1) **Vardhamānapura**, where the grant was re-announced, in ll. 3-4; (2) **Vaṭakhēṭaka**, the principal of the thirty-six village-group, (3) **Māyamōḍaka**, the donated village in l. 8: and (4) **Chandrapurī**, where the grant was originally made. None of these places was identified by Kielhorn, but Vardhamānapura is no doubt the modern Badnāwar (Long. 75° 17' E.; Lat. 23° 2' N.), the chief town of a *parganā* in the Dhār District, as already said. The name is found on the pedestals of some images of the medieval period discovered at that place.⁴ The other places must be looked for in the eastern part of the Paramāra kingdom where Jayavarman seems to have fled, and accordingly, Vaṭakhēṭaka appears to me the same place now known as Barkhēḍā, about 10 kms. south-east of Bhopāl, or it may be the village Barkhēḍī, situated about 27 kms. further south of Barkhēḍā. Chandrapurī, which is a common name in the region, is probably Chāndpur, lying about 48 kms. east-southeast of Barkhēḍā or 43 kms. south-east of Bhopāl. Māyamōḍaka I am unable to identify. It may be stated here, however, that a village of the name of Mōwākhēḍā lies about 6 kms. north of Chāndpur, and both these names appear to be somewhat similar. All these places are situated in the same region and the little distance of each of these from the other goes to corroborate the views expressed above about Jayavarman's shifting to the Bhopāl region soon after Jayasimha Siddharāja annexed Mālwa to his kingdom.

TEXT⁵

[Metres: Vv. 1-2 and 4 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 3 *Vasantatilakā*].

- 1 ओम्⁶ स्वस्ति [1*] श्रीज्ज्योऽभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति व्यो⁷मकेशोऽसौ यः मर्गायि⁸ वि(वि)भक्ति ता-
- 2 म् । ऐंदवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्धी(द्धी)जंकुराकृतिम्⁹ ॥[१*] तन्वत् वः स्मरारातेः कल्या-
- 3 णमनिशं जटाः । कल्यान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिगलाः ॥[२*] श्रीवर्द्धमान-
- 4 पुरममावासात्¹⁰रमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री¹¹उदयादित्यदे-
- 5 वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनरवर्म्मदेवपादानु-
- 6 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपर-
- 7 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्म्मदेवो विजयोदयी¹² ॥
- 8 वटखेटकषट्त्वं(वि)शत्संव(व)द्धमायमोडकग्रामे समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्यणोत्तरान्त्र-

¹ S.E., p. 76.

² Op. Cit., p. 350.

³ The Gālā inscription of V. S. 1193 (I.N.I., No. 236) is the first to call Jayasimha as *Avanti-nātha*, but it does not mention the capture of Yaśovarman.

⁴ For antiquities at Badnāwar see *Ind. Cult.* Vol. XI, p. 166; *Cent. Ind. Gaz. Series*, pp. 494 and 513. For an inscription at that place, see I.N.I., No. 306.

⁵ From photograph.

⁶ Expressed by symbol which is damaged.

⁷ A redundant curve of the *mātrā* of *i* also appears on this letter.

⁸ A redundant *ē-mātrā* appears to have been carved on स्.

⁹ The horizontal stroke of this letter, as of some others below, is not engraved.

¹⁰ This *akshara* appears as त्र or तू. The word समावासात् is to be connected with वो(वो)धयति in l. 9.

¹¹ The *sandhi*, which is necessary here, is not observed.

¹² Kielhorn takes these signs of punctuation to be redundant; but what precedes the *danḍas* may also be taken to be a complete sentence.

- 9 निनिवामिपट्टकिलजतपदादीश्च वो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदिनं यथा ।¹ चंद्रपुरीसमावा-
 10 मितैरस्माभिः स्नात्वा चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य संभारस्यासारतां
 11 दृष्ट्वा² [।*] तथा हि । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वमुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोग-
 12 : । प्राणा[स्तृ]णाग्रजलवि(वि)दुममा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥[३]
 13 भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः परं फ-
 14 लम् ॥[४*] इति जगतो विनस्व(श्व)रं स्वरूपमाकलय्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य[न्या]चंद्रा-
 15 वर्काण्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या राजन्न(न्न)ह्यपूर्या दक्षिणदेशा-
 16 न्तःपाति³-अद्रि[यल]विद्धा⁴वरीस्थानविनिर्गताय भारद्वाज ॥⁵

No. 40 : PLATE XLI A

UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA LAKSHMIVARMAN

[Vikrama] years 1191 & 1200

THE copper-plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is stated to have been presented, in 1824, to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, by Major (afterwards Colonel) Tod, who found it at **Ujjain**, along with two other plates dealt with above.⁷ All the three inscriptions were first edited, with facsimiles and translations, by H. T. Colebrooke, in the *Transactions* of the Society, Volume I, pages 230-239, and his paper on them was reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Volume II, pp. 297-334. Colebrooke's transcripts of the inscriptions were amended in some places by F. E. Hall, J. F. Fleet, and lastly, by F. Kielhorn, who edited the records in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XIX (for 1890), pp. 345-353, and his writing dealing with the present inscription appears on pp. 345 and 349-351, but his paper is not illustrated. All the three plates were in the Library of the Society in 1890 when Kielhorn wrote; but subsequently they were transferred to the British Museum where they are now preserved. At my request, Dr. G. S. Gai, the Chief Epigraphist in the Archaeological Survey of India, very kindly procured and supplied to me a photograph of the plate (as of the other two also) from the Museum, and the inscription is edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the Museum and the consent of the Chief Epigraphist, who was good enough to procure the photograph for me.

Like the preceding one, the present plate too is the **first** of apparently the two plates engraved with the inscription, the second of which has not so far been discovered. It has two holes perforated in the lower margin for passing two rings with which the plates were originally held together; but the rings too are not forthcoming. The plate is 40.64 cms. long by 24.44 cms. broad and weighs 2.06 kgms. Its edges were fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface, to protect the writing, which consists of twenty lines and is engraved on one side only. The inscription is not only incomplete but also in a very bad state of preservation. Kielhorn, who wrote in 1890, found the plate corroded, and in consequence of it, he remarked that there are "several *aksharas* which cannot be read with absolute certainty". During the years that followed the corrosion appears to have further developed so that a number of *aksharas* which the lynx-eyed epigraphist could read with certainty have now become partly or wholly illegible or completely effaced, making the task of the decipherer difficult, particularly so far as the formal portion containing the names of places occurring therein is concerned. A patient

¹ The *danḍa* is redundant.

² The sign of *anusvāra* has faintly come out.

³ What follows this word is a parenthesis and the sentence is continued in l. 14, जगतो . . .

⁴ As in n. 11 on the preceding page.

⁵ This *akshara* may also be read as दा, as Kielhorn takes it.

⁶ The punctuation makes are redundant. The rest of the inscription is on the second plate which is lost.

⁷ See Nos. 38 and 39, above.

examination of the writing, however, has enabled me to prepare the sub-joined transcript, which forms the basis of editing this important inscription.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī. They are not so beautiful as of the two preceding inscriptions, the plates of which are now in the British Museum, along with the present one, as we have seen above. Letters like *a*, *j*, *v*, *s* and *h* have almost assumed their modern forms, see respectively *asṭamyāṃ*, l. 7, *jayō*, *vibhartti* and *sarggāya*, all in l. 1, and *hiranya* in l. 9. Letters *ch*, *dh* and *v*, though slightly distinguished in form, are often confounding in reading, as in *samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabda*, l. 4, where all these letters occur. Occasionally *ś* cannot be distinguished from *s*, as in *samasta-praśast-ōpēta*, l. 4, where the third and the fifth letters are almost alike, and in *kēśō*, l. 1, where the second letter has the loop of the palatal and also the horizontal stroke joining the two limbs of the dental sibilant. The rare *ṛi* and *gh* occur respectively in *ṛishi* in l. 8 and *arghyam*, in l. 9.

The **language** is Sanskrit: and, excepting for two stanzas at the beginning, one in ll. 10-11 and three (the last one being incomplete) at the end, which are all customary, the record is in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any notice except that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated, the medial diphthongs are shown by *prishṭha-mātrās* (with a few exceptions) and *m* at the end of a hemistich is sometimes changed to *anuvāra*, as at the end of verse 1 but not in vv. 4 and 5. The scribe has occasionally put double *daṇḍas* at the end of a line, e.g. at the end of ll. 3, 6 and 10, which appear to fill up the gap, and a mark at the end of the last line, apparently to attract attention to the continuity of the inscription on the second plate.

The inscription is a royal charter issued by the *Mahākumāra*, the illustrious **Lakshmī-varman**, who had attained the privilege of the five great sounds (*samadhigata-paṇcha-mahāśabda*) and who was a successor of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Yaśovarman of Dhārā (ll. 4-6). The **object** of it is to repeat (rather confirm) the grant already made by his predecessor Yaśovarman, at the annual funeral ceremonies in honour of the *Mahārāja* Naravarman, on the **bright half of Kārttika** of the (Vikrama) year **1191** (expressed in words only in ll. 7-8). We have nothing to verify the date but the year, if taken *expired*, would correspond to **1135 A.C.**, by the kārttikādi reckoning.

The inscription, which is preserved only in its former part, opens with the customary expressions *Svasti* and *Śrīr = jay-ōbhhyudayaś = cha* and two verses in praise of Śiva (Vyōmakēśa and Smarārāti), as in the case of several Paramāra charters. It then introduces the house to which Lakshmīvarman belonged, mentioning the names of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Udayādityadēva**, his successor the *P.M.P. Naravarmadēva, his successor the *P.M.P. Yaśovarmadēva* and thereafter we read in it the name of **Lakshmī-varman** (ll. 2-4). His relationship with his predecessor is nowhere stated in the inscription but it can be inferred from his own statement, viz., *śrīmat-pitṛi-śrēy-ōrtham* in l. 15 of it. Here it has to be remarked, however, that the word *pitṛi* may also refer to three of the *pitṛis*, i.e., father, grandfather and great-grandfather (*pitṛi-pitāmaha-prapitāmaha*), following the age-hallowed custom.*

The record then states that Lakshmīvarman confirmed or again donated (*punar = api datta*) the grant already made by his predecessor Yaśovarman (apparently his father) in (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1191, of the villages of **Vaḍaūda**, belonging to **Suvāsaṇi** and that of **Uthavaṇaka**, belonging to **Suvarṇaprāsādikā**, both situated in the **Rājaśayana bhōga**, in the **Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala**. At this time, Lakshmīvarman also announces that the gift was originally made on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony in honour of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Naravarman.

The date on which Lakshmīvarman made his announcement is, as given in words only, the **fifteenth day of Śrāvaṇa, of the (Vikrama) Saṃvat 1200**, when there was a **lunar eclipse** (l. 15). The true corresponding date cannot be ascertained with absolute certainty, since, as Kielhorn observed, the particular day mentioned in the inscription when there was a lunar eclipse falls in all the three years, i.e. in the northern Vikrama *current*, the northern Vikrama *expired* and also in the southern Vikrama *current* 1200. But since the only lunar eclipse which fell on **16th July, 1144 A.C.**, was visible in India, it (appears to) correspond to the date of the inscription if we take the year according to the southern Vikrama *expired*; and it is the proper equivalent day of the renewal of the grant.¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 352. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 40, No. 80.

To consider the reason why the grant had to be renewed after about eight or nine years, we have to examine the history of the *Mahākumāra* branch of the Paramāra house of Mālwa. It has long been a theme of keen controversy among scholars, and in continuation of what we have observed while editing the preceding inscription, we may resume the thread here. Noticing that the name of the *P.M.P.* Jayavarman has been omitted in the present record, and also that Lakshmīvarman's name has similarly been omitted in the Piplīānagar grant of Hariśchandra, of Samvat 1235 (1178 A.C.),¹ Kielhorn observes as follows, with reference to the succession in the family of Yaśōvarman: "Yaśōvarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman and Lakshmīvarman; and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālwa, and continued to style themselves *Mahārājas*. The third brother Lakshmīvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman, and as stated in E (*i.e.* the Bhopāl grant of the Mahākumāra Udayavarman), he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālwa, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakshmīvarman, and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālwa, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariśchandra, in the grant D (his Piplīānagar grant) professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakshmīvarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman."²

Kielhorn's suggestion is indeed ingenious, but we have not the slightest evidence to show that Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman (in fact, these were the two names of the same person, as we shall see presently), or that Lakshmīvarman did not submit to Ajayavarman. Moreover, the statement of the Bhopāl grant of Udayavarman to the effect that Lakshmīvarman succeeded in occupying the territory not from Jayavarman, who, as we have seen in the preceding grant, had himself fled to the Bhopāl region and may have then been accompanied by Lakshmīvarman, but from his enemies who were the Chandēllas who had by that time usurped a portion of the region around Bhilsā, as we know from the Augasī grant of Madanavarman,³ which was issued from his residence near Bhillasvāmipura: and our observation gets further support from the fact that Lakshmīvarman confirmed the grant made by his father in the same region around Bhilsā which is herein called the *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*: and it may fairly be imagined that Lakshmīvarman's reconquest of the region may probably have necessitated the re-issuing of the grant.

Omission of a name or two is no sure indication of a feud: nor does it throw any definite light on the line of succession, as rightly observed by N. P. Chakravarti, while editing the Bhopāl charter of Udayavarman, (V.) S. 1214 (1157 A.C.), by stating that "we know that inscriptions do not always give a full genealogy of the ruler to whose reign they refer themselves but may mention the names of one or two or even none of his predecessors."⁴

With reference to Kielhorn's observation, it may also be remarked here that in fact the present charter had not the least occasion to mention the name of Jayavarman, since the concerned rulers were only two, *viz.* Yaśōvarman who had originally made the grant, and Lakshmīvarman who confirmed it subsequently.

The whole discussion on the division of the Paramāra kingdom during the fourth decade of the twelfth century may be summarised here. Soon after the capture of Mālwa and its king Yaśōvarman, by the Chaulukya Jayasīṃha, in 1138 A.C., the former's sons Jayavarman and Lakshmīvarman (and along with them Trailōkyavarman also, about whom we shall speak while editing his inscription), left the capital Dhārā and had their resort in the easternmost part of Mālwa — somewhere in the region around Bhopāl, where they annexed some territories from the Chandēllas and established themselves there. In the last days of the Chaulukya Jayasīṃha, or soon after his death, Jayavarman, who was very probably the elder of the two brothers, returned to Dhārā

¹ Below, No. 45. The same we find also in the Bhopāl grant of Hariśchandra, issued in (V.) S. 1214 or 1157 A.C.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 202 ff. Our No. 118.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 228.

and resumed the government, proclaiming himself as a sovereign lord : and the younger brother Lakshmīvarman continued to remain in the Bhopāl region as a subordinate ruler, where he and his descendants governed the territory and were satisfied with the lower title of *Mahākumāra*. Professor Hall's theory that Lakshmīvarman was the elder of the two,¹ cannot be accepted as it is not based on any substantial evidence : and the very fact that Jayavarman is called a *Mahārājādhirāja* not only in his but also in the grants issued by the *Mahākumāras* who were the descendants of Lakshmīvarman, goes against Hall's observations.

In connection with what Kielhorn, Hall, and some other scholars following them, hold that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman were two different rulers and were connected as brothers,² we have to observe, in the first place, that we have not even a single record mentioning both these names. There are some which mention the name Jayavarman, whereas there are others where we read the name Ajayavarman. Moreover, we also find that the earlier of the inscriptions, which are all in prose so far as the genealogical portion is concerned, mention the first of these names : whereas the later ones, which are all in poetry, have the name Ajayavarman. The earliest Paramāra record where the name Ajayavarman figures is the Piplīnagar grant of Arjunavarman, of (V.) S. 1267 (1210 A.C.) ; and the genealogical portion it gives is all metrical ; and it is possible that the name Ajayavarman may have been incorporated in it for metrical exigencies. The two other records of the same king which are dated Samvat 1270 and 1272, and the late Māndhātā grant of Jayasimha³ have their genealogical portion as a true copy of the same.⁴

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Dhārā** (l. 6) is obviously the modern Dhār, now the principal town of a district of the same name ; and the *maṇḍala* mentioned by the name of **Mahādvādaśaka** (l. 5) comprised parts of the modern districts of Bhilsā (now called Vidishā) and Bhopāl : this *maṇḍala* is also mentioned in the Bhopāl charter of Lakshmīvarman's son Hariśchandra, below, No. 44. **Rājaśayana** (l. 5) exists even today in its corrupt form Rāisēn, which is about 50 kms. east-northeast of Bhopāl and connected with it by a metalled road. It is the chief town of a district of the same name and also possesses an old fort. **Suvāsani** (l. 5) appears to be no other than the modern village Siwāsni, lying about 13 kms. west of Rāisēn : the place still retains its old name. The identity of **Vaḍauda** (l. 5) cannot be definitely traced : about 25 kms. west of Siwāsni is a village bearing the name Barō ; and to the north-west of Siwāsni there is another village of the name of Barōd, which is philologically connected with the name Vaḍauda : but it is about 80 kms. off from it, and therefore it is less likely that it is the place mentioned in the present inscription.⁵ I am unable to suggest the identity of **Suvarṇa-prāsādikā** ; but **Uthavaṇaka** (l. 5) may possibly be the village of Ukāvad, about 50 kms. north of Barō.

TEXT⁶

[Metres: Verses 1-2 and 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 3 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 6 (incomplete) *Śālinī*].

- 1 [अ०^७ स्वस्ति] ॥ श्रीर्जयोभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति व्योमकेशोसौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्ति तां(ताम्) । ऐन्दवी सि(शि)रसा लेखां
जगद्धी(द्वी)जांकुराकृतिं(तिम्) ॥ [१*] [तन्व-
- 2 न्तु] वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः । कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिङ्गलाः ॥ [२*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[उ]दया-^८
- 3 दित्यदेवपादानुध्यातपरम[भट्टा]रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनरवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम[ह]ाराजाधिराजपरमेश्व[र]-

¹ *Journ. Am. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 36.

² Kielhorn in *op. cit.*; Hall in *Journ. Am. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 36 ; also see H. C. Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 888 ff.; and D. C. Ganguly, *H.P.D.*, pp. 181 ff.

³ Nos. 48-49 and No. 60, below.

⁴ In the age we are dealing with, the words *jaya* and *ajaya* carried the same meaning. The *Śākambharī Chāhamāna Jayadēva*, for example, was also known as *Ajayadēva* (see *J.B.A.S.*, Vol. LV, Pt. I, p. 4, verse 14, and *Pūthvīrāja Vijaya*, V, v. 85).

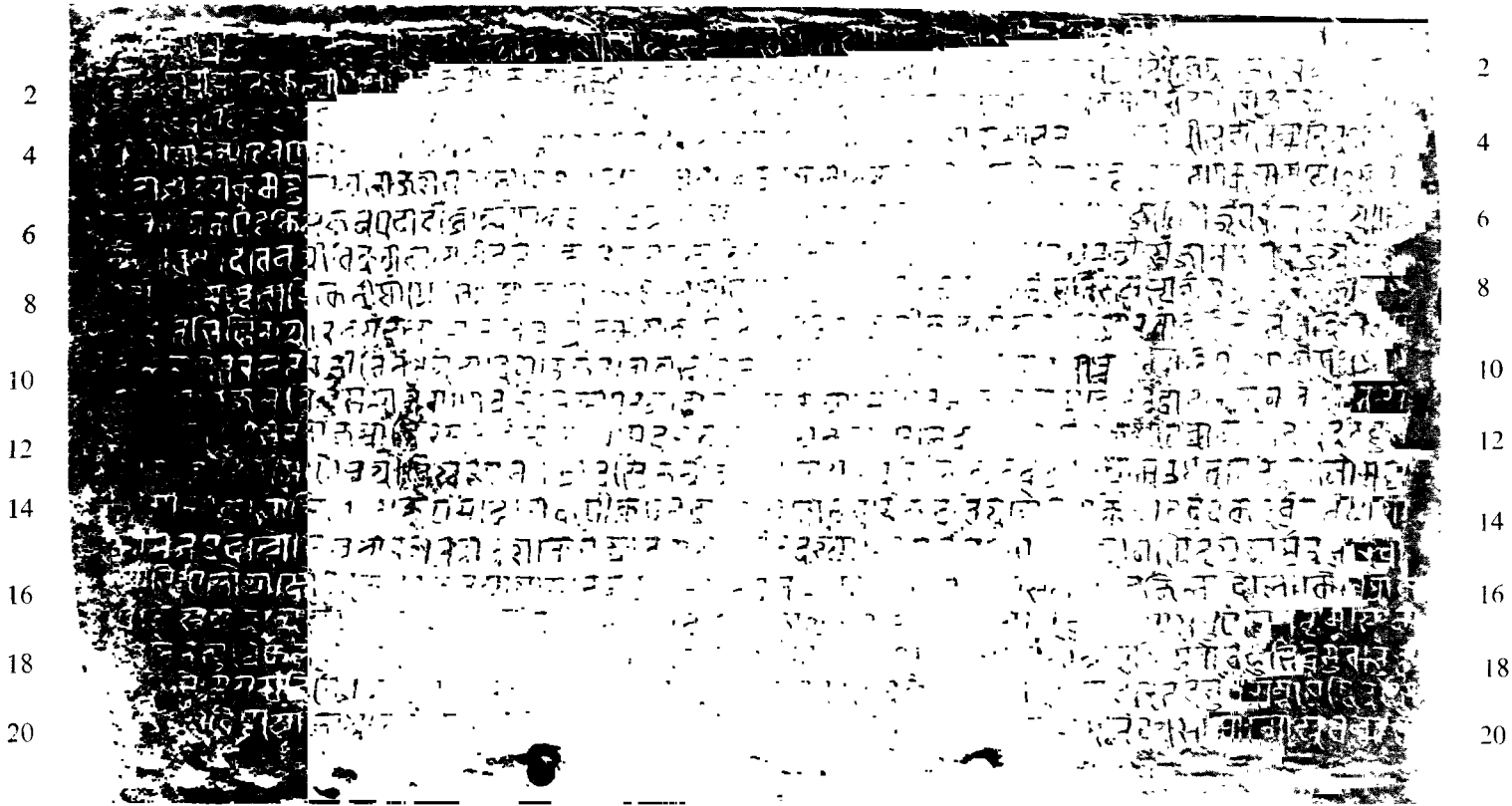
⁵ *Vaḍauda*, however, appears to be the same as the village of *Barkhēdā*, situated about 12 kms. south-west of *Siwasanī* to which it is said to have belonged. This village, which was included in the *Rājaśayana-bhōga*, is doubtless different from its namesake mentioned in the *Mahuada-pathaka* in line 37 of the *Māndhātā* grant of V. S. 1317 (No. 57) ; and the identification of both these places by H. C. Ray and D. C. Ganguly cannot be accepted. See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 904, n. 1 ; and *H.P.D.*, p. 185.

⁶ From a photograph.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Sandhi is not performed here.

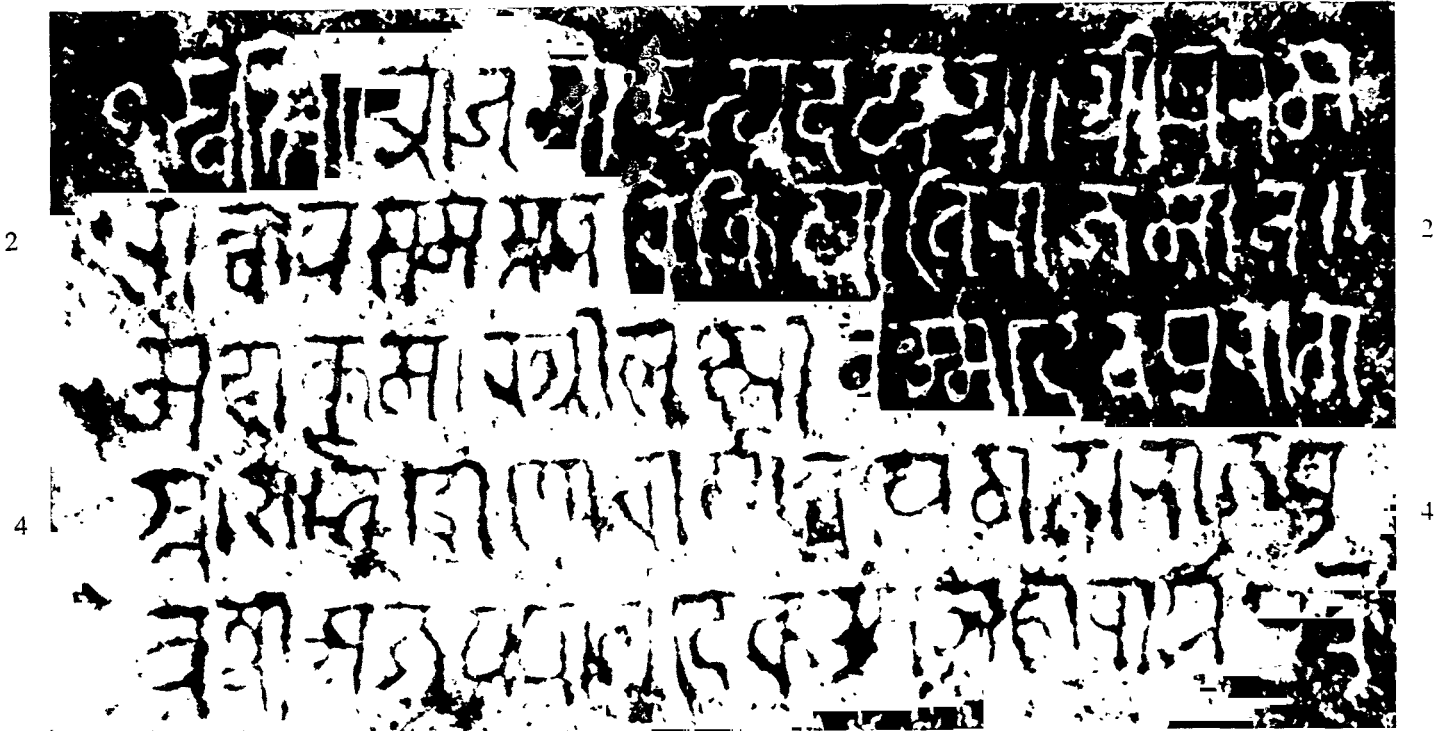
A — UJJAIN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA
LAKSHMĪVARMAN: (VIKRAMA) YEARS 1191 & 1200



From Photograph

B — BHOPĀL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
MAHĀKUMĀRA LAKSHMĪVARMAN: (UNDATED)

i



Scale: One-half

- 4 [श्री]यशोवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्त¹प्रशस्तोपेतसमधिगतपंचमहाशब्दा (ब्दा)लंकारविराजमानमहाक[]मारश्रीलक्ष्मीवर्मदेवः ॥² श्री-
 5 महाद्वादशकमण्डले श्रीराजशयन³भोगे सुवा⁴सणीसम्ब(म्ब)द्वडउदग्राम⁵ त[थ]ा सुवर्णप्रा[स]⁶दिकासम्ब(म्ब)द्वउथवणकग्रामयोः
 सम-
 6 [स्त]विषयिकपट्टकिलजनपदादीन्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्यणोत्तरान्वो(न्वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं ।⁷ य[थ]ा श्रीमद्वारायां महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
 7 यशो⁸वर्मदेवेन श्रीविक्रमकालातीतसम्ब(संब)⁹त्सरैकनवत्यधिकशतैकादशेषु कार्तिक शुदि अष्टम्यां संजातमहाराजश्री[नर]-
 8 वर्मदेवसाम्ब(सांब)त्सरिके तीर्थाम्भोभिः स्नात्वा देवऋषिमनुष्यपितृस्तर्पयित्वा भगवन्तं [भ]वानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य स(श)मीकु[श]-
 तिला[त्र]ा-
 9 [ज्या]भुतिभिर्हिरण्यरेतसं हुत्वा भानवे अर्घ्यं विधाय कपिलां त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा नलिनीदलगत-
 10 जललवनरलतरं जीवितं धनं चावेक्ष्य । उक्तं च ।¹⁰वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्मधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्रा-
 11 [णास्नृणाग्र]जलवि(वि)न्दुसमा नराणां धर्मः सखा परम[हो] परलोकयाने ॥[३*] एवमाकलय्य अद्रिल[वि]द्धावरि¹¹[स्थ]ानवि-
 [निर्ग]तभ(भा)र-
 12 [द्वाजगोत्राय] भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्रसवा(बा)र्हस्पत्यत्रिःप्रवराय¹² आश्वलायनशाखिने दाक्षिणा[त्याय]¹³ कर्णाटव्रा(व्रा)ह्मणद्विवेद-
 [ठ]क्कुर-
 13 श्री[म]हिरस्वामिपौत्रश्रीविश्वरूपमुतावस्थिक¹⁴श्रीधनपालाय उपरिलिखितवडउद[ग्राम]उथवणकग्रामौ¹⁵ सवृ-
 14 क्षमालाकुलौ निधिक्षेपसहितौ वापीकूपतडागान्वितौ चतुष्कंकटविशुद्धौ चंद्रार्क यावदुदकपूर्वकतया शा-
 15 मनेन प्रदत्तौ । सम्ब(संब)त्सरशतद्वादशकेषु श्रावण शुदि पंचदश्यां सोमग्रहणपर्वणि श्रीमत्पितृभ्ये[]र्ष[] [पु]नरेवा-
 16 स्माभिः एतौ ग्रामौ उदकपूर्वकतया शासनेन प्रदत्तौ । तदनयोर्ग्राम[यो]र्निवासिसमस्तपट्टकिलादिलोकैस्तथा क-
 17 र्षकै[श्च] य[थो]त्पद्यमानकरहिरण्यभागभोगादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणवि[धेयैर्भू]त्वा सर्व्वममुष्मै समुपनेतव्यम् । सामा-
 18 [न्यं चै]तत्पुण्यफलं वु(वु)[द्ध्वा] अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभूपतिभिः धर्म्मादायोय[मनु*]मन्तव्यः पालनीयश्चेति । यतो व(व)हुभि-
 र्व्वमुधा भुक्ता
 19 राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[४*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा¹⁶ यो हरेत वसुंधराम् । षष्टिवर्ष[स]-
 20 हस्त्राणि विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जायते कृमिः ॥[५*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्र[रः] । सामान्योयं
 धर्म्मसे-

¹ The horizontal middle bar of स् in स्त is not clearly visible.

² This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Moreover, here, and in some cases below which are not pointed out separately, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

³ Colebrooke read राजशासन ; and the correction is due to Kielhorn.

⁴ Kielhorn read the second letter of the name as रा, putting it in brackets. But the photograph with me clearly shows that the consonant is व् and not र्. ॥

⁵ The *danda* is superfluous and the insertion of तथा with the dual in ग्रामयोः is grammatically wrong.

⁶ The reading of the consonant put in brackets is doubtful, as observed by Kielhorn also.

⁷ The *danda* is superfluous.

⁸ The first two letters of the name are completely blurred in the photograph.

⁹ This and the preceding seven letters have not clearly come out in the photograph, and on the plate too they appear to be so indistinct that Kielhorn had to observe that "Coolbrooke read these very indistinct consonants as *dy* ; and similarly, Mr. Wilkinson, in the *Journ. Bengal. As. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 737, l. 15, has *samit-kuśa-til-ānn-ādy-āhutibhir*. Mr. Fleet, *ante*, Vol. XVI, p. 254, l. 14, read—*til-ānnāshṭāhutibhir*."—The initial portion of the following four lines too is equally blurred but it can all be made out from the context.

¹⁰ As we find in some other grants of the house, this verse is put by way of a parenthesis and the sentence is continued with एवमाकलय्य in l. 11.

¹¹ Colebrooke has अद्रेलवद्धावरी, and Kielhorn read it अ[द्र]ले[वि?]द्धावरी. But the second *akshara* has a faint curve above to show that it may be द्वि; and the *mātrā* of the fourth letter is equally faint. But it is short (and not long, as Kielhorn took it).

¹² Kielhorn suggested that the last letter, य, should be read as या, observing *sandhi* with the following आ. But it is not necessary as the *sandhi* is not compulsory here, according to the observation वाक्येऽथ सा विवक्षा-मपेक्षते. On the other hand, the fourth letter, i.e. ज, combined with the following आ, is to be read as जा, and the sign of *visarga* after त्रि has to be dropped.

¹³ Kielhorn read here दक्षिणा[यात ?]. But a faint trace of the medial ā after the consonant द् and the traces of the last two syllables are there to confirm my reading.

¹⁴ Read अवस्थिक, as suggested by Colebrooke and adopted by Kielhorn.

¹⁵ Read ग्रामोथवणकग्रामौ or better, वडउदोथवणकग्रामौ.

¹⁶ Read परदत्तां वा.

BHOPĀL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀKUMĀRA LAKSHMIVARMAN

(Undated)

THIS inscription, which is engraved on three of the four faces of a stone pillar, was discovered by Dr. S. L. Katare, in February 1957, at **Bhopāl**, the capital of the former State of that name in Central India and now the chief city of the State of Madhya Pradesh. The same scholar also edited the record in the *Journal* of the Madhya Pradesh Historical Association, in its Volume Number 2 (for 1960), pages 3-8, with an illustration of the facsimile. The Plate published with the article, however, is very small and not to scale, and it does not show the impression very clearly. In view of the fact that the inscription throws welcome light on the history of the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* period, I requested the Superintending Archaeologist of the Central Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, at Bhopāl, to kindly prepare fresh impressions of the inscription and supply the same to me, which he readily did. From the same impressions the inscription is edited here, with my thankfulness to the Superintending Archaeologist.

The pillar on which this record is incised is square in shape and is about 1·73 metres high. It is at present lying in the compound of a building which till very recently housed the office of the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madhya Pradesh and the General Administration Department at Bhopāl. The original find-spot of the pillar is not known ; it could not, however, have been brought from a place far away from Bhopāl. Fragments of some sculptures are also to be seen lying near about the pillar ; and viewing them all, I feel the same as Dr. Katare writes that some of them may have existed in a Museum at Bhopāl about 30-35 years before.

The inscription, as stated above, is on three sides of the pillar and the fourth side is occupied by crude representations of Śiva-*linga* and Nandin, clearly indicating it to be a memorial pillar. As regards the inscription, it consists of fifteen lines — five lines on each of the three faces, covering a space of 29 by 15 cms., 26 by 14 cms. and 27 by 15 cms., respectively. The **writing** has suffered a good deal by exposure to weather and vandalism, as it would also appear. The first and the second sides are somewhat better preserved but the *aksharas* in the last four lines have now become altogether illegible. Besides this, the technical execution of the record also shows slovenliness here and there, so much so that even perseverance fails to make out some of the *aksharas*, or at least to make out any sense from them, as will be known from the text that follows.

The **size** of the letters varies from 1·5 to 2 cms. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. The initial *a* has assumed its modern form, as in *Ajayapāla*, l. 5 ; *j* is in a transitional stage, its old form being noticed in *virājamāna*, l. 2, and the advanced form, which does not differ from that of the modern, in *jaya*, l. 1 ; *ch* shows a triangular loop, cf. *Drōṇāchārya*, l. 4 ; the left limb of *dh* is horned, see *dhalā*-, l. 14 ; and *r*, which is engraved as a vertical with a wedge attached to its middle on the left and in some other instances in its advanced form so as to be a precursor of the modern, as in *parikriyā-virājamāna*, l. 2. It occasionally also shows a *ch*-like loop, see *-riyaṁ = Rāma*-, l. 11. Thus on palaeographical grounds the record may be assigned to the twelfth century A.C.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is entirely in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may point out that (1) the sign for *v* is employed throughout to denote *b*, e.g. in *saṁdatya*, l. 8 ; (2) only in one instance, viz., *yuddhēsu = ari*, l. 10, the dental sibilant is employed for the lingual ; (3) a consonant following *r* is generally doubled, see *Tējōvarmmadēva*, l. 7 ; and lastly, (4) the *prishṭha-mātrā* is engraved to denote the medial *ē* and one of the components of the medial *ō*, as in the same instance.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* **Lakshmīvarmadēva**, who had obtained the privilege of the *pañchamahāśabdas* and who enjoyed a high position (ll. 2-3), and thus he is obviously the same as the homonymous king, a son of Yaśovarman and a brother of Jayavarman, as we have seen while editing the preceding inscription. The **object** of the inscription is to record that a feudatory of Lakshmīvarman, named **Vijayasimha**, gained

victory over an enemy in a battle. The record bears **no date**, but from the palaeography of the writing and particularly from the mention of Lakshmīvarman's name, we have no hesitation in assigning it to the middle of the twelfth century A.C. *i.e.* between 1141 and 1157 A.C., the first being the year of Lakshmīvarman's Ujjain grant and the second being that of his son's Bhopāl grant which we shall deal with immediately below.

Commencing with the auspicious symbol for *ōm* and expressions meaning 'hail, victory and prosperity', the inscription introduces the name of Lakshmīvarman, as we have seen, and just after, it mentions a subordinate ruling house of the name of **Adhīrōṇāchārya**, to which belonged *mahārāja-putra* **Ajayapāla**, his son *mahārāja-putra* **Pīthana**. The latter's son was *mahārāja-putra* **Tējōvarmā**, whose younger nephew was **Vijayasīmha**, (ll. 5-8). The inscription proceeds to state that Vijayasīmha, joined with the Rāshtrakūṭa **Vaddiga**, vanquished the enemy in battles fought near the village of **Rālā** in a *maṇḍala*, the name of which cannot be deciphered as the letters are mutilated (ll. 8-11). This account is followed by the statement that the inscription was composed by Vijayasīmha, the son of Rāma (ll. 11-12), whose name incidentally happens to be the same as of the feudatory of Lakshmīvarman who vanquished the enemy. In the lines that follow (12-15) the inscription adds something more; but this portion is too mutilated to make out any intelligible sense.

Not even a single of the chiefs belonging to the feudatory house mentioned in the present record is so far known; and this precludes the possibility of their identification. It is equally difficult to identify the Rāshtrakūṭa Vaddiga who is stated in it to have made an alliance with Vijayasīmha in destroying the enemies. Dr. Katare has drawn our attention to five *satī* memorial pillar inscriptions at Pipriā in the Damoh District of Madhya Pradesh, two of which are dated in V.S. 1198 or 1141 A.C. and record a battle between the Rāshtrakūṭa *mahā-maṇḍalika* **Rāṇaka** Jayasīmha against a certain prince called *Hēmasīmha*. These records are no doubt contemporaneous, but whether or not the Rāshtrakūṭa Vaddiga of the present inscription was in any way connected with the *mahā-maṇḍalika* **Rāṇaka** Rāshtrakūṭa Jayasīmha is not so far known.

It is as well impossible, under the present state of our knowledge, to identify the enemy who is stated in the present record to have been vanquished by Lakshmīvarman's feudatory Vijayasīmha with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭa Vaddiga. Can he be the same as Ballāla who is known to have ruled over Avantī, Mālava and Dhār² shortly after Jayavarman who succeeded in getting his release from the Chaulukya prison and again occupied the throne of Mālava? The details of how Ballāla captured this region are not definitely known,³ but we know that he was killed by the Paramāra Yaśōdhavala of Chandrāvātī at the instance of Jayasīmha's successor Kumārapāla (1145-1172 A.C.), who, in his Vaṇnagar *praśasti* of V.S. 1208 or 1151 A.C., claims to have suspended his head at his gates.⁴ The statement of Udayavarman's grant⁵ that Lakshmīvarman became king by the strength of his arms (*nija-kara - kṛita-karavāla - prasād - āvāpta - nijā-dhipatyah*) would seem to support the conjecture that he too may have participated in defeating Ballāla, as his feudatory Vijayasīmha did (if we accept the enemy to be Ballāla), or as the Paramāra Yaśōdhavada did: but we have nothing in support of this hypothesis, and the identity of the enemy vanquished by Vijayasīmha remains to be a mystery. It is, however, certain, as the present inscription tells us, that Lakshmīvarman had some feudatories in the Bhopāl region where the pillar inscribed with the present record was found, though we have nothing definite to show that he had any sway over the region around Dhār.

As to the **geographical** names occurring in the inscription, the village of **Rālā** I am unable to identify, as there is no definite clue in this respect. It may, however, be stated here that

¹ Dr. Katare holds that Vijayasīmha was not only an ally of Vaddiga but was also matrimonially connected with him. In this respect and with reference of Vijayasīmha's relationship with his predecessor, see notes 8 and 9 appended to the text below.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 202. Katare seems to be justified in not agreeing with those who maintain that Ballāla was set up on the throne of Mālava by the Western Chālukya Jagadēkamalla II. For though the latter claims a victory over Mālava in a number of inscriptions (*e.g.* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 254 and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 123), it is nowhere stated that he set up Ballāla on that throne.

³ As above.

⁴ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 216 and *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 302 respectively. Also see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 990, 886, 914 ff. and 887.

⁵ Below, No. 46, 1. 5.

it may likely have been the modern Rālēgaon which is situated about 40 kms. due east of Yeotmāl, the headquarters of a district and the provenance of the inscription of Śaka 1034 or 1112 A.C. and of the time of Lakshmīvarman's brother Jagaddēva.¹ The place is almost double of this distance due north-west of Chāndā (Chāhuṇḍa), the capital town of Jagaddēva. In passing it may be noted here that Rālā is mentioned as a *maṇḍala* in a fragmentary stone inscription found by F. E. Hall at Bhilsā (modern Vidishā).² The name of the *maṇḍala* mentioned in l. 14 is lost and hence we are unable to identify it.

TEXT³

First Side

- 1 ओम्⁴ स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीर्जयो अभ्युदयश्च⁵ ॥ श्रीपरम[र]-
- 2 रान्वये ममस्तपरिक्रियाविराजमान ॥⁶
- 3 महाकुमारश्रील[स्मी (क्ष्मी)]वर्मदेवप्र[खा ?]ता⁷
- 4 [श्रीअधि ?]द्रोणाचार्यान्वये महाराजपु-
- 5 वश्रीअजयपालदेव[पुत्र]महाराय(ज)पुत्र-

Second Side

- 6 श्रीपीथनदेवस्तत्पुत्रमहाराजपुत्रश्री-
- 7 तेजोवर्मदेवम(स्)तत्कनिष्ठभ्रातृ[व्य]⁸-
- 8 श्रीविजयमिहेन संहत्य च मंदत्य⁹ ॥
- 9 राष्ट्रकूटान्वये राजपुत्रश्रीवट्टिगे-
- 10 न मह संजातयुद्धेस्व(प्व)ग्विजयं(यः) क(कु)-

Third Side

- 11 तमिति(त इति ॥) कृतिरियं [रा]मपुत्र[श्री]विज-
- 12 यमिहस्य ॥ तदन्वयः रा¹⁰(?) ॥ पाल्हेक[रा]-
- 13 वाल्हेक रा । -त----।----- ॥
- 14 क-धला वा ---- मंडले¹¹ रालायाम-
- 15 :-क्कां प्र[क्षि]प्यत स तेन प्राप्त[:*] ॥¹²

¹ Above, No. 28.

² J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXI, p. 111.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The sign of the superscript on ज is faintly visible. The whole expression to be amended to -जयोभ्यु-.

⁶ The sign of punctuation is superfluous; and the word has to be amended to प्रक्रिया, meaning 'the bearing of royal insignia'.

⁷ The last but one letter in this line is not well engraved and also mutilated. It does not give any intelligible sense. Possibly the whole word has to be read as प्रख्यातः as suggested by Katare, or प्र[मा*]दात्.

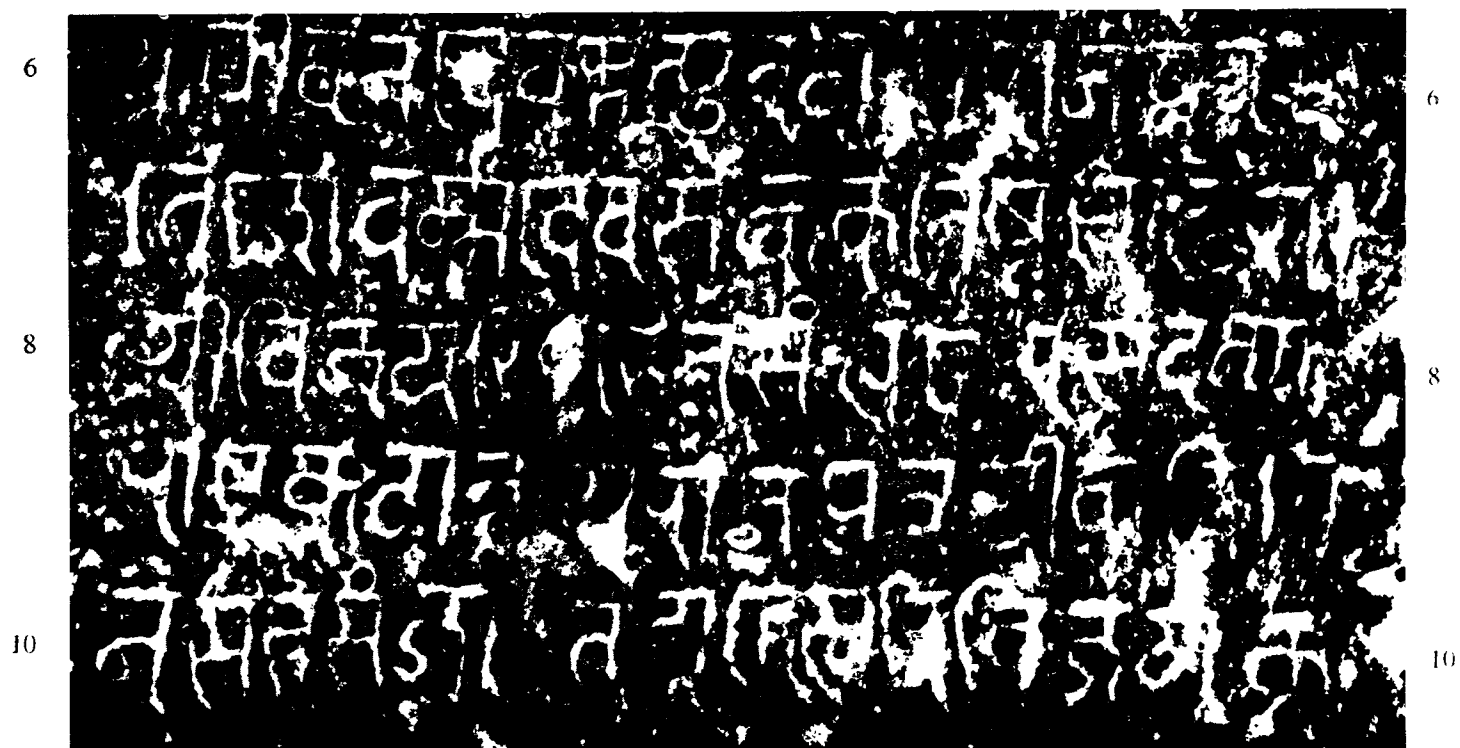
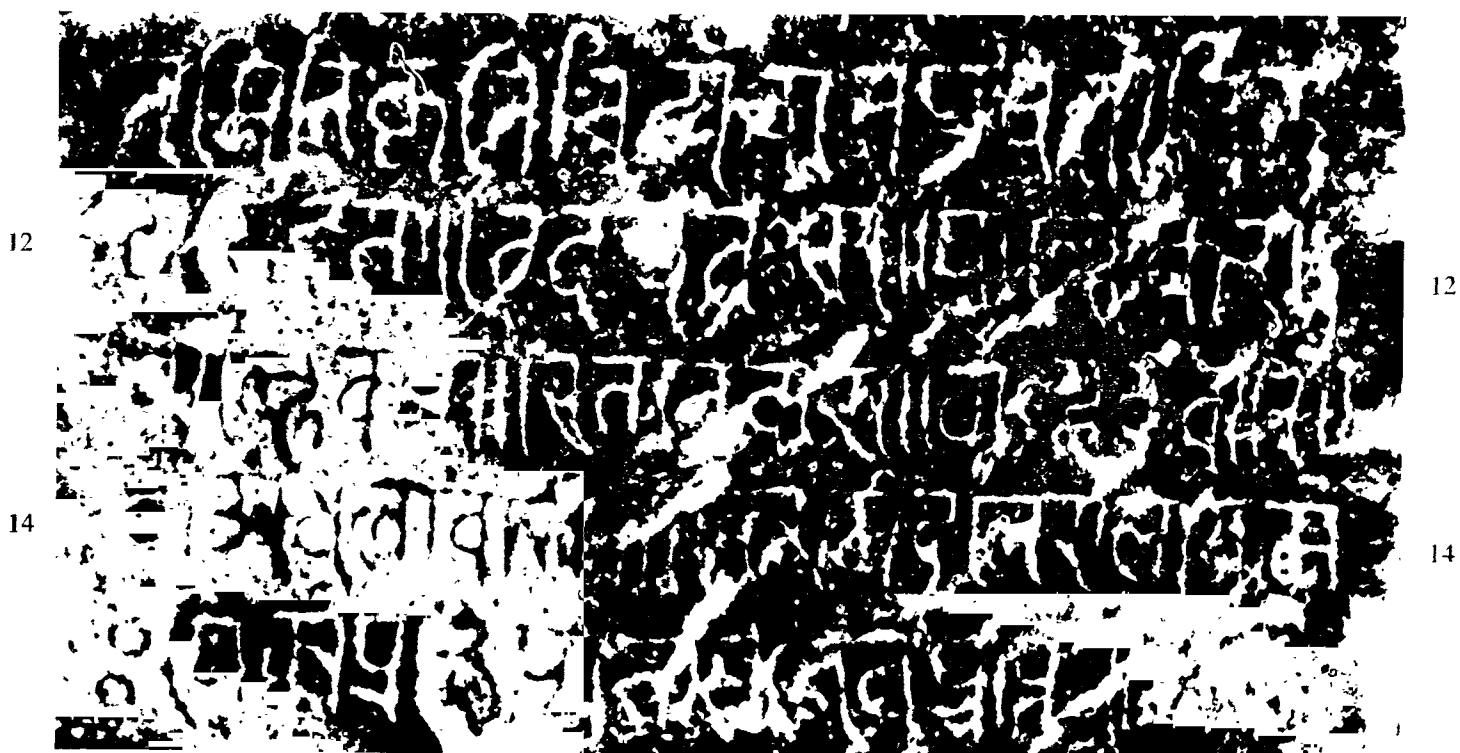
⁸ This is as read by Katare. It is also possible that the whole word may have been भ्रातृज, as traces indicate. The letter त before कनिष्ठ is engraved as त्क.

⁹ The punctuation mark is superfluous. Moreover, the intended sense is unintelligible to me. Katare reads संव(व)ध्य in the sense of matrimonially connected, but the second letter is clearly द and not व, and the use of च between the two words to be connected presents a difficulty here if we agree with him.

¹⁰ This appears to be a contraction of राणक.

¹¹ The *aksharas* giving the name of the *maṇḍala* are mutilated beyond recognition.

¹² As stated above, the fragmentary state of the inscription does not enable us to have any sense out of the last four lines. It is also surprising that the poet's name is mentioned before this portion and not in the end, as is usually the case.

BHOPĀL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
MAHĀKUMĀRA LAKSHMĪVARMAN: (UNDATED)*i**ii*

Scale : One-half

No. 42 ; PLATE XLIII

VIDISHĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1216

THIS inscription is incised on a rectangular stone slab which is now set up above the door-part of a house in front of the Jaina temple at **Vidishā**, the principal town of a district in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was discovered very recently, in 1969, and its existence was intimated to me by Shri B. C. Jain, Dy. Director of Archaeology and Museums in the State. The record, which has not been noticed so far, is edited here for the first time from an excellent set of impressions kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscription is fragmentary. It is complete on both the vertical sides and also at the bottom where the last line contains the expressions *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ*, usually indicating the completion of a record ; but we have no means to know as to how many lines have been broken away and lost at the top, though this portion appears to have been not small as the inscription is a *praśasti*, as stated in itself in the last line. The existing portion of the writing measures 126·5 cms. broad by 19 cms. high and consists of nine lines, the last of which is complete and measures 42 cms. in length. The letters in the first two lines of the now existing portion too are completely or partially peeled off, and ll. 3-4, which are complete on both the sides, as stated above, have lost a portion of the stone in the middle, which is calculated to cover about 15 *aksharas* in each. Besides this, about one-fourth at the end of ll. 6 and 7 and almost one-third in l. 8 are completely obliterated. But even with all this loss, the record is of great importance, as we shall see below. The height of the individual letters is about 1·5 cms. including the signs of the *mātrās* above. The record is engraved with all due care.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the form of the short *i* used in *iva* in ll. 3 and 6 : it consists of two hollow squares placed below the other two so as to form a square and the first of the lower ones showing a tail below and the second a hook above ; *k*, as we find in some other records also, as the first member of a conjunct consonant or with a *mātrā* attached to it below, often loses its loop : cf. *kshamā-* and *kuṭila*, both in l. 6 ; *ṇ* has not developed the dot and its end is not curved up, e.g., in *maṅgala-*, last line ; the slightly different forms of *dh* and *bh* may be seen respectively in *vidhu-* and *-vaṁdhura-*, both in l. 7, and *bhaya* and *bhrashṭa*, both in l. 3 ; the letter *r*, which has assumed its modern Nāgarī form, as in *kīra-*, l. 5, is engraved in its wedged form also, as in *taru-* in the same line, and the *ch*-like form of this letter can be seen in *grāma-*, l. 6, indicating that it was in a transitional stage at the time. And lastly, the conjunct *ṇṇ* is formed so as to resemble *ll* in *utkīrṇṇā*, l. 8.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and excepting a sentence recording the donation in l. 8 and the portion mentioning the date in the end, the existing portion is all in verse, showing 15 stanzas composed in different metres in the classical style and justifying the poet's own statement about his composition in v. 14.¹ The immediate **object** of the inscription appears to be to record the construction of a temple of Murāri, probably by king Trailōkyavarman himself or by one of his subordinates, and making some donations to it by him. The date of the record, as given in figures only in the end, is the **twelfth tithi of the dark half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) era 1226**. The date cannot be verified. Its equivalents are :

Chaitra *vadi* 12, V. 1216 :

For Northern Vikrama, *current*,

Pūrṇimānta, Thursday, 27th February, 1158 A.C.

Amānta, Saturday, 29th March, 1158 A.C.

¹ For the sake of convenience, the existing portion is taken here into account for marking the lines and numbering its verses.

For Northern Vikrama, *expired*.

Pūrṇimānta, Wednesday, 18th March, 1159 A.C.

Amānta, Friday, 17th April, 1159 A.C.

For Southern Vikrama, *expired*,

Pūrṇimānta, 6th March, 1160 A.C.

Amānta, 5th April, 1160 A.C.

The writing shows the usual **orthographical peculiarities**, e.g. (1) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant as in *prasasti*- but not in *śuchi*-, both in l. 8 ; (2) throughout putting the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vandhu-savandhu*-, l. 3, and *sh* for *kh* in *-shaṇḍa*-, l. 5 ; (3) doubling a consonant following *r*, as in *sarvva*-, l. 2 ; (4) the wrong use of the consonant *m* for the *anusvāra*, as in *kāntam* = *varāha*, l. 3 and *samvat*, l. 9 ; and finally, endowing some of the *daṇḍas* (punctuation marks) with top-strokes, e.g. in l. 8, as in No. 33, above.

Of the fragment of the stone now available, a portion has peeled off and the first of the verses is completely lost, but from the space calculated to be occupied by it, it appears to be in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The first half of the second stanza, which too was in the same metre, is again lost, but the second half shows a king as we know from the word *bhūpati* occurring therein ; apparently he is no other than **Trailōkyavarman** who is mentioned below. The third stanza, of which only the last foot is preserved, appears to eulogise a person, apparently the king, in a general way. The following three stanzas (4-6) inform us that he (probably the king himself) constructed a temple of Murāri in the boar-incarnation, a temple which was very high and as lustrous as the moon (*kumuda-bandhu*), and also installed in it images of some other deities with their respective weapons. The place where the temple was constructed is not mentioned in this stanza or the name of the place may have been lost in it : but evidently it was the town of Vidishā itself, as we know from the mention of the river Vētravatī occurring in the next stanza, and more so when we take into account that such a massive stone could not have been brought from a far off place.¹ The seventh stanza again refers to the same person who was the constructor of the temple and states that he endowed it with a garden ;² and the following three stanzas contain a poetic description of the temple. Verse 11, which is only partially preserved, appears to eulogise the constructor of the temple in a conventional way ; and the next verse expresses the wish that the temple may last so long as the kaustubha gem adorns Hari's breast and Śiva's forehead bears the moon.

The thirteenth stanza (in l. 7) mentions the king Trailōkyavarman, without giving his genealogy, and the following portion which is in prose states that he imposed the tax of a *viṃśōpaka*³ on every load on a bull, evidently in favour of the temple. The stanza that follows speaks about the high quality of the composition (as we have referred to in the beginning). The name of the composer of the *praśasti*, which was given in verse 15, is unfortunately lost, though the remaining portion states that it was engraved by Vāsudēva. Then follows the date, as already seen above, and, with the words denoting 'auspiciousness, good luck and great fortune', the epigraph comes to an end.

The important information that we glean from the present inscription is the name of Trailōkyavarman who is stated in it to have laid a tax of one *viṃśōpaka* on every load on a bull. He is called in it a king, but neither his genealogy nor his family is mentioned here. His identity however, can be established with the help of the immediately following record found at Gyāraspur which is situated in the same region and is only 32 kms. due north-east⁴ of Vidishā where the present inscription was found. The provenance of both these records in the same region thus goes to confirm the identity of the prince of the present record with the homonymous prince of the Gyāraspur inscription. Here we have also to take into account that the *Mahākumāra*

¹ For the remains of a temple or temples at that place, see *A.S.I.R.*, 1913-14, Pt. I, p. 19, and Pt. II, pp. 37 and 41. For the other antiquities at the place, see my *Bibliography of M.B. Archaeology* Pt. I, pp. 4-5.

² Whether the garden was separate or one around the temple and there was a separate temple of Kāmadēva (*vidhu-bandhu*) cannot be ascertained from the construction and the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

³ *Viṃśōpaka* was equivalent to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. This donation appears to be in addition to a village, the name of which is lost in v. 13. The term *uttara-paṭṭaka* (and not *pāṭaka*) appears to be rather unusual ; and if for the sake of metrical exigence the word *paṭṭakē* is used in the sense of *paṭakē* or *paṭē*, it denotes a camp or encampment and may perhaps signify the king's march against his enemy or enemies in the north.

⁴ This distance is 40 kms. by road.

Hariśchandra, the son of Lakshmīvarman, is known to have issued a grant from the same place vidishā, only a couple of years earlier in the (Vikrama) year 1214:¹ and in view of all these findings the only conclusion that can be drawn is that Trailōkyavarman of the present inscription undoubtedly belonged to that branch of the Paramāras who called themselves *Mahākumāras* in their inscriptions and the earliest of whom is known to be Lakshmīvarman.² This again goes to support the view that Trailōkyavarman appears to have acted as a regent during the minority of his nephew Hariśchandra, and as such, he also enjoyed the titles connected with the princes of the *Mahākumāra* line and had full powers of a chief.³ This finds strange corroboration in the fact that in his Bhopāl grant Hariśchandra states that he obtained his rulership through the favour of the *Mahākumāra* Trailōkyavarman.⁴

This is the only dated record of Trailōkyavarman; and from the fact that it was incised two years later than the grant of his nephew Hariśchandra, who clearly states in his Bhopāl copper-plate inscription that he obtained his throne through the favour of Trailōkyavarman, it is evident that this prince did not actually come to the throne but always led the life of a warrior, marching against his enemies and trying to extend his dominions.

As for the **geographical names**, **Vētravati** mentioned in v. 7, is the well known river Bētawā flowing by Vidishā; and **Uttara-paṭṭaka**, if it is a place-name, cannot be identified. The name of the village which this prince appears to have donated in favour of the temple, is lost in the latter half of the same verse.

TEXT⁵

[Metres⁶: Verses 1-2 (lost partially or wholly), 5-6, 8, 13 and 15 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3 and 9 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 7 *Sragdharā*; v. 10 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 11 and 14 *Śikhariṇī*; v. 12 *Rathōddhatā*].

- 1 ----- [॥१॥*]----- ये[ताभू]द्भूभुजा जातोलंकरण-
- 2 निर्मले U - ॥२॥* पादानज -----⁷ [वा]न्दुर्वारिणोचिः शुचि यं सर्व्वं युगपद् गुणा गुणनिधि प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठां ययुः
॥३॥* मूलं यशोविटपिनः फलमिन्दि-
- 3 राया मार्गान्दिवः प्रवहणं भवसागरस्य । सोचीकरत्कुमुदव(व)न्धुसव(व)न्धुकान्तिकान्तम्ब(तं व)राहवपुषः सदनं मु[रारेः*] ॥४॥*
UUUUUU - - U, UU भानुं [वि]शं(गन्) शसी(शी) । सृ(शृ)ङ्गसिंह⁸भयभ्रष्टसारङ्ग इव लय्यते ॥५॥ विविधायुधविन्यासवस
(श)जाताभिधाभिदाः । वि[श्व]मूर्तेरिमा मूर्त्तिः⁹ सो-
- 4 स्यान्तः प्रत्यतिष्ठपत् ॥६॥* सोलाक्षीद्वेत्तवत्यास्तभुवि विटपैर्व्व(र्व्व)न्धुरं चन्द्रवं(वं)धोरस्त्रा[भ्या]सैकवेम्म(श्म) द्रुमकुसुमरजो
- U - - U - U¹⁰ । [उ]द्यान[] फुल्लवल्लीपरिसरविवरल्लोलरोलव(व)मालासंकारोद्गारजातस्फुटविकटधनुःस्फारटंकारशंकम् ॥७॥*
पुष्पवन्तीमपि लतामपि [श्लि]-

¹ Below, No. 44.

² See his grant, above, No. 41.

³ See above, No. 40.

⁴ Below, No. 44.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ The verses are numbered here as they exist in the portion of the inscription now available.

⁷ All the letters from the beginning of the extant portion are either totally or partially lost and a line has been used here to denote the complete break of the stone and the dots to show that the letters are partially visible.

⁸ It is an architectural term denoting the figure of a lion carved on the upper part of a temple. The figure used here is *utprēkshā*, implying that the dark spot in the moon disappears, as if, the hare existing in it has slipped off because of the fright from the lion appearing (carved) on the temple. This is to indicate poetically the height of the temple.

⁹ The dictionary meaning of *Viśva-mūrti* is 'existing in all forms' or 'all-prevading', and it generally denotes the Sun, e.g. in Bhavabhūti's *Mālātīmādhava*, I, v. 3. But this deity in human form is always shown as holding lotus in both his hand, which cannot be applicable here for changing the *āyudhas*, as stated in the first half of the verse, and therefore the word here signifies Vishṇu, one of the forms of the Sun. For details see B. Bhattacharya: *Indian Images*, Pt. I, p. 19. In this sense the word is used also below, in No. 149, v. 1. The verse means to say that the king installed images of Vishṇu which were distinguished from each other by the way in which the *āyudhas* were found distributed among their four hands. See T. A. Gopinath Rao: *Indian Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. I (1914) pp. 227 ff.

¹⁰ The lacunae may be filled in by -रञ्जिताशान्तरालम्.

- 5 ष्टमधुव्रताम् । त(त्य)जन्ति मुनयो यत्र नीरागमनसोज्जटाः¹ ॥[८॥*] उन्निद्रकोरकभरस्खलितै रजोभिरापिजरामु तरुष(ख)ण्डतल-
स्थलीषु । विश्रान्त ?]णं व्रजनगीतमनूद्गिरन्ति कीरा यदीयमुपरीह यशस्तरुणाम् ॥[९॥*] वक्षः स्फारं स्फुरितरुचिना कौस्तुभे[ने]व
विष्णोश्चन्द्रेणे[व]
- 6 स्खलिततमसा [व्योम]³ सीमानभिज्ञम् । येनागाधं मर इव [ल]सत्पुण्डरीकेण सो(शो)भां लेभे विष्वग्विततयशसा गोत्रमुन्निद्रगोत्रम्
॥[१०॥*] अदप्यो(?) वेत्यर्थान्परिचरति मान्यानकुटिलः क्षमावामग्रामा⁴ जयति गुणवान्यो वितरति । U — — — — U तलपति
— — U U U U, U — — — —
- 7 दपरमपि नास्य व्यवहिनम् ॥[११॥*] कौस्तुभस्तव(व)कितं हरेरुरः शंकरस्य विधुवं(वं)धुरं शिरः । अस्ति यावदिह ताव[दस्त्व]⁵दः
कौलरूपरविभा U — सदः ॥[१२॥*] त्रैलोक्यवर्मनृपतिः स्थितमुत्तरपट्टके । U U U U U — — U, U U U U U — U, U ॥[१३॥*]
..... प्रति . . ल . .
- 8 भाण्डं प्रतिवृषभार[] विसो(शोपकमेककञ्च ददा⁶ ॥⁶ अलंकारस्फारां स्फुरितशुचिवृत्ताद् गुणवतीं प्रम(श)न्ति मत्क्रान्तामिव क इह
कण्ठे न कुरुते । असौ यस्यामार्यद्विजकुलमि(जि)रोगा U U U —, U — — — — U U U U U — — U U U U ॥[१४॥*] U U U U
न — — U, लिखिता [स्था ?] नकीर्त्तिदा⁷ [1*] उत्कीर्णा वासुदे[वे]—
- 9 न सूत्रधारेण धीमता ॥[१५॥*] सम्व(संव)[त्] १२१६ चैत्र वदि १२[1*] सिद्धेय(यम्) [1*] शिवमस्तु मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

No. 43 ; PLATE XLIV

GYĀRASPUR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAVARMAN

(Fragmentary)

T HIS inscription which is engraved on a stone pillar was found by A. Cunningham in his tour in Bundelkhand and Mālwa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and was noticed by him in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Volume X (for 1874-77), pp. 33 ff. and Plate XI. A brief account of the record was also subsequently given by the late M. B. Garde, in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeology Department of the former Gwalior State, for Samvat 1874 (1917 A.C.)³ but the report is unfortunately not available in print. Finally, the inscription was edited by K. G. Krishnan, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXXIII (for 1959-60), pages 93-94, with text in Roman characters, but without any facsimile. The record is edited here from the original stone which I personally examined in the Gwalior Museum and from an impression supplied by Dr. S. L. Katare.

The pillar with the inscription on it is plain : and it is stated that Cunningham found it built into a platform near a monument locally known as the *Hiṇḍolā Tōraṇa*, at **Gyāraspur**, now in the *Bāsōdā parganā* of the Vidishā District of Madhya Pradesh.⁴ It has no connection, whatsoever, with the platform : and the exact spot where it was originally erected is not known : but it is obvious that it could not have been brought from a distant place. The original height of the pillar cannot be known as its upper part is now lost. The extant portion, which too is irregularly broken, measures 48 cms. high and is 56 cms. broad at the bottom, showing two

¹ The correct word is पुष्पवती as in *pushpavatī* = *api pavitrāṇi* in the *Kādambarī*. This verse has the figure *virōdhābhāsa* by the double meanings of *pushpavatī* and *madhuvratā*.

² The reading is certain but it gives no meaning. If *vidrāvāṇaṇi* is intended, it gives the sense of 'a song of his march for conquest which would put (his enemies) to flight'.

³ The first of the letters in the brackets is deformed and the second appears as *ga* in the impression.

⁴ The second *akshara* in this *pāda* is not clear. Before *sa* there is a horizontal short stroke and it is not known if it is intended for *n*. The meaning is not clear.

⁵ Both these *aksharas*, along with the last two in this verse, are damaged, and their restoration is conjectural.

⁶ The *danḍas* are adorned with top-strokes and placed near the *mātrā* of *dau*.

⁷ Portions of this and the preceding verse are obliterated ; they are all lost on the stone, only leaving the marks of their existence before. The reading of the letter in the brackets is not certain. The upper curves of the *mātrās* of *kīrtti* do not appear to have been engraved.

⁸ This reference is from *Gwālior Rājya kī Abhilēkha* (Hindi) by Pt. Harihar Nivas Dvivedi, p. 3, No. 11, where he mentions three inscriptions on the pillar.

⁹ Gyāraspur is a place of archaeological interest and is about forty kilometres north-east of Vidishā, on a
(Footnote continued on next page)

VIDIṢHĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1216

Left side

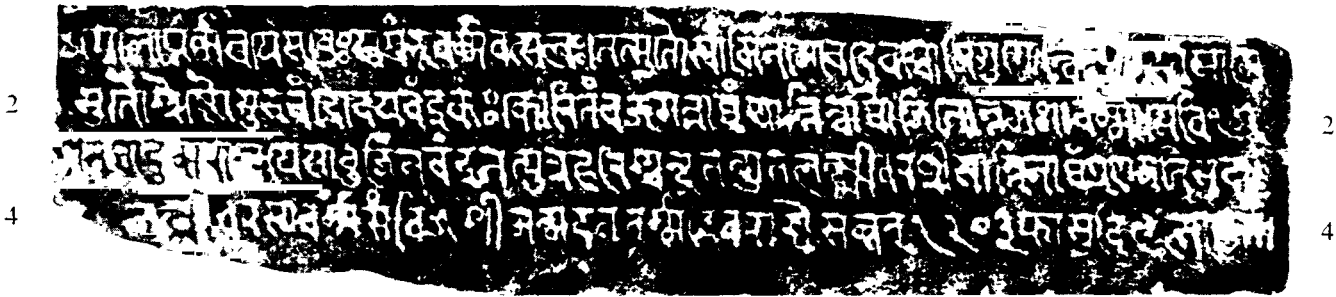
[illegible]

Right side

॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पुस्तके अष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥

Scale: One-fifth

GYĀRASPUṢ STONE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAṆ :
(UNDATED)



Scale: Two-fifths

records inscribed on it in a sunken panel, the upper one of which is fragmentary and is dated (V.) year 936 : and below it is inscribed the present record, consisting of four lines of writing, covering a space measuring 42 cms. broad by 8.5 cms. high. The letters are carefully formed and deeply engraved : their average size is between 1.2 and 1.5 cms. A portion on the proper left side of the stone has crumbled away from top to bottom, causing the entire loss of three or four *aksharas* at the end of each of the lines : but with the exception of one instance in l. 2 where the figures for the year are presumed to have been put, the lacunae can be restored from the context. With these exceptions, the writing is fairly preserved.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. The left portion of the initial *a* shows a curve, as in *adya*, l. 1, and *j* is in its transitional stage, with its vertical line straight, as in *jaya*, l. 1, but also with the vertical curved, as in *varja*, l. 4. *Th* in *sthita*, l. 1, shows only one loop, probably by the engraver's mistake. *R* also is in a transitional stage, engraved with a wedge in *mahā-kumāra*, l. 2, with a triangular loop in *kārita*, l. 3, and in its advanced form in *vrājamāna*, l. 2. The subscript form of this letter appears as a serif in *vrāhmaṇa*, l. 4. The palatal *ś* almost resembles the modern *n* : see *śrī* appearing twice in l. 1. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit : it is in prose : and its date is lost in l. 2. What is preserved is only *navamyām*, the ninth day. As regards **orthography**, *v* is written for *b* in *brāhmaṇa*, l. 4, and *varma* as *vamma*, in l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the consecration of an image of the god Chāmuṇḍasvāmidēva and records the grant of a village, the name of which is lost in l. 3, excluding the lands already in the enjoyment of gods and the Brāhmaṇas there, to provide for the worship of the deity. The grant was made, as seen above, **on the ninth day of a month**, the name of which is lost along with the figures showing the year, at the end of l. 2, by the Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarma-dēva, who is mentioned as *samasta-prakriyā-virājamāna* and also bearing all the royal titles. The pedigree of this prince and the name of the house to which he belonged are not specified in the record : but from the title of Mahākumāra attached to his name in it, he is evidently to be considered a member of the subordinate branch of the **Paramāra** house ruling over the region around Bhopāl and may be identified with the homonymous prince mentioned in the Bhopāl charter of the Paramāra Mahākumāra Hariśchandra-dēva, who is stated to have achieved his victory and kingship through this prince (*-prasād-āvāpta-vijay-ādhipatyah*).² But the parentage and exact place of this ruler are not known from any of the records. And in this respect we have to agree with N. P. Chakravarti who held that "Trailōkyavarman could only be another son or brother of Lakshmīvarman, probably the latter, and acted as the regent during his (*i.e.* Hariśchandra's) minority." Hariśchandra is known from two inscriptions that he issued in (V.) S. 1214 (1157 A.C.) and (V.) S. 1235 (1178 A.C.) : and the only known grant of his son Udayavarman bears the date (V.) S. 1256 or 1199 A.C. : and this shows that the former of these rulers appears to have enjoyed a long reign, the exact period of which cannot be determined. In view of this consideration, it does not appear to be impossible that Hariśchandra was very young when he succeeded his father Lakshmīvarman, as also pointed out by Chakravarti. Moreover, we may also hold with the same scholar that during Hariśchandra's minority, his uncle, Trailōkyavarman, acted as a regent, and as such, he also enjoyed the titles connected with the princes of this line and wielded the full power of a chief who could also issue a grant.³

The view held above, however, seems to be probable but not conclusive for want of any evidence in its support. For, as against this, it may be pointed out that the use of the expression *Harshapura-sthitēna*, with *iha* and *grām* = *ōyam* goes to indicate that Trailōkyavarman had his permanent stay at Harshapura which was, in other words to say, his capital ; and this place appears to be the same as Harsūd, the chief town of a *parganā* in the present East Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh : it is about 80 miles or about 130 kilometres south-west of Gyāraspur. And from his visit to Gyāraspur, as the next record probably implies, it may be

(Contd. from the preceding page) :

metalled road running from Vidishā to Sāgar. The antiquities of this place are described in Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. of India Reports*, Vol. VII (for 1874-75 and 1876-77), p. 90, and *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 31. Also see *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., for 1913-14, p. 60, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 349.

¹ For the restoration of this portion, see text, *n*.

² See No. 44 below, text, ll. 5-6.

³ *Ibid.* Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 228.

conjectured that Trailōkyavarman was then leading an expedition against the Chandēllas in the north, who had some time before annexed the region in the neighbourhood of this place, from the Paramāras, as evinced from the Augasī grant of the Chandēlla Madanavarman, issued from his residence at *Bhullasvānipura*, i.e., modern Bhilsā, or Vidishā.¹ And in view of all this, it is equally possible to assume that Trailōkyavarman, though his exact relationship in the house is not known, may have actually ruled as a *Mahākumāra* for some time before Hariśchandra, who was his successor. Thus the question whether Trailōkyavarman actually ruled or only acted as a regent during the minority of Hariśchandra, cannot be positively settled under the present state of our knowledge. The first of these alternatives, however, seems to be more probable, as we have seen in the preceding inscription also.

There is only one **place-name**, *viz.*, **Harshapura**, mentioned in the existing portion of the inscription. This may have been, as seen above, the town of Harsūd, the chief town of a *parganā* in the East Nēmād District, which also gave us another stone inscription, the one of the Paramāra Dēvapāla, which is edited below, No. 50. But besides similarity in the names, there is nothing to verify this suggestion. For we also know one Harsōlā in the Ahmedabad District (see above, No. 1), another about 20 kms. north by east of Dhār, and still another, about 25 kms. South-east of Indore.

TEXT²

- 1 मिद्धम्³ [1*] स्वस्ति ॥ श्री[र्*]जयोभ्युदयञ्च ॥ अद्येह श्रीह[र्*][प]पुरस्थितेन समस्तराजा[व]⁴
- 2 तममस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमानमहकुमारश्रीवैलोक्यवर्मदेवेन ⁵
- 3 नवम्यां श्रीचामुण्डस्वामिदेवकारितप्रतिष्ठायां⁶ पूजानिमित्ते
- 4 [अष्टां]म⁷(श)महिनं देवत्रा(त्रा)ह्यणभुक्तिवर्ज⁸ ग्रामोयं श्रीचामुण्डस्वामि[ने] ⁹

No. 44 ; PLATE XLV

BHOPĀL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA HARIŚCHANDRA

[Vikrama] Year 1214

T HIS inscription is engraved on **two copper-plates** which are said to have been found, some time in the opening years of the present century, by Diwan Seth Brijmohan Das, a leading banker, in course of digging the foundation of his house in Chowk Bazar, **Bhopāl**. The plates were unearthed at a depth of about 20 feet and laid one above the other and nailed to the ground.¹⁰ The inscription was noticed in an issue of the *Hindustan Times*, dated 31st January, 1937, by M. Hamid, who was then the Superintendent of Archaeology, (old) Bhopāl State, and from a set of photographs sent by him, it was systematically edited by the late Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then the Government Epigraphist in the Archaeological Survey of India, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXIV, pages 225 ff., with text in Roman characters

¹ See No. 118, below.

² From the original stone and inked impressions supplied by Dr. Katare.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Originally *dhi*, later on changed to *va*. Restore the last portion as —लीसहि—.

⁵ The year and the month are lost here.

⁶ The language here is faulty though the sense is clear (K.G.K.).

⁷ K.G.K. read *bhōgyāya*, but the first *akshara* which begins with a curve is *a* (misformed), and in view of this the second *akshara* has to be read as *shāṁsa* (śa), meaning the eighth part (of the revenue?). The reading of these *aksharas* is due to Dr. Katare.

⁸ The *anusvāra* is clear on the stone but being lightly engraved it could not come in the impression.

⁹ Perhaps the lost portion has to be restored by a word like प्रदत्तः, सम्प्रदत्तः, or उपहृतः.

¹⁰ As often stated, Bhopāl was the capital of the former State of the same name and now that of the State of Madhya Pradesh. The preliminary information about the finding of the plates is all based on N. P. Chakravarti's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 232 ff.

(pp. 232-34), illustrating the same with photographic representations, facing p. 232. Unfortunately, we have no information about the original find-spot of the plates: and my attempts to search them out in the locality met no success.¹ The inscription is edited here from fac-similes accompanying Dr. Chakravarti's article referred to above.

As stated above, the set consists of two plates of copper, each measuring 29·85 cms. in length and 19·5 cms. in width, with a thickness of about ·6 cm. at the edges which are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surface. The weight of the first plate is 1·36 kgms. but the second weighs only 0·90 kgms. Each of the plates has two ring-holes, each about 1 cm. in diameter, bored through the margin with an intervening space of 8 cms. and disturbing the continuity of the writing in the last and the first line, respectively: evidently the holes are for passing two rings with which the plates were originally held together. But the rings are not forthcoming.

The plates are inscribed on the inner side only. The first plate contains 21 lines of writing and the second 20. In the middle of lines 29 to 35 (of the second plate) is engraved the figure of a **Garuḍa**, in human form, kneeling and facing proper left, in a square, each of its sides measuring 6 cms. In the first 5 or 6 lines the letters are of an average **size** of ·8 cm., but thereafter they are slightly reduced in size till the last line, which measures about three-fourth of the others, again shows its letters which are almost double in size of the letters in those in the initial lines, and is wholly occupied with the **sign-manual** of the king, with the *akshara* 'śrīh' in the end.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the twelfth century and the letters bear a close resemblance to those of the Ujjain grant of Jayavarman.² The technical execution is fairly good, though the second plate is not so carefully engraved as the first. The engraving of some of the concluding lines, however, betrays slovenliness on the part of the writer and the engraver. To note the **palaeographical** features of the inscription, we find that the initial *a* shows transitional forms, one of which is to be seen in *āvasthika*, where the letter begins with a vertical stroke, and the other in *Adavāha*, beginning with a curve, both in l. 20: initial *i* is represented by an arrow-head with a parallel stroke below, as in *Bhāṭila*, l. 9: and initial *ē* almost resembles *pa*, see *aindavīm*, l. 1, and *pada*, l. 26. Of the consonants, it is somewhat difficult to distinguish between *ch* and *v*: for example, see *vivaśa*, l. 14, where the first letter is much like *v*, and *vachana*, l. 38, where the first two letters are almost similar. *Dh* has developed a horn on its left limb, as in *dharmma*, l. 36, and the verticals of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a horizontal stroke, as in *Dhāmadēva*, l. 21. Occasionally we find no distinction between *p* and *y*, e.g., in *saṁtarpya* and *darppita*, both in l. 21, occurring side by side. The letter *bh* is in its transitional stage: its older form, for example, is to be seen in *samudbhūta*, l. 38, but its form resembling *t* appears in *Bhavānī-pati*, l. 11, and in several other instances where the left limb is bent low so as to end in a fine tail, as in *vibhartti*, l. 1. The last two of these instances show both the letters appearing side by side. Incidentally we may also notice some instances of the engraver's carelessness. *P* in *parvvaṇi*, l. 10 and *pālanīyā*, l. 36, appears as *sh* by a redundant middle stroke which distinguishes the two letters. *I* in *varmma*, l. 4, is engraved so as to appear as *nr*: a redundant additional stroke of the chisel has made *m* in *svāmi*, l. 9, appear as *a*: in l. 10 the word *Vētravatī* is engraved as *tētravatī*: *ārāma* in l. 29 as *āpa*: and in *āsaptamaṁ*, l. 34, the second letter shows a combination of both the palatal and the dental sibilant. But such blemishes are few and do not go against our remarks above that the technical execution was done carefully.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit: and with the exception of two verses in the beginning, one in ll. 15-16 and six at the end (ll. 32-40), which are all customary, the record is in prose. The verses are not numbered.

Regarding **orthography**, we find the following: (1) the use of *v* to denote *b* as well, e.g., in *śavda* for *śabda*, l. 5: (2) putting the dental for the palatal sibilant in a number of cases but the latter for the former only once, in *śaptamaṁ*, l. 34. Want of consistency in the former of these cases may be pointed out that in the same word *Yaśōdhavala* which occurs in l. 18, we find the dental sibilant, whereas just below in l. 20 the same word is spelt with the

¹ The text of the inscription, with a preliminary note and translation, was also published by Har Dutta Sharma in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IV, pp. 22 ff. He stated that he deciphered it from a photograph brought by one of his friends, but is silent about the find and existence of the plates.

² No. 38, above.

palatal; (3) doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *parvvaṇi*, l. 10, with a few exceptions like *varjaṁ*, l. 32; (4) *anusvāra* often taking place of a nasal of the same class and sometimes both these being used side by side, e.g. in *tanvaṇtu*, l. 2; (5) omission of the sign for *anusvāra* and for that of *visarga*, occasionally, as in instances noted in the text; (6) sometimes avoiding *sandhis* even when necessary, particularly in the names and the other details occurring in the grant portion; (7) the use of horizontal strokes to represent medial diphthongs before a consonant than on its top, with a few exceptions; and (8) the occasional use of the *kāka-pada* symbol and the *daṇḍa* to draw attention to the continuity of the writing. The inscription, on the whole, is well written and carefully engraved. The composer of the record has also occasionally displayed his fondness for alliterations and big compounds, as we note in ll. 10-14.¹

The inscription belongs to the reign of the *Mahākumāra* **Harichandra** (Hariśchandra)² who belonged to the branch line of the Paramāra house of Mālwa. Its **object** is to record that the king donated the village **Dādarapadra**, connected with or belonging to **Vikhilapadra**—twelve in the **Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala**, with its suburbs on the east and the south (*pūrva-dakṣiṇa-taladvayōpēta*). The village was divided into 16 shares and given to 19 Brāhmaṇas (ll. 17-27), whose names and *gōtras* along with the names of their fathers are mentioned in the inscription, a list of whom is given in the table below.³ Of these donees, 13 received one share each and 6, half a share each. Two of the donees were related as father and son (Nos 4 and 8) and the following were brothers: Nos. 3 and 11, 5 and 7, 6 and 12 and 14 and 16. The last two, viz., *Āhaḍa* and *Mahaṇa*, were pupils (*vaṭuka*).

From the mention of *Āvasathika Śrīdhara*, the first of the donees, as the son of *Agnihōtrika Bhāradvāja*, it is interesting to note that the family names, as they are used today, had not yet stereotyped in that age but were subject to change.⁴ Two other examples of the same type are those of donees No. 5 and 7, each of whom is designated as *Paṇḍita* with his father as *Āvasathika*.

The **date** of the record, which is given in words only, is the **full moon day of Kārttika of the (Vikrama) year 1214** when there was a **complete eclipse of the moon**. It regularly corresponds to **Saturday, the 19th October, 1157 A.C.** when there was a lunar eclipse.⁵

The record opens with an auspicious symbol followed by the expressions *svasti jayōbhya-dayaś=cha*, and then it quotes the two stanzas which are generally to be found to begin Paramāra grants, in praise of Śiva in the form of Vyōmakēśa and Smarārāti, invoking his blessings. The charter then refers to the predecessors of the donor, giving the names of the *Paramabhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious **Naravarmadēva** and his successor the P.M.P. the illustrious **Yaśōvarmadēva** (ll. 3-4). After **Yaśōvarmadēva** we have the names of **Trailōkyavarmadēva** and then of the doner Hariśchandrādēva, each of whom is mentioned as endowed with all praise and enjoying the right to the five great musical sounds. The record also supplies the additional information that the latter of these two rulers obtained his principality through the favour of the former (*-pāda-prasād-āvāpta-vijay-ādhipatyah*). Here it is noteworthy that the name of Hariśchandra's father Lakshmīvarman who is known to us from the grant of the former's son Udayavarman, is omitted in the present record and it is also omitted in the main portion of the Piplīanagar grant, issued in Samvat 1235 or 1178 A.C.⁶ Noticing all these instances, Dr. D. C. Ganguly concludes that "it evidently follows that Lakshmīvarman and his son Hariśchandra ruled over separate territories."⁷ In this respect attention of the reader is invited to our remarks made while dealing with Lakshmīvarman's Ujjain grant where we have

¹ We may point out an instance, how the writer and the engraver were careful in scoring off one of the *daṇḍas* by a slanting stroke just before the square containing the Garuḍa figure in l. 34, as only one of them was intended.

² For the reading of the name, see *n.* in the text.

³ The table is reproduced here from Chakravarti's writing. It may be noted with interest that some of these names are still current in Mālwa exactly in the same form.

⁴ The same we find in some other Paramāra records also, for which, see below, No. 60.

⁵ Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁶ No. 45, below.

⁷ *H.P.D.*, pp. 179-81. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 212.

stated that "omission of a name or two is no sure indication of a feud nor does it throw any definite light on the line of succession in a family."

Comparing the evidence supplied by the present and the following grants of Hariśchandra, we notice another inconsistency, *viz.*, that whereas the former of these charters states that Hariśchandra obtained his territory through the favour of the *Mahākumāra* Trailōkyavarman, the latter gives this credit not to Trailōkyavarman but to the *P.M.P.* Jayavarman. But here we have to note the actual wordings of the two grants; for whereas the former uses the expression *vijay-ādhipatya*, meaning that Hariśchandra obtained some victory (over an enemy), the latter has the expression *nij-ādhipatya*, indicating that he received the principality from (through the sanction of) Jayavarman who was then the Imperial sovereign. To obtain sanction of the Imperial house, which was ruling at Dhārā, by the subordinate ruler in the Bhopāl region may have been a matter of necessity; and the Piplīānagar grant points to the same. The victory referred to in the present charter may possibly allude to one against the Chandēllas who were their northern neighbours.

The grant portion begins in l. 7 and the details thereof we have stated above. The conditions of the grant, which are as to be found in the other Paramāra grants, are mentioned in ll. 30-32. In ll. 32-40 we have the usual imprecatory stanzas, followed by the syllable *dū* (*i.e.* *dūtaka*) of the grant. He is *Mukhyādēśa*. Such a proper name, however, appears to be out of the general nomenclature,² and we are unable to suggest any other interpretation of the syllable *dū* used here. This is followed by expressions meaning 'auspiciousness, good luck and great fortune', and the inscription ends with the **sign-manual** of the *Mahākumāra* Harischandrādēva, which is in its Prakrit form.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, that of the **Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala** (l. 7) occurs also in the Ujjain grant of the *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarman, of (V.) S. 1191 and 1200; and we have seen that the region denoted by it included parts of the modern districts of Vidishā and Bhopāl.³ **Bhāillasvāmipura** (l. 9) is the ancient city of Vidishā (Bhilsā), which was formerly the capital of the *Ākara-janapada*, roughly corresponding to east Mālava. The name Bhāillasvāmin (Bhāillasvāmin) was originally of an image of the Sun deity worshipped in a temple at that place which subsequently became famous under the deity's name, as we also know from Albērūnī (*c.* 1030 A.C.) who tells us that "the name of the town is identical with that of the idol worshipped there".⁴ It is interesting to note that the earliest mention of this name is in an inscription of V.S. 935 or 878 A.C. and also that the name figures as Bhāillasvāmipura in the Māndhātā inscription of Jayasīṃha II issued in (V.) S. 1331.⁵ **Vētravati** (l. 10) is the river Bētṛā flowing by the city of Bhilsā. With reference to **Dādarapadra**, the grant-village (l. 7), Chakravarti observed that "there are eleven villages of this name (Padria)", and thus he left the place unidentified. But this, as also **Vikhilapadra**, which is mentioned as a sub-division of twelve villages including it (l. 7), appears to me a compound name like Araṇi-padra, Vāṭa-padra and Inṅuṇī-padra, identical respectively with the modern Rānōd, Baḍōdī and Inṅnōd or Rīṅnōd. And while identifying such place-names the first component thereof deserves consideration, since the second signifies nothing more than 'a village', which is its dictionary meaning.⁶ And accordingly, Vikhilapadra may possibly be identical with the modern village Bilquisganj, about 22 kms. south-east of Sehore, by road, and situated in 23° 6' N. and 77° 18 E.; and Dādarapadra may have been the modern village of Dāvri, about 25 kms. south-west of Bilquisganj. It may however, be remarked here that the identification of both these villages is purely hypothetical, for besides the similarity in the names we have nothing more to substantiate our views except that both these places are situated in the Bhopāl region, which, as we have just seen, was a part of the *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala*.

¹ *Supra*, p. 135.

² It reminds me of the surname Deshmukh. It is also possible that it may have been wrongly engraved for *mukhādēśaḥ*, *i.e.*, an oral order (of the king himself), and the name of the *dūtaka* is omitted.

³ Nos. 39 and 40, respectively. Also see No. 46.

⁴ Sachau, *Albērūnī's India*, Pt. I, p. 202.

⁵ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 211; and No. 60 below, for the respective references.

⁶ In his identification of these places, Chakravarti takes into account the second part of the name.

TEXT

[Metres. Verses 1-2, 4-5 and 7-9 *Anushūbh*; v. 3 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 6 *Śālinī*].

First Plate

- 1 ओम्^१ स्वस्ति [1*] श्रीर्जयोभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयन्ति व्योमकेशोर्षा यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्ति ताम् । ऐदवीं सि(शि)र^२-
- 2 मा लेखा[] जगद्गी(द्गी)जाकुराकृतिम(म्) । [19*] तन्वन्तु व[:*] स्मराराते[:*] कल्याणमनिसं(शं)जटाः । कल्यांतसम-
योद्दामतडि-
- 3 इलयपिगलाः । [12*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्च)रश्रीनरवर्मदेवपादानु[ध्या]-
- 4 तपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्च)रश्रीयशोवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तप्र^३-
- 5 म(शं)स्तोपेतममधिगतपचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)लकारविराजमानमहाकुमारश्रीतौ(वै)लोक्यवर्मदेवपादा(द)प्र^४-
- 6 मादावाप्तविज्ञा(जया)धिपत्ये(त्य. ?) समस्तप्रम(शं)स्तोपेतममधिगतपचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)लकारविराजमानमा(म)हाकुमारहरि^५-
- 7 चद्रदेवो महाद्वादशकमडले विखिलपद्मद्वादशकमव(व)द्धः(द्ध)^६दादरपद्मग्रामनिवासिनः प्रतिग्रामनि-
- 8 वासिनश्च [र]ाजपुरुषविपयिकपट्टकिलजनपदादीन् त्रा(त्रा)णोत्तरान्वो(न्वो)धयत्यस्तु वः सविदित ॥^७ य-
- 9 दिह मया श्रीभाटलस्वामिदेवपुरस्थिते[न]^८ श्रीमद्विक्रमकालातीतचतुर्दश(शा)धिकद्वादशसं(शं)तांत[:*]पातिसंवत्स-
- 10 रे कार्तिक^९मु(शु)दि पूर्णिमाया मजातसोमग्रहणमव्वग्रामपव्वणि^{१०} कलिकलुपहारिणि वेववतीवारिणि स्ता-
- 11 त्वा देवपिमनृप्यपितृन् मतर्प्य चराचरगृहं भगवतं भवानीपति दप्पितदनुजेदनिद्राहर हरि च समभ्यर्च्य तिला-
- 12 त्वाज्याहृति[भि]हि[र*]प्यग्नेम हृत्वा जगदानंददायिने शमि(शि)ने अर्घ(र्घ्य) विधाय सवत्सकपिला विः प्रदक्षिणीकृ-
- 13 त्य आकल[ज्य(य)] ममार[1*]^{११}मारतां परिलुलितकमलदलतरलजललवचलमालक्ष्य यौवनं यौवनमदमत्तवाणि-
- 14 नी(मानिनी ?) भ्रमंगभंगुरमवलोक्य द्रविणं द्रविणकणिकानृशरणविवशविपविलासिनीचित्त(त्त)चंचलमधिगम्य जीवितं(तम्)
- 15 ॥ उक्तं च [1*] वानाभ्रविभ्रममिदं भुवनाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विपयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)दुसमा नराणा
- 16 धर्मः^{१२} सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥ [2*] सा[]कृत्यगोवाय अग्निहोत्रिकश्रीभारद्वाजसुतआवस्थि(स्थि)कश्रीधराय पद^{१३} १ भा-
- 17 रद्वाजगोत्राय त्रिपाठि^{१४}नारायणमुतत्रिपाठिगर्तस्व(श्च)राय पद १ कृष्णात्रेयगोत्राय द्विवेदक्षीरम्बामिमुतद्वि-
- 18 वेदउ[द्ध]रणाय पद १ अदवाहगोत्राय द्विवेदव(त्व(त्स))मुतद्विवेदयसो(शो)धवलाय पद १ कास्य(श्य)पगोत्राय ॥^{१५}
- 19 आवस्थि(स्थि)कदेह^{१६}मुतप^{१७}मधुमुदनाय पद १ शौनकगोत्राय द्विवेदसीलेमुतद्विवेदपाहुलाय पद १ का-
- 20 म्य(श्य)पगोत्राय अवस्थि(आवस्थि)कदेह^{१७}मुतपं सोमदेवाय पद १ अदवाहगोत्राय द्विवेदयशोधवलमु-

^१ From facsimiles in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, facing p. 232.

^२ Expressed by a symbol.

^३ A mark at the end of the line, as of some others not noted below, shows that the word is continued in the next line.

^४ Some other letter, probably नृ, was originally engraved here.

^५ My reading shows that the line ends in a श् which is very faintly visible, and accordingly, we have the name Hariśchandra here.

^६ The name of the village can also be read a दोदरपद्म-. It appears that originally a vertical was put after the preceding द्ध and later on it was scratched off only in the middle and thus we have the two dots showing a *visarga*.

^७ The *danḍas* are redundant.

^८ Chakravarti remarked that the omission of *visarga* after र is according to the *vārttika*: “*kharparē śari vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyaḥ*”. But to me it seems equally probable that the word पुर is used to end the name of the place and thus स्थितेन is left separate. Thus the expression may be taken also in the sense of ‘while residing or encamped at’.

^९ Originally the letter was engraved as क्रि, and later on the curve of the *mātrā* appears to have been mixed with the preceding superscript *rēpha* and the vertical scored off by two small strokes faintly visible.

^{१०} A redundant slanting stroke makes the प appear as ष.

^{११} Chakravarti corrected it to संमार[म्या*]मारतां.

^{१२} Chakravarti read धर्म; but I find the double म्, in the facsimile.

^{१३} Here and in some cases below the sign of *anusvāra* on द is faintly visible.

^{१४} Here and below we need not change the ढि to ढी, as done by Chakravarti, as it is a compound word requiring the original form of the first word.

^{१५} This mark of punctuation is redundant.

^{१६} This is a contraction of पण्डित.

^{१७} The second letter of the name more likely appears to be ल्ह.

BHO¹PĀL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA
HARIŚCHANDRA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1214*i*[illegible]

ii

[illegible]

21 तद्विवेदपालह[?]काय पद १ [गौन]मगोवायपं-धामदेवमुतपं-रणपालाय पद १¹

Second Plate

- 22 २द्विवेदमो(शो)भामुतद्विवेदगंगाधराय पद १ कृष्णात्रेयगोत्राय द्विवेदक्षीर³-
 23 स्वामिमुतद्विवेदलक्ष्मी(क्ष्मी)धराय पद १ मौ(शौ)नकगोत्राय द्विवेदमीलेमुतद्विवेदश्रीधराय [पद*] ३ भारद्वाजगो⁴-
 24 त्राय ठकुरवी[ल्हे]⁴मुतठकुरवाच्छुकाय पद १ मां(शां)डिल्यगोत्राय ठकुरकुलधरमुतठकुरवाच्छुकाय पद १ गो(गौ)-
 25 तमगोत्राय द्विवेदगोत्रेमुतद्विवेदवाल्हकाय पद ३ मां(शां)डिल्यगोत्राय ठकुरकुलधरमुतठकुररासलाय ।⁵
 26 पद ३ कास्य(श्व)पगोत्राय पं-सोण्डलमुतठकुरविण्णवे पद ३ कौण्डिन्यगोत्राय ठकुरकु(ञ्ज)मुतवट्कआहडाय पद
 27 [३] कास्य(श्व)पगोत्राय ठकुरविजपालमुतवट्कमहणाय पद ३ [॥*] तदेवं यथायथं त्रा(त्रा)हणएकोन्न(न)-
 28 विम(श)नीनां⁶ पदा[:] षोडश(षोडश अङ्के) पद १६ [॥*] तदमीषां त्रा(त्रा)हणानामपरिलि[खि*]तग्रामः पूर्व-
 दक्षिणतलद्वयोपेतो⁷ नि-
 29 धिनिक्षेपमहितो नदनदीकूपतडागवाटिकाआप(राम)संयुतचराद्याद्योपेतः ।⁸
 30 सर्वभ्यतरमिद्वयोदकपूर्वकतया शासने[न*] प्रदत्तस्तदेतत्(द्-)ग्रामनिवासिभिः कर्प-
 31 कैश्च करहिरण्यभागभोगादिक[(म्)] । आज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा देवत्रा(त्रा)हणभू-
 32 क्तवर्ज सर्वममीभ्यो त्रा(त्रा)हणभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ यदुत(क्तम्) । व(व)ट्ठभिर्व्वसुधा भू- ।
 33 [क्ता] राजभिः मगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[४*] त्रीण्या-
 34 हुरतिदानानि गावः पृ[४]वी मरस्वती । आश(स)प्तमं पुनन्त्येता दोहवाहनिवेद-
 35 नैः ॥[५*] सर्वनिताम्भाविनः पार्थिवेद्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [॥*] सामान्यो-
 36 यं धर्मसे[तुर] नृपाणां काले काले [पा]⁹लनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[६*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्रमुंघा(मुंघां) नृपः । न तस्य पु-
 37 नरा[वृ]त्तिर्नरकात्कुम्भिका(क)नः ॥[७*] देवत्रा(त्रा)हणद्विजप्रदत्ता¹⁰ भूत्वा हर्तव्या नृपै[र्]ये(य)तः [॥*] केनापि सह वेस्ये(श्वे)व न
 38 गता न चिरं स्थिता ॥[८*] इति पुरातत(न)मुनिप्रणीतवचनपरिपाटीश्रवणममुद्धूतप्रभूतविवो(वे)कोदयेन माता- ।
 39 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययश[शो]भिवृद्धये ॥ [इ]ति ज्ञात्वा परैर्भूपैरस्मद्व[(म्)]सो(शो)द्धवे(वै)स्तथा । धर्मोयमिह नो¹¹
 40 लोप्यो यैः के(कै)श्चित्(द्) [धर्म]चित्तकैः ॥[९*] दू० मुख्यादेशः ॥ शिवमन्तु । मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥
 41 स्वहस्तोयं महाकुमारश्रीहरिचन्द्रदेवस्य ॥¹² श्रीः [॥*]

¹ As Chakravarti has also noted, seven or eight letters specifying the *gotra* are completely effaced at the end of the line. Moreover, it is possible that the first syllable of the father's name may also have been *वा*, as the left limb thereof is not horned and occasionally, though rarely, we find the verticals of *vā* also joined by a horizontal stroke.

² Seven or eight letters are completely effaced. Moreover, both the letters of the first name are also effaced. Chakravarti read the first name appearing in this line as *मोता*.

³ As n. 3 on the preceding page.

⁴ The reading of the second letter of the name is not certain.

⁵ The punctuation mark is redundant, as also in some of the lines below.

⁶ As suggested by Chakravarti, read *त्राहणानामेकोनविंशतेः*.

⁷ The dictionary meaning of *तल* is 'lowness, a forest, and a pond'. What is exactly meant here is not known. Chakravarti takes the word in the sense of 'a suburb', but this is not found in the dictionary.

⁸ The punctuation mark is redundant. Some of the lines at the end, and also where they are broken by the Garuḍa figure, are marked by a *danda*, which is not noted here in every instance. This tendency is found more developed in Udayavarman's grant, below (No. 46).

⁹ As n. 10 on the last page.

¹⁰ The word *त्रा(त्रा)हण* is superfluous here.

¹¹ As Chakravarti has noted "the left hand stroke of the medial *ō* in *nō* is joined to the preceding *ha*".

¹² This line is engraved in bigger letters, almost in the middle, and श्रीः at the end.

Appendix

List of the Brāhmaṇa donees (as prepared by N. P. Chakravarti):—

Serial No.	Name of donee	Father's name	gōtra	share in the village granted	
1.	Āvasathika Śrīdhara	Agnihōtrika Bhāradvāja	Sāṅkṛitya	...	1
2.	Tripāthi Gartēśvara	Tripāthi Nārāyaṇa	Bhāradvāja	...	1
3.	Dvivēda Uddharaṇa ¹	Dvivēda Kshīrasvāmin	Kṛishṇātrēya	...	1
4.	„ Yaśōdhavala	Dvivēda Vatva (Vatsa)	Adavāha	...	1
5.	Paṁ. Madhusūdana ²	Āvasathika Dēlha	Kāśyapa	...	1
6.	Dvivēda Pāhula	Dvivēda Sīlē	Śaunaka	...	1
7.	Paṁ. Sōmadēva	Āvasathika Dēlha	Kāśyapa	...	1
8.	Dvivēda Pālhaka	Dvivēda Yaśōdhavala	Adavāha	...	1
9.	Paṁ. Raṇapāla	Paṁ. Dhāmadēva	Gautama	...	1
10.	Dvivēda Gaṅgādhara	Dvivēda Sōtā (or Śobhā?)	(the letters showing gōtra are defaced)	...	1
11.	„ Lakshmīdhara	„ Kshīrasvāmin	Kṛishṇātrēya	...	1
12.	„ Śrīdhara	„ Sīlē	Śaunaka	...	1/2
13.	Thakura Vāchchhuka	Thakura Vīlhvē	Bhāradvāja	...	1
14.	„ „ ³	Thakura Kuladhara	Śāṇḍilya	...	1
13.	Thakura Vāchchhuka	Dvivēda Gōlhē	Gautama	...	1/2
16.	Thakura Rāsala	Thakura Kuladhara	Śāṇḍilya	...	1/2
17.	„ Vishṇu	Paṁ. Sōṇḍala	Kāśyapa	...	1/2
18.	Āhaḍa, a pupil (vaṭuka)	Thakura Kuñja-	Kauṇḍinya	...	1/2
19.	Mahaṇa „	Vijapāla	Kāśvapa	...	1/2
Total = 16					

No. 45 ; NO PLATE

PIPLĪĀNAGAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA HARIŚCHANDRA

Vikrama Years 1235 & 1236

THE copper-plate which bears the subjoined inscription is stated to have been found, in 1836, in course of cultivating a field at **Piplīānagar**,⁴ a village in the Shujālpur *parganā* of the Shājāpur District of Madhya Pradesh. From the cultivator who unearthed it, the plate went into the hands of the local *jāgrīdār*, who, in his turn, presented it to L. Wilkinson, who was then a Political Agent at Bhopāl. Wilkinson intimated this discovery to the *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, enclosing a copy of the text incised on the plate, together with a sort of translation : and this was published, along with his letter, in the *Journal* of the Society, in its Volume VII (for August 1838), pages 736-41. Since then, the inscription has been often referred to but it has not been systematically edited so far. The fate of the plate too is not known ; possibly it may have sailed out along with Mr. Wilkinson.⁵ It is unfortunate that Wilkinson's reading of the text is not accompanied by a facsimile, and under the circumstances the only

¹ Brother of No. 11.

² Brother of No. 7.

³ Brother of No. 16.

⁴ This place lies in 77° 1' E. Long. and 23° 16' N. Lat., on the Pārvatī, a tributary of the Chambal, and was in those days included in the Sehōre District of the former Bhopāl State. It is about 10 miles or 16 kms. north by west of Sehōre.

⁵ For three other plates found at the same place and under similar conditions, see Nos. 47-49, below. It is not known whether they were all found together and in the same field.

course left for me is to edit the inscription from the transcript given by him and published in the Volume of the *Journal* referred to above, though it contains a number of errors.¹

The details of the plate with reference to its weight, measurement and the other points to be dealt with in editing an inscription are not recorded; nor can its orthographical features be mentioned here. The inscription, as Wilkinson's transcript indicates, contains 48 lines of writing.² The **language** is Sanskrit; and with the two usual verses in the adoration of Śiva at the beginning, one in the middle, to speak highly of making donations, and as many as ten customary verses by way of the usual exhortations to succeeding monarchs, the record is all in prose. With reference to composition, there is nothing worth pointing out, except that there are two words of lexicographical interest; they are *tala-haṭṭikā*, meaning a market on the low land (*i.e.* on the surface or rising ground of the fort named here) and *āvāsānikā*, meaning a stall or shop (*lit.* a house). The latter of these words, though uncommon in Sanskrit literature, occurs in an inscription from Bhilsā, of V.S. 935 or 878 A.C.³

The **object** of the inscription is to record that the village of Palasavāḍā or Paṭasavāḍā, or Savāḍā as the name is given below, situated in the **Amarāpadra** *pratijāgaraṇaka* in the **Nilagiri** *maṇḍala*, was divided into three shares, two of which were donated to Paṇḍita-**Daśarathaśarman**, the son of Paṇḍita-Simha and belonging to the Kātyāyana-gōtra with three *pravaras* and one, on another occasion, to Paṇḍita-**Mālūne**, the son of Paṇḍita-Delū and belonging to the Pārāśara-gōtra with three *pravaras*, some time later on another occasion. To both these gifts were added the dues from the shops from below the fort of Guṇapura.⁴ The first of the gifts was made on the *amāvāsya* **day of the month of Pausha of Vikrama 1235, expired, when there was a solar eclipse**, and the second, on the **full moon day of Vaiśākha of Samvat 1236**. Both the dates are mentioned in words and figures. The first of these would correspond to **11th December** (for *pūrṇimānta*) and to **20 January** (for *amānta*), of **1178 A.C.**; and the second to **23 April, 1179 A.C.**⁵ But on both these days there was no eclipse.

Like many other Paramāra grants, the present record opens with two verses in honour of the god Śiva, and they are followed by prose passages containing the genealogy of the donor, mentioning the names of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* **Udayāditya**, his successor the *P.M.P.* **Naravarman**, his successor the *P.M.P.* **Yaśōvarman**, and the latter's successor **Jayavarman**. This genealogy is the same as known from the other records of the house. But the information that follows is new; it states that **Hariśchandra**, who enjoyed the five great sounds and was a *Mahākumāra*, obtained his principality through the last-mentioned ruler, *i.e.*, Jayavarman (*ētasmat-prishṭhatama-prabhōḥ prasād-āvāpta-nijādhipatyah*). *Prima facie* this statement goes against that of the Bhopāl grant of this ruler, which has been edited

¹ It is apparent that Wilkinson got the inscription transcribed by a local Paṇḍit who, as in some other instances that we have, committed blemishes in his reading; and the translation which is based on this wrong reading, is also not free from errors. For example, the text in l. 10 of the transcript reads *sammati-grāma-nivāsinaścha* for *prati-grāma...*; and thus names a village which is not in existence; and the translation gives *mamati* in place of it. The *avagraha* in the name *Amarāpadra* has been omitted in the translation which makes the word *Maḍūpadra*, the lingual *ḍ* in the name being written by the Paṇḍit, for the dental, as he has done in some other cases also. Wherever possible, I have made the necessary corrections and in other cases I have appended footnotes.— Nothing is recorded about the dimensions and the weight of the plate, nor am I able to deal with the orthography of the writing which is full of errors, or doubtful, *e.g.*, the word *vyōma* in l. 1 is written as *byōma*, and *sarggāya*, as it appears to me the correct form in l. 1, is written as *sargāya*. In some of the cases it is not known whether the original writer or the persons who copied the text accompanying Wilkinson's translation thereof is responsible for these errors.

² The lines in the text have been numbered by me, keeping in view as they appear in *J.A.S.B.*, *op. cit.* Looking to the material inscribed, I also doubt the statement of Wilkinson who says that it is one plate.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 214.

⁴ The proportion of the dues accruing to both the donees is not mentioned in the record.

⁵ In both the cases I have taken the Vikrama year as Northern *expired*, as shown by the word *afita* with the first of them. But there was no solar eclipse in Pausha (*pūrṇimānta* or *amānta*) for V. 1234, 1235 and 1236, and therefore the word *parva* appears to have been used with the first date only in the sense of a holy day. Neither of these dates admits of verification; nor is the original now available for checking Wilkinson's reading.

just before the present record; but this problem has been discussed at length in the other grants of the Paramāra-*Mahākumāra* house, on suitable occasions, and it need not be repeated here. The importance of the present record, however, lies in the fact that it tells us that Hariśchandra was the son of Lakshmīvarman, as mentioned in the **sign-manual** of the king in the end. In fact this is the only record to mention this relationship. Another importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that Hariśchandra succeeded in extending the boundaries of his kingdom to the south of the Narmadā, as we shall see below while identifying the localities mentioned therein. For whereas all the other grants made by the rulers of the *Mahākumāra* branch of the Paramāra house refer to the region lying to the north of the river, the present one is the only grant made by a prince belonging to that house in the Hoshāṅgābād District, which extends to the south of the Narmadā.

We know that at the time when this charter was issued the Kalachuris of Tripurī were at the fag-end of their existence, the throne being occupied by Gayākarna's grandson Jayasimha or by the latter's son Vijayasimha. Similarly, there was no fear from the Chandēllas, as their king, Paramardin, (c. 1166-1202 A.C.) was occupied in the north, as is indicated by his Pachhār and Charkhārī plates issued respectively in 1176 and 1178 A.C. And in the south, the last king of the western Chālukya house, viz., Sōmēśvara IV, was busy struggling with Vijjaṇa's successors to regain his throne. Thus the circumstances appear to have favoured the task of Hariśchandra to extend the bounds of his territories in the south and the south-west.

The mention of putting on white garments and going round a tawny cow from left to right while making the grant is interesting. Another point of interest that the record affords is about the splitting up of the donated village in three parts. It was, as we are told, measured out to be 40 *mānikās* by the *kuḍava* system as it was then prevalent in the Nīlagiri-*maṇḍala*. The dictionary meaning of *kuḍava* is one-fourth of a *prastha*, containing twelve handfuls; and this shows how grain was measured in that region, though the actual measure of a *kuḍava* may have somewhat differed in that locality. But the word *mānikā*, which too is stated to have been a measure, presents some difficulty. The word *mānikā*, *mānī* or *māṇī*, as pronounced, was actually current in Mālwā till recently before the metric system was introduced; and it was equal to 12 maunds or 447·890 kilograms. According to this, 40 maunds would give a measure which can never be taken as the capacity of sowing seed even if the village be a very large one, and if we take it as measuring the produce, I know of no other instance of the type. Thus I am unable to solve the problem.

The arrangement of the rest of the contents of the record is similar to what we find in many other Paramāra grants, viz., the motive of the grants, the condition that they are perpetually to be enjoyed by the donees, the usual admonition about continuing the grants and the **Signature** of the donor in the end. The last line which is in Hindi appears to have been apparently inserted by a person (Rāmachandra) in whose possession the plate may have gone subsequently.

Of the **place-names** mentioned in the inscription, **Nīlagiri**, the headquarters of the *maṇḍala*, has been identified by D. C. Ganguly, with the modern Nīlgaḍh fort, south of the Vindhya, about a mile north of the Narmadā¹; this territorial division appears to have then comprised a great part of the western portion of the region close to the reserved forest now known after the name Nīlgaḍh and covering almost the whole of the eastern part of Hoshāṅgābād District up to Sohāṅpur, to the south of the Narmadā, stretching roughly from 77° 45' to 78° 28' E. Long. and 22° 25' to 22° 35' N. Lat.² This region has still retained its old name in a slightly changed form, reminding us of another region known after colour, viz., *Pīṭaśaila-ushaya*, occurring in a Chandēlla inscription.³ **Palasavādā**, which was then also known as **Paṭasavādā** and by its shorter name **Savādā** (respectively in ll. 10, 23 and 28), may be identified with the modern Parasavādā, situated about 10 kms. south-west of Sohāṅpur, the headquarters of a *parganā* and

¹ H. P. D., p. 184. This fort is about 16 kms. north-west of Māndhātā and near the confluence of the choral river with the Narmadā.

² Ind. Atlas. Sheet No. 55^F/₁₅.

³ See below, No. 112, v. 8; and No. 150, v. 9.

about 42 kms. straight south-east of Hoshāṅgābād, the chief town of a district of the same name. **Amadāpadra**, the territorial division in which the donated village is stated to have been situated, suggests its identification with Amaravādā, which is now the headquarters of a *parganā* in the Chhindwādā District lying to its south-east and in close proximity of the modern Sohāṅpur *parganā* in which Parasavādā is at present situated. Or, to suggest a still nearer place, it may have been the same as the modern village Amrāvād, situated about 14 kms. east of Rāisen, the principal town of a district and *tehsīl* of the same name. Strewn with some old remains, this place appears to have seen better days. But this suggestion is far from certain, since I find two more places with similar names in the region, viz., Amrawād which is about 45 kms. north-east of Hoshāṅgābād and Amrāpur about 60 kms. north of Hoshāṅgābād. I am, however, unable to identify the fort of Guṇapura¹ and the place where the four-faced Mārkaṇḍēśvara is stated to have existed.²

TEXT³

[Metres: Verses 1-2 and 4-10 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 3 and 13 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 11 *Indravajrā*; v. 12 *Śūlinī*; v. 14 *Pushpitāgrā*].

श्रीः

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥
- 2 ॥ स्वस्ति जयोभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति व्योमकेशोमौ यः सर्गाय विभक्तिं तां ॥ ऐदवीं शिरसा लेखां जगद्वीजांकुराकृतिं ॥१॥⁴
- 3 तन्वन्तु नः(वः?) स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ॥ कल्पान्तममयोद्दामतडित्वलयपिङ्गलाः ॥२॥
- 4 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीः उदयादित्यपादानुध्यात-
- 5 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनरवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपर-
- 6 मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
- 7 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्म्मदेव इत्येतस्मात्पृष्ठतमप्र-
- 8 भोः प्रमादादवाप्तनिजाधिपत्यः समस्तप्रशस्तोपेतसमधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दा-
- 9 लङ्कारविराजमानमहाकुमारश्रीहरिश्चन्द्रदेवः नीलगिरिमण्डलेऽमडाप-
- 10 द्रप्रतिजागरणके संवद्रूपसवाडाग्रामनिवासिमम्मतिग्रामनिवासिनश्च⁶
- 11 ममस्मन्राजपुरुषविषयिके पट्टकिलजनपदादिब्राह्मणोत्तरान् बोधयन्त्यस्तु
- 12 वः संविदितं यथाज्माभिः श्रीविक्रमकालातीतं १२३५ पञ्चविंशदधिक-
- 13 द्वादशशतसंवत्सरान्तःपानिपौषवदि अमावास्यायां सजातसूर्यपर्वणि

¹ Dr. Ganguly identified this place with Gōdurpur near Māndhātā (*H. P. D.*, p. 184), but the distance between Gōdurpur and Nīlgaḍh is not less than 160 kms. and it seems less likely that the former was included in a *maṇḍala* named by the latter. Besides, there is no ground for suggesting this identification. Similarly, his attempt to identify Palasavādā with a place bearing the same name in the Bombay State is based merely on the similarity of these two names. One of these is on the north of the Narmadā whereas the other to its south.

² Ending in *Īśvara*, this name appears to denote Śiva, as we generally find. At a village known as Bhēlā in the Seonī-Mālwā *tehsīl* of the Hoshāṅgābād District there exists an old shrine in which is installed a Śiva-*linga* with four faces. The place is on the southern bank of the Narmadā and fulfils the requirements, like all the other places which are to its south. It is still known to be sacred and an annual fair is held there. And in view of its close proximity to the other places mentioned in the inscription, I am tempted to take this deity intended by the name Mārkaṇḍēśvara. If this identification is accepted, the village Amalādhā, which lies just to the west of Bhēlā, appears to have been intended by the mention of Amarāpadra, in ll. 9-10 of the inscription, rather than Amaravādā, as we have suggested above.

³ As in *Journ. of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, pp. 736-39. The figures numbering the lines are given by me. The transcript also contains some redundant punctuation marks.

⁴ As in many Paramāra grants, there appears to have been an auspicious symbol at the beginning, which has been omitted in the transcript. Read ताम् and कृतिम् respectively at the end of each of the hemistiches. It is possible that in both the words in this verse and in similar cases below, the consonants *v* and *b* may have been engraved. But we cannot be definite about it.

⁵ The rule of *sandhi* is not observed here.

⁶ This expression is apparently a mistake for प्रतिग्रामनिवासिनश्च. Also read अमरापद्र in the preceding line, and delete the mātrā of के in विषयिके in the next line.

- 14 चतुर्मुखमार्कण्डेश्वरदेवोपकण्ठे विमलतरपवित्रनर्मदातीर्थाभोभिः स्ना-
 15 त्वा सितवाससी परिधाय देवर्षिमनुष्यपितृन् सन्तर्प्य चराचरगुरुं भग-
 16 वन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य समित्कुशतिलान्नाद्याहुतिभिर्हिरण्यरेतसं
 17 हुत्वा जातवेऽर्घ्यं¹ विधाय कपिलां त्रिःप्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपस्पृश्य गोसहस्रनाम-
 18 महादानं² दत्त्वा च संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा नलिनीदलगतजलवि(वि)न्दुवच्चञ्च-
 19 लतरं यौवनं वित्तं चावेक्ष्य ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधि-
 20 पत्यमापातमात्मधुरो विषयप्रभोगः ॥³ प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिन्दुसमा
 21 नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥३॥⁴
 22 इत्येवमाकलय्य ॥⁵ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये कात्यायन-
 23 गोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पण्डितसिंहसूत⁶पण्डितदशरथशर्मणे विलिखितपटसवाडा⁷ग्रामस्यांशद्वयमकेश २
 24 तथा १२३६ षट्त्रिंशदधिक⁸द्वादशशतसंवत्सरान्तःपातिवैशाखमासि
 25 पौर्णमास्यां पराशरगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय पण्डितदेसूतपण्डितमालूणे शर्मणे ब्राह्मणायांशमेकमकेश १
 26 गुणपुरदुर्गतलहट्टिकावासनिकायुक्तमित्युभयमंशम् एवमंशत्रयोपक-
 27 लिप्तो नीलगिरिमण्डलीयकुडवमाप्येन चत्वारिंशन्मानिकापरिमित उप-
 28 रिलिखितसवाडाग्रामः सर्वक्षमालाकुलो निधिक्षेपसहितश्चतुः(ष)कङ्कट-
 29 विशुद्धो वापीकूपतडागोपयुक्तः । सर्वाभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्यास⁹सनेनोदकपूर्वकतया
 30 प्रदत्तः । तत्र च ग्रामनिवासिषट्किलादिलोकैस्तथा कर्षकैश्चात्र ग्रामे
 31 यथोत्पद्यमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञावाग्विधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमनयोः
 32 ममुपनेतव्यं¹⁰ । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वास्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभि-
 33 रस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ॥ यते(तः) ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा
 34 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥(१) यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥४॥
 35 भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ॥(१) उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥५॥
 36 शङ्खं भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वं(श्वो) वरवाहनं(नम्) ॥(१) भूमिदानस्य चित्तानि फलमेतत् पुरन्दर ॥६॥
 37 हर्ता हारयिता भूमेर्मन्दबुद्धिस्तमोवृत्तः ॥(१) स बद्धो वारुणैः पाशैस्तिर्यग्योनिः प्रजायते ॥७॥
 38 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेन्न(त)वमुन्धरां(राम्) ॥(१) षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणां विष्टायां जायते कृमिः ॥८॥
 39 सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) ॥(१) हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतसंप्लवं(वम्) ॥९॥
 40 त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती ॥(१) आसप्तम् पुनृत्येता दोहवाहनिवेदनैः ॥१०॥
 41 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि ॥(१) निर्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥११॥
 42 सर्वानितान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥(१) सा-
 43 मान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥१२॥
 44 मद्वंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापान्निवृत्तमनसो भुवि भाविभू-
 45 पाः ॥(१) ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममही¹¹ तु तेषां पादारविन्दयुगलं शिरसा नमामि ॥१३॥
 46 इत्यार्षेयवचनक्रममवलम्ब्य ॥ इति कमलदलांबुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनु-

¹ Read जातवेदसेर्घ्यं.

² For this great gifts, see Hēmādrī, *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa* (Ban. edn.) Vol. I, pp. 256 ff.

³ Delete one of the *danḍas*.

⁴ In the transcript this verse is numbered one and the initial two verses are not numbered. I have my own arrangement of numbering the verses, as necessary.

⁵ The punctuation marks are redundant.

⁶ This is evidently a printing mistake for सूत, though grammatically correct.

⁷ The name of the village is given as पलमवाडा in l. 10, above, and as सवाडा in l. 30, below.

⁸ Read षट्त्रिंशदधिक-.

⁹ Read शा for स and separate this word from the preceding one.

¹⁰ Read -व्यम्. Below, as here, there are instances with the *anusvāra* for म् at the end of a sentence or a hemistich; these are not pointed out separately.

¹¹ This expression generally appears as धर्ममहं in the inscriptions.

47 चित्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ॥ (1) सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा (द्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ १४ ॥

48 इति ॥ स्वहस्तोयं महाकुमारश्रीलक्ष्मीवर्मदेवसुतमहाकुमारश्रीहरिश्चन्द्रदेवपरमारकुलकमलबन्धोः ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

॥ हस्ताक्षर रामचन्द्रका ॥¹

No. 46 ; PLATE XLVI-XLVII

BHOPĀL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA UDAYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] year 1256

THE plates which bear the sub-joined inscription were found some time in the latter part of the nineteenth century, during survey operations, in a field at the village of **Uljamūm**² in the Sehore District of the former State of Bhopāl and now the head-quarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was examined by J. F. Fleet, to whom the plates were sent by Colonel Kincaid, who was then a Political Agent at Bhopāl, and Fleet also edited and published it in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XVI (for 1887), pages 252 ff., with his transcript in Roman characters and a photolithic illustration between pp. 256-57. His remarks in the edition of the inscription are noteworthy. He states that “during the interval of these three years the rims have been cut off, making the plates quite smooth, in order to put them in frames in which they can be hung on a wall.”³ With eagerness, I endeavoured to obtain the original plates for examination but could not succeed in knowing in whose possession they are now ; and the inscription is edited here from facsimile accompanying Fleet’s article in the *Indian Antiquary*.

It is a set of **two** rectangular plates of copper, measuring 31·43 cms. by 24·13 cms. and weighing 314·78 kgms. The edges of them were originally fashioned slightly thicker than the inscribed surface, to protect the writing, but were cut off some time between 1884 and 1887, as stated above. Both the plates are inscribed only on the inner side and are in a state of perfect preservation. The letters are well formed and deeply incised, with the exception of a very few which are deformed by redundant strokes of the chisel or are damaged by rust, particularly on the second plate, which is engraved with slight indifference, as will be noted from the corrections made in the transcript that follows. There are two holes in the lower margin of the first plate and in the upper margin of the second, each with the diameter of about 6 mms. and disturbing the continuity of the writing in one or two lines, indicating that originally the plates were held together ; but the rings are now not forthcoming. The second plate, in a rectangle of double lines, 50 by 55 mms., formed in the middle of lines 34 to 41, shows the figure of **Garuḍa** in human form but with the head of a bird, facing front. The head of the figure is turned to right and the hands joined near the chest, as in devotion.

The record is written in the Nāgarī **alphabet** of the twelfth century A.C. It consists of 41 lines, 19 of which are inscribed on the first plate and the rest on the second.⁴ In the first ten lines the letters show the average size of ‘6 to ‘8 cms., but thereafter they are slightly reduced in size. To note the formation of letters, we find that the initial *ā* begins with a semi-circular

¹ This line which is not a part of the original inscription was evidently written in a later age by somebody.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 252. The place is spelt as ‘Uljama’ in Ind. Atlas, sheet No. 53 ; it lies in 23° 7’ Long : 77° 15’ Lat. and is about 27 kms. south-west of Bhopāl and 14 kms. south-east of Sehore.— The exact year when the plates were found is not known. Fleet who edited the inscription in 1887 says: ‘about 25 years ago’, which is only a rough estimate.

³ See Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 252, n. 2.

⁴ A close examination of the photograph illustrating Fleet’s article in the *Ind. Ant.* indicates that each of the lines of the inscription was originally preceded and followed by two *danḍas*, some of which were clipped off along with the rims of the plates, as stated above, while others are hidden beneath frames put above them.

form, first curved above and then bent below, and with the horizontal stroke attached to it, it looks like a modern *bra*. cf. *asmābhuḥ*, *aṁkē* and *agnihōtra* in ll. 11, 12 and 21, respectively. Of the consonants, *k* in the sign-manual of the king in the end shows a different form from all others. The left limb of *kh* begins with a curve as to be found in *ś*, as in *lēkhān*, l. 2 and *Uśākhā*, l. 12. The left limb of *ch* is triangular, cf. *pañcha*, ll. 6-7 : the lingual *ṇ* in its subscript form continues to appear as *l*, see *paurṇamāsyān*, l. 12 : *t* and *h* have developed a fine tail and *th* resembles *ṛ* with the addition of a curved stroke or a loop above, as in *tithau*, l. 12 and *yathā*, l. 26. *Dh*, except when it is a subscript, has developed a horn on its left limb : the horn sometimes resembles a stroke, as in *dharmma*, l. 38, sometimes it is more developed as in *pādānu-dhyāta*, l. 4, and at times the stroke is bent, as in *paridhāya*, l. 13. This letter is also endowed with a top-stroke and the verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined in the middle by a horizontal bar, cf. *vasudhā*, l. 16. The *akshara* *p* looks like *y* in some cases, for example in *kalpānta-samaya*, l. 3, where both these letters are used. In rare cases *r* appears as *ch*, see *śravaṇa*, l. 26. Instances of imperfect carving of some of the letters have been noted in the text that follows.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit : and with the exception of two stanzas at the beginning, two in the middle in ll. 16-19, and ten imprecatory stanzas at the end, which are all customary as to be found in other Paramāra grants, the record is composed in prose. The verses are not numbered. **Orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as we find in the other records of the time and locality, for example, (1) the use of the sign of *ṛ* to denote *b*, as in *vibhartti*, l. 1 : (2) the doubling of a consonant after *r*, e.g., in the same instance : (3) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, cf. *sirasā*, l. 2 : (4) the *anusvāra* often doing the duty of a class-nasal even at the end of a sentence or a stich, see *Vindhya-maṇḍala*, l. 8, *aṁkē*, l. 12, and *pañcha*, ll. 6 and 7. The word *yauvanam* is spelt with *j* in l. 16 and *ṛishi* as *rishi* in l. 14, which may be due to local pronunciation of the words. The other mistakes of spelling, for which sometimes the writer and at others the mason is responsible, are noted in the text that follows.

The **object** of the inscription, which is a royal charter, is to record the donation of the village of **Gunaūrā** in the (group of) forty-eight villages known as Vōḍasirā in the **Narmada-pura-pratijāgaraṇaka** in *Vindhya-maṇḍala*, by the *Mahākumāra* **Udayavarman**, the son of the *Mahā-kumāra* **Hariśchandra** (ll. 8 ff.). The gift was made in favour of the *Dvivēda-Brāhmaṇa*, the *Purōhita* Mālū(lhū?)-śarman, who belonged to the *Gargga gōtra* with three *pravaras*, viz. *Gargga*, *Sainya* and *Āṁgirasa* of the *Vājasaneyā-śākhā*, and who was the son of *agnihōtrin* *Yajñadhara*. The **date** of the grant, as written both in words and numerical symbols, was **Sunday, the fifteenth day of Vaiśākha** of the expired (Vikrama) year 1256 when there was the *Viśākhā nakshatra* and the *Parigha yōga*. The date regularly corresponds to **Sunday, 30th April, 1200 A.C.**, taking the year as the southern *expired* Vikrama.¹

The arrangement of the contents of the inscription under study is almost the same as of the many other Paramāra grants. Opening with the auspicious symbol and the customary two stanzas paying obeisance to Śiva and invoking his blessings, it goes on to record, in a prose portion, the genealogy of the donor, which is followed by the mention of the gift village, the general conditions of the grant with instructions to local persons, the customary imprecatory verses, and, in the end, the **sign-manual** of the king followed by the name of the *Dūtaka*, who was *Maṇḍalīka* *Kshēmarāja*.

The genealogical portion (ll. 3 ff.) mentions the names of **Yaśōvarman** and his successor **Jayavarman**, both as sovereign lords : and thereafter figures the name of **Lakshmīvarman**, who is stated to have the privilege of using the five great sounds and was a *Mahākumāra*. He was succeeded by **Hariśchandra**, and *Hariśchandra* by his son **Udayavarman**,² who issued the present grant. Both these rulers are mentioned as *Mahākumāras*, entitled to the use of the five great sounds, as *Lakshmīvarman*. Of the names figuring in the genealogy, those of *Yaśōvarman* and his son *Jayavarman*, who were sovereign lords at *Dhārā*, are well known, and we also know that *Lakshmīvarman* was the latter's brother and had established himself in the *Bhopāl*

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54 : also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 38, No. 71.

² It is noteworthy that the present grant explicitly states that *Udayavarman* was the son of *Hariśchandra*, but the relationship of *Hariśchandra* with his predecessor is not clearly stated therein.

region as a subordinate to the Imperial Paramāra house. He was succeeded by his son Hariśchandra, and Hariśchandra by his son Udayavarman, as the inscription informs us.¹ While editing the fragmentary Ujjain grant of Lakshmīvarman, of Samvat 1191 and 1200, we have seen that the statement of the present inscription, *viz.*, that Lakshmīvarman 'appropriated a portion of Mālwā by the favour of his sword (*nija-kara-kyita-karavāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyah*)' should be interpreted to mean that he wrested the territories that he governed, not from his brother Jayavarman but from the contemporary Chandēlla king Madanavarman, in whose hands the portion of the Paramāra kingdom appears to have passed.²

We have seen that both the villages which were re-donated by Lakshmīvarman in (V.) S. 1200 or 1144 A.C. were situated in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala*, and his son Hariśchandra also donated a village in (V.) S. 1214 or 1157 A.C. in the same region, which shows that this house retained its hold on that region at least up to 1157 A.C. But some time subsequently, this region passed into the hands of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, as is evident from a fragmentary inscription of this ruler, which, according to Kielhorn, is dated V.S. 1220 *i.e.* 1163 A.C., and also from the inscription of Ajayapāla at Udaipur of V.S. 1229 or 1172 A.C.³ But though the *Mahākumāra* branch of the Paramāra house lost its hold over this region, it appears to have succeeded in extending its territories farther southwards, as we know from Hariśchandra's Pipliā-nagar grant and Udayavarman's Bhopāl grant, the first of these donating a village to the south of the Narmadā in the Hoshāṅgābād District, and the second, to its west in the Nēmāwar region, as we shall see below, while identifying the names of places mentioned in the present grant.

Thus we know that the Imperial house of the Paramāras failed to retrieve their fortune during all these years and they were still staggering under the blows dealt on them by the Chaulukyas. Referring to that history, we know that Jayavarman's son Vindhyavarman succeeded in recovering his ancestral dominions from the Chaulukya Mūlarāja II, but he could not do so before the present grant was issued; for had he succeeded finally establishing himself in Mālwā, we would have, as rightly suggested by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, found his name mentioned in the present grant.⁴ He had also to fight hard against his southern neighbours who were at that time rising, *viz.*, Bhīllama V of the Yādava house of Dēvagiri and Ballāla II Dōrāsamudra,⁵ before he could completely assert his authority over Mālwā.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the present inscription, **Rēvā** (l. 13) is the well-known Narmadā, and Narmadapura (a city on the Narmadā) seems to be no other than Nēmāwar, an ancient town on the north bank of the Narmadā where the stream known as Jāmner pours its waters into it. The place is at present included in the Dēwās District of Madhya Pradesh and is about 120 kms. straight south-southwest of Bhopāl and 32 kms. north by north-west of Hardā, a station on the Mālwā section of the Central Railway. Philologically also both these names can be connected through the intermediate step *Nemna-ā-ūra*; and this ancient place is about 72 kms. south by west of Uljamūn where the plates were found.⁶ **Guvāḍā-ghaṭṭa** (l. 13) is evidently a local name of a bathing place on the river at Nēmāwar; the name is possibly identical with Guvāḍiā, a petty hamlet connected with Nēmāwar. **Gaṇaurā**, the gift-village, (l. 9), is the modern Ganōra, about 50 kms. north by north-east; and **Vōḍasirā**, which

¹ Hariśchandra's relationship with Lakshmīvarman is not specified in the present grant. This again shows, as we have already observed while editing the Ujjain grant of Lakshmīvarman, that inscriptions do not always give all the details or even all the names of the members of the family.

² Above, p. 135. N. P. Chakravarti has suggested that some time before his death Yaśovarman might have placed Lakshmīvarman in charge of a small principality, which the latter ruled under the title of *Mahākumāra* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 229). If this be really the case, Professor Hall's theory that Lakshmīvarman was the eldest son of Yaśovarman cannot be accepted.

³ See *I. N. I.*, Nos. 315 and 355, respectively.

⁴ Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, ii, p. 518.

⁶ For the antiquities found at Nēmāwar, see *P. R. A. S. I., W.C.* for 1920-21, pp. 98 ff. Also see *I. N. I.*, No. 479. Fleet's conjecture that Narmadapura is the ancient name of Hoshāṅgābād has no evidence; and besides this singular case, he has not established the identity of any other place. The identifications proposed here gain strength from the consideration that Uljamūn, the find-spot of the plates, is only 50 kms. north-northeast of Gaṇaurā, the gift village. For additional evidence, also see below, No. 198.

is mentioned in the present record as the name of the village group in which Gaṇaūrā lay (l. 3), is not traceable. However, it may be suggested that this name may have been applied to the village-group situated close by and bearing a combination of two names, as we have instances even today, *viz.*, Bōrdā and Sirālyā, which are in the same locality, the intervening distance being about 8 kms., and Ganōrā lies between them both, about 5 kms. north-west of the former and 3 kms. south-east of the latter. All these places are now included in the khātēgāon *parganā* of the Dēwās District of Madhya Pradesh. This also shows that the Vindhya-*maṇḍala* of the present inscription was then the region in which Nēmāwar was situated, and thus it also appears to have been conterminous with the Nīlagiri-*maṇḍala* of the preceding inscription, to its east.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-2 and 4-11 *Anuṣṭubh*: vv. 3 and 14 *Vasantatilakā*: v. 12 *Indravajrā*: v. 13 *Sālinī*: v. 15 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 ओम्²॥ स्वस्ति जयोभ्युदयश्च॥ जयति³व्योमकेसो(शो)सौ यः सर्गाय वि(वि)भक्ति तां(ताम्)³ । ऐंदवी⁴
- 2 सि(शि)रसा लेखां जगद्बी(द्वी)जांकुराकृति(तिम्) ॥[१॥*] तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिशं⁵ जटाः । क-
- 3 ल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ॥[२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
- 4 स्व(श्व)रश्रीमद्यशोवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)-
- 5 रश्रीमज्जयवर्मदेवराज्ये व्यतीते निजकरकृतकरवालप्रसादावाप्तनिजाधिप-
- 6 त्यसमस्तप्रणस्तोपेतसमधिगतपंचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)ल(+ *)कारविराजमानमहाकुमारश्रीमल्ल-
- 7 क्ष्मीवर्मदेवपादानुध्यातसमस्तप्रणस्तोपेतसमधिगतपंचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)लंकारविराजमा-
- 8 नमहाकुमारश्रीहरिश्चंद्र⁶देवमुतश्रीमदुदयवर्मदेवो विजयोदयी ॥⁷ विध्यमंडले
- 9 नर्मद⁸पुरप्रतिजागरणकवोडसिरासत्काष्टचत्वारिंशन्मध्ये गुणउरा⁹ग्रामनिवासि-
- 10 नः प्रतिग्रामनिवासिनश्च स¹⁰मस्तराजपुरुषवि(वै)षयिकपट्टकिलजनपदादीन्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणोत(त्त)-
- 11 रान्वो(न्वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥¹¹ अस्मा[भिः] श्रीविक्रमकालातीतषट्पंचास(श)दधिकद्वाद-
- 12 शस(श)तसंवत्सरान्तःप्रा(पा)ति अंके १२५६ वैशाख सु(शु)दि-१५ पौर्णमास्यां तिथौ विसा(शा)खानक्षत्रे परिधयो-
- 13 गो रविदिने महावैसा(शा)ख्यां पर्वणि गुवाडाघट्टे रेवायां स्नात्वा सिन(त)पवित्तवाससी परिधाय देव-
- 14 रि(ऋ)षि¹²मनुष्यान्संतर्प्य चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्य समित्कुस(श)तिलान्नाष्टाहुतिभिर्हिर-
- 15 ण्यरेतसं हुत्वा भानवर्ष(र्ष्य) विधाय कपिलां त्रिः प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपस्पृश्य(ष्य) च संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा नलिनी-
- 16 दलगतजललवतरलतरं जौ(यौ)वनं धनं जीवितं चावेक्ष्य ॥¹³ उक्तं च । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिप-
- 17 त्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषा(ष)योपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)दुसमा नराणा धर्मः सुखा परम-
- 18 हो परलोक्याने ॥[३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधारा[धारा*]मिमां श्रियं(यम्) [१*] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चा(श्चा)त्तापः परं फ-
- 19 लं(लम्) ॥[४॥*] ¹⁴इति जगतो विनस्व(श्व)रं रूपं(प)माकलष्ट(य्य) मातापितरोरात्मनश्च यसः(शः)पु-

¹ From facsimiles accompanying Fleet's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The correction as in the brackets and some others of this type have not been made by Fleet in his transcript.

⁴ As stated above, almost all the lines have a single or double *daṇḍa* at the end; they are not noted separately.

⁵ In place of this and the preceding letters some other letters appear to have been engraved originally.

⁶ The parts of this letter appear to be disconnected.

⁷ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, as also observed by Fleet.

⁸ The engraver first seems to have cut दा, and then erased the *mātrā*.

⁹ The last three letters in this name appear to have been corrected later.

¹⁰ This letter is so formed as to show a combination of the palatal and dental sibilants.

¹¹ The *daṇḍas* are redundant.

¹² Read देवऋषि or देवर्षि. *Sandhi* is optional here, according to the commentary in Pāṇini VI, i, 128, as also noted by Fleet.

¹³ The punctuation marks are superfluous.

¹⁴ One of the circles forming this letter was omitted in the process of engraving.

Second Plate

- 20 ण्यचि(वि)वृद्धये निलयवकुशोदकपूर्व गग्गोवाय गग्गसैन्याङ्गिरमेति-
- 21 विः(वि)प्रवराय वाजिमनेयमाश्विने¹ अग्निहोतृयजधरमुनद्विवेदपुरोधासमालू(? लू)-
- 22 शर्मणे त्रा(त्रा)द्विषाय उपरिलिखितगुणउराग्रामो निधिनधिपकल्याणधनसहितः मवृक्षमाला-
- 23 कुलो(लङ्)चतुष्कटविमु(गु)द्धो वापीकु(कू)पतडागारामनदीश्चोत(स्रोतो)वाड²वाटिकाद्युपयुक्तः सर्वश्रयन्तरमिद्व्या
- 24 सह यावच्चद्रदिवाकरसमुद्रसरे(रि)दष्टकुलपर्वताष्टकुलनागाष्टोदिग्गजैश्चउपिद्र³मिद्विविद्याधरादि-
- 25 भिः महिता वसुमती तिष्ट(ष्ठ)ति तावच्छासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तः । तदत्र ग्रामनिवामिपट्टकिलादिलोकैस्त-
- 26 था कर्पकैश्च यथोत्पद्यमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविध्र(धे)यैर्भूत्वात्रग्रामीयं सर्वम-
- 27 स्मै प्रदातव्यं(व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुद्धा(बुद्ध्वा)स्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरम्भत्प्रदत्तधर्मा(र्म)-
दाये(यो)-
- 28 यमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्चा(श्च) यतो(तः) [1*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुवता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य
यस्य यदा भू-
- 29 मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [11५॥*] भूमि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(हणा)ति यस्तु भूमि(मि) प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति [1*]
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणी नियतौ(त) स्व-
- 30 गंगामिनौ [1१६॥*] शंखं भद्रासनं च्छत्रं वरास्व(श्वो) वरवाहनं(नम्) [1*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि
फलमेतत्पुर(रं)दर [1१७॥*] हर्ता हा-
- 31 रयिता भूमि(मि) मंदबुधि(बुद्धि)स्तमोवृतः [1*] स व(व)द्धो वारुणैः पासे(शै)स्तिर्यग्योनेः(निः) प्रजायते [1१८॥*]
स्वदत्ता(तां) परदत्तां च यो⁵ हरेत वसुंध-
- 32 रां(राम्) [1*] षष्टिवष(षं)सहस्राणा(णि) विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां जायते कृमिः [1१९॥*] सुवर्ण(र्ण)मेकं
गामेका(कां) भूमेरप्येकमंगुल(लम्) [1*] हरन्वरकशाप्तते⁶ य[1*]वदाभ(भू)-
- 33 तस(सं)प्लवं(वम्) [1१९०॥*] त्रीण्याहुरतिदानानि गावः पृथी(थ्वी) सरस्वती [1*] आसप्तम पुनंत्ये(त्ये)-
ता दोहवाहनिवेदनैः । [1१९१॥*] यानीह दत्ता[नि पुरा नरे]-
- 34 द्रैदानानि धर्मार्थयम(श)स्कराणि [1*] निर्माल्यवातिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पु-
- 35 नराददीत [1१९२॥*] सव्वनितान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो या[च]ते रामभद्रः [1*] सामा-
- 36 न्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणा काले⁷ काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [1१९३॥*] मद्रसं(श)जाः परम-
- 37 हीपतिवस(वंश)जा वा पापान्निवृत्तमनसो⁷ भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालयां(यं)ति मम
- 38 धर्ममहं तु(नु?) तेषां पादारविंदयुगलं⁷ सि(शि)रसा नता(मा)मि । [1१९४॥*] इत्याषेयवचनक्र-
- 39 ममवगम्य⁸ कमलदलाम्बुवि(म्बुवि)दुलोलं श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । स-
- 40 कलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्धा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति(प्याः [1१९५॥] इति ॥
स्वहम्नो-
- 41 यं महाकुमारश्री⁹उदयवर्मदेवस्य ॥ दू¹⁰ श्रीमंडलीकक्षेस्वराजः । श्रीः [1*]

¹ Read वाजिमनेयमाश्विने. It may also be noted that sometimes *sandhi* is not performed in the grant portion.

² The word वाड is current in Mālwa, in the sense of product of water-side. The compound word thus means the product standing along the stream. Fleet corrected the word to वीड, which is a local word for 'fallow ground.'

³ Read -अष्टदिग्गजैश्चोपेत. For the form of स् at the beginning of this line, see n. 10. on the last page.

⁴ The horizontal bar of this sibilant is omitted.

⁵ This and the preceding letter may together be read as चयो or चाया, but the consonant of the first of them is definitely engraved as च् and not व्.

⁶ Read हरन्वरकमाप्नोति.

⁷ This *akshara*, which is just before the rectangle containing the figure of Garuḍa, is followed by a *kāka-pada*, to attract attention to what follows in the same line.

⁸ This prose portion is written before the verse which begins with इति, and the *visarga* of the last word of it is dropped in consideration of the following.

⁹ *Sandhi* is not observed here as in a number of similar examples, for instance, with श्रीउदयादित्य in many inscriptions, above.

¹⁰ This is an abbreviation of दूतक. मंडलीक is probably the same as *Maṇḍalō* of the modern times.

No. 47 ; No PLATE

PIPLIĀNAGAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1267

THE copper-plate bearing the subjoined inscription is stated to have been found, some time in the early years of the last century, in a field of the village of **Pipliānagar** in the Shujālpur *parganā* of the Shājāpur District of Madhya Pradesh. It was acquired by the Jāgirdār of the village and presented to L. Wilkinson who was then Political Agent at Bhopāl. Wilkinson published his reading of the text in Nāgarī, with a translation, but without an illustration, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Volume V (for 1836), pp. 377 ff; but he has stated nothing as to the dimensions, weight and the other details of the plate, and the whereabouts of its existence are not known to-day. Thus, failing to obtain its impression or a photograph, I edit the inscription here from its transcript published by Wilkinson, with my notes appended to it.

The inscription is in **Nāgarī** and the **language** is Sanskrit. It is composed in verses, with the exception of a small sentence paying obeisance to *dharma* in the beginning, the formal portion with the date, in the middle, and the mention of the composer's name, *etc.*, in the end, which are all in prose. The **orthography** calls for no remarks except that (1) the consonant following *r* is generally doubled with a few exceptions, *e.g.*, in *dharmāya*, l. 1, but not in the same word in v. 9; and (2) the general use of an *anusvāra*, even at the end of a sentence or a verse. It may also be observed here that the word *kṛmi* is spelt as *krimi* in verse 22.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation of the entire village (*samastō' = pi grāmaḥ*) known as Piḍiviḍi, situated in the Śakapura *pratiḷāgaraṇaka*, by Arjunavarman, and it was announced by the king from his stay at Maṇḍapa-*durga*, to all officials and the public of the village. The **date** of the gift is recorded to be the **tenth day of the bright half of Phālguna** of the year **1267**, mentioned both in words and figures, just following the poetical portion ending with verse 19. The date regularly corresponds to **Thursday, the 24th February, 1211 A.C.** The year was Kārttikādi, expired.

To note the contents of the inscription, it begins with a small sentence in prose, paying obeisance to *dharma* which is the crest-jewel of all the *purushārthas*; and following this, there are 19 stanzas in the *anushṭubh* metre, the first four of which respectively invoke the blessings of the Moon, Paraśurāma, Rāma and Yudhishṭhira. The following 12 stanzas (vv. 5-16) are devoted to the description of the dynasty of the **Paramāras** of (reigning at) **Dhārā**, beginning with **Bhōjadēva** (vv. 5-6), who was followed by **Udayāditya**, who stripped off the glory of his adversaries. This is probably a veiled reference to the prowess of this king in restoring the glory of his house, as we have seen above.² Udayāditya's son was **Naravarman** (vv. 9-10), his son **Yaśōvarman**, and his son **Ajayavarman** (v. 11), his son **Vindhyavarman** who vanquished the strength of (the king of) Gujarāt (vv. 12-3), his son **Subhaṭavarman** (vv. 14-5),³

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX. p. 24, No. 10, and n. 4.

² The expression *tataḥ* in v. 7 has to be taken in the sense of after him and not from him, in which sense also it is often used. The adjective *nity-ōtsāhaika-kautukī* appearing in the second foot of the verse and applied to Udayāditya has been translated by Wilkinson as "whose constant delight was the pursuit of pleasure". This is evidently wrong and goes against history. I take the expression to mean "whose sole delight was to perform deeds of valour". This ruler is known to have subdued the enemies who had overpowered the kingdom in the last days of Bhōjadēva, as also referred to by the expression *mahā-kalaha-kalpa* in the next verse of the present record.

³ Between Vindhyavarman and Subhaṭavarman a king of the name of Amuṣhyāyaṇa is interposed by Wilkinson, who mistook an epithet for a proper name. This was first pointed out by F. E. Hall in *Journ. of the Am. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 37. Similarly, Wilkinson has not well brought out the meaning of verse 13, in which the expression *uddhṛitya dhārayā* is used as a *double entendre*, meaning (1) by the blade of (his) uplifted sword, and (2) by the liberation of (the town of) Dhārā, the Paramāra capital.

and his son **Arjunavarman** (v. 16). The description is all poetic, offering little of historical significance, as we shall presently see. Following this, the record has three verses, all in the same *anushṭubh* metre and devoted to the description of Arjunavarman; the first of these speaks of his success over Jayasimha and the second of his learning and efficiency in music. After this is mentioned the formal portion of the record with the date which we have discussed above.

The donee of the grant was *Purōhita* Gōvindaśarman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, a student of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā* with the three *pravara*s. Kāśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva, who had hailed from a place known as Muktāvasu. He was a son of *Paṇḍita* Jaitrasimha, grandson of *Paṇḍita* Sōmadēva and great-grandson of *Avasāvika* (*Avasthin?*) Dēlaṇama (Dēlhaṇa?).¹ Further we are told that the donation was to last as long as the moon, the Sun, the oceans and the earth endure; then, with three imprecatory and predicative stanzas (vv. 21-23) and repeating the date in figures only and with the mention of the name of *rājaguru* Madana who composed it at the instance of the *mahā-ṇḍita* Bilhaṇa, the record comes to a close.

Verse 11 of the present record tells us that Yaśōvarman had a son named Ajayavarman (*tasmād = Ajayavarm = ābhūt*); this expression is reproduced in the following two inscriptions of the king and in the Māndhātā grant of Devapāla and Jayavarman²; whereas in the other set of records which are all in prose,³ the name of Yaśōvarman's son appears as Jayavarman; and this led Kielhorn to hold that Yaśōvarman had two sons with the names of Jayavarman and Ajayavarman who were two different persons.⁴ But when we consider that there is not even a single inscription which mentions both these names and also that there are two different sets of records—all those which are in prose invariably give the name to be Jayavarman and all those which are in poetry give it as Ajayavarman, the identity of both these persons is established beyond doubt, and it also follows that in the latter of these sets the name Jayavarman is changed to Ajayavarman only to suit the metre.⁵

The expression *Gurjarōchchhēda-nirbandhī* applied to Vindhyavarman in verse 12 has a reference to his success in liberating the Paramāra kingdom which had suffered a disastrous plight at the hands of the Chaulukyas since the days of Yaśōvarman whose kingdom had been captured by Jayasimha Siddharāja, as seen above.⁶ Vindhyavarman's contemporary king of Gujarāt was Mūlarāja II (c. 1176-78), who was followed by Bhīma II, whose inscriptions range from 1178 to 1239 A.C., and thus who too was a contemporary of Arjunavarman. Bhīma's kingdom was almost in an unsteady condition because of internal disorder and foreign invasions. The incursions of the Yādava Bhillama and his son Jaitugi from the south and the raids of the Chāhamāna Kēlhaṇa and the Muslims under Qutb-ud-dīn from the north had weakened the forces of Gujarāt, and, as we know, one Jayasimha had usurped the throne for himself. And the Jayasimha mentioned in verse 17 of the present inscription may safely be taken to be this usurper who was a contemporary of Arjunavarman, with whom it was natural for him to come to a clash when both these kingdoms were on enemical terms. The details of the strife are not known, but the statement recorded in the present inscription tends to indicate the success of Arjunavarman over Jayasimha.

The **localities** mentioned in the inscription are **Maṇḍapa-durga**, **Śakapura**, which was a *pratiṅgarāṇaka* (*parganā*), and the villages **Piḍiviḍi**, and **Muktāvasu**. The first of these is evidently the fort of Māṇḍū (District Dhār, M.P.), about 35 kms. south of Dhār, by metalled road. It will therefore be reasonable to look for the situation of Śakapura, as near Māṇḍū as possible. There is a place known as Salkanpur (N. 75° 22' Long; E. 22° 31' Lat.), about 16 kilometres straight north of Māṇḍū, and it is possible to identify this place with the Śakapura of the inscription. Piḍiviḍi, the donated village may possibly be represented by the

¹ Here Wilkinson's reading seems to be doubtful.

² See Nos. 48-49, 51 and 57.

³ See Nos. 39, 45 and 46.

⁴ For details, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 384.

⁵ It may also be noted here that even though the name is mentioned here as Ajayavarman, I take it for the sake of metrical exigencies; and in the third foot, the expression *Jayaśrī* appears to indicate that the same ruler was also known by the name Jayavarman.

⁶ See No. 38, above. Also see p. 131.

modern name Pārliā, about 7 kilometres north by west of Salkanpur¹. I am tempted to propose these identifications because of their close proximity to Māṇḍū, where Arjunavarman was staying when he made the donation. **Muktāvasu**, the place from which the donee had hailed, cannot be identified for want of sufficient data.

TEXT²

[Metres: Vv. 1-19, 21-22 *Anuṣṭubh* (Ślōka); v. 20 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 23 *Pushpitāgrā*].

ओं³ नमः पुरुषार्थचूडामणये धर्म्मयि ॥
 प्रतिबिबतया भूमेः कृत्वा साक्षात्प्रतिग्रहं⁴ ।
 जगदाह्लादयन् दिश्याद् द्विजेंद्रो⁵ मङ्गलानि वः ॥१॥
 जीयात्परशुरामोसौ क्षत्रैः क्षुण्या⁶ रणाहनैः ।
 मध्यार्कविबभेयोर्वी दानुर्यम्यैति ताम्रतां⁷ ॥२॥
 येन मंदोदरीवाष्पवारिभिः शमितो मृधे ।
 प्राणेश्वरीविद्योगाग्निः स रामः श्रेयसेऽस्तु वः⁸ ॥३॥
 भीमेनापि धृतौ मूर्द्धनि यत्पादौ स युधिष्ठिरः ।
 वंशाद्येनेदुना जीयात्स्वतुल्य इव निमितः ॥४॥
 परमारकुलोत्तमः कमजिन्महिमा नृपः ।
 श्रीभोजदेव इत्यासीदासीमक्रांतभूतलः ॥५॥
 यद्यशश्चंद्रिकोदेति⁹ दिगुन्मंगतरंगिते ।
 द्विषन्नृपयशःपुंजपुंडरीकैर्निमीलितं¹⁰ ॥६॥
 ततोभूदुदयादित्यो नित्योत्माहैककौतुकी ।
 अमाधारणवीरश्रीरश्रीहेतुविरोधिनां¹¹ ॥७॥
 महाकलहकल्पांते यम्योद्दामभिराणुगैः ।
 कति नोन्मूलितास्तुंगा भूभृतः कटकौलवणाः¹² ॥८॥
 तस्माद्भिन्नद्विषन्मर्मा नरवर्मा नराधिपः ।
 धर्माभ्युद्धरणे धीमानभूमीमा महीभुजां¹³ ॥९॥
 प्रतिम(प्र?)भानं विप्रेभ्यो दनैर्ग्रामपदैः स्वयं¹⁴ ।

¹ Map of Quarter Inch, Sheet No. 46 N. Ganguly's identification of Piḍiviḍi with Pipliānagar itself where the plates were found, has no basis. For the correct identification of Śākapura and Piḍiviḍi, see our remarks below, in No. 60.

² As transcribed by L. Wilkinson in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, pp. 378-79. He did not give the text line by line.

³ Probably denoted by a symbol, as usual.

⁴ Read —हम्. In विव that precedes and in all the other instances in this record, the consonant *v* for *b* seems to have been used in the original.

⁵ This word here means *dvija-rāja*, i.e., the moon, and the idea implied is as the moon takes (the sun's rays) for giving away (reflecting them), so the Brāhmaṇas also.

⁶ Read क्षुण्या.

⁷ Read —ताम्. The word *mēyā* is used to mean "worth comparing (with the rising or setting Sun)".

⁸ Wilkinson, and following him Hall, misunderstood this verse which means that Rāma, who in the battle, allayed the fire (pang) of separation from the beloved (Sītā) with the water in the form of Mandōdarī's tears, may be for your welfare.

⁹ Read —द्योते, as in the following two grants which are exact copies of this.

¹⁰ Read —तम्.

¹¹ Read —ताम्. For the sense of the second quarter of this verse, see *n.* 2 on p. 162.

¹² Here the words *bhūbhṛit* and *kaṭaka* are used in double sense, the first of these to denote a king and a mountain, and the second, an army and a ridge.

¹³ Read —जाम्.

¹⁴ Read —यम्.

अनेकपदतां नित्ये धर्मो येनैकपादपि ॥ १० ॥
 तस्याजनि यशोवर्मा पुत्रः क्षत्रियशेखरः ।
 तस्मादजयवर्माभूज्जयश्रीविश्रुतः सुतः ॥ ११ ॥
 तत्सूनुर्वीरमूर्धन्यो धन्योत्पत्तिरजायत ।
 गुर्जरोच्छे(च्छे)दनिर्वधी विध्यवर्मा महाभुजः ॥ १२ ॥
 धारयोद्धृतया मारुद दधाति स्म त्रिधारतां^१ ।
 मांयुगीनस्य यस्यासिस्त्रातुं लोकत्रयीमिव ॥ १३ ॥
 तस्यामुष्यायणः पुत्रः मुत्तामश्रीरथाशिषत् ।
 भूपः मुभटवर्मेति धर्मो तिष्ठन्महीतलं^२ ॥ १४ ॥
 यस्य ज्वलति दिग्जेतुः प्रतापस्तपनद्युतेः ।
 दावाग्निमुमना^३ऽद्यापि गर्जन्गुर्जरपत्तने ॥ १५ ॥
 देवभूयं गते तस्मिन्नंदनोर्जुनभूपतिः ।
 दोष्णा(ष्णा) धत्तेऽधुना धाभी(?)^४बल्यं बल्यं यथा ॥ १६ ॥
 वा(वा)ललीलाहवे यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते ।
 दिक्ष्या(क्षा)लहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितं^५ ॥ १७ ॥
 काव्यगांधर्वमर्वस्वनिधिना येन मांप्रतं^६ ।
 भारावतरणं देव्याश्चक्रे पुस्तकवीणयोः ॥ १८ ॥
 नेन विविधवीरेण^७ त्रिधा पल्लवितं यशः ।
 धवलत्वं धधुम्बीणि जगन्ति कथमन्यथा ॥ १९ ॥

म एव नरनायकः सर्वाभ्युदयी शकपुरप्रतिजागरणके पिडिपिडिग्रामे समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् प्रति-
 निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च बोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितां यथा मंडपदुर्गाविस्थितैरस्माभिः सप्तपट्ट्यधिकद्वादशशतसंवत्सरे
 फाल्गुणे(ने) १२३७^८ शुक्लदशम्यामभिषेकपर्वणि स्नात्वा भगवतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा
 तथाहि ।

वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वमुधाधिपत्यमापानमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलबिन्दुममा नराणां धर्मः सखा परमहो
 परलोक्याने ॥ १२० ॥*

इति सर्वं विमृश्यादृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य मुक्तावमुस्थानविनिर्गताय वाजमनेयशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोवाय काश्यप^९वत्सारनैधुवतिप्रवराय
 अवमाविकदेलगमप्रपौत्राय^{१०} पडितभोमदेवपौत्राय पडितजैवसिंहपुत्राय पुरोहितगोविदशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय समस्तोपि ग्रामश्चतुः-
 (प्)कंकटविशुद्धः मवृक्षस्प(मा)लकुलः महिरण्यभागभोगः सोपस्करः^{११} सर्वदायसमेतः सविनिक्षेपो^{१२} मातापितरोरामनश्च
 पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये चंद्रार्कणवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वं प्रदत्तः तन्मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्य-
 थादीयमान(नं) भागभोगहिरण्यादिकं देवब्राह्मणभुक्तिवर्जमाजाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वममुष्मै दातव्यं^{१३} [१*] सामान्यं
 चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वा(द्ध्वा)ऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोऽयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च [१*] उक्तं च ।
 व(व)हृभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः । सम(ग)रादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)
 ॥ १२१ ॥* स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां क्रि(क्र)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह
 मज्जति ॥ १२२ ॥* इति कमलदलांबुविदुलोलां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।

^१ Read -ताम्. This implies the two blades of his sword, with the capital town Dhārā. For the translation of this verse, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 346, n.

^२ Read -लम्.

^३ This is evidently wrong. Read छद्मता, as in the other grants of the king.

^४ Read -धात्री as in No. 49 (v. 16), which is its copy.

^५ Read -नम्.

^६ Read -नम्.

^७ The expression *trividha-vīra* signifies *dharma-vīra*, *dāna-vīra* and *yuddha-vīra*.

^८ In view of the date being clearly mentioned here in words, this should be corrected to 1267.

^९ Read काश्यपावत्सार-.

^{१०} As in the following grant, read अवमथिकदेलहप्र-.

^{११} Read सोपरिकरः.

^{१२} Read सनिधिनिक्षेपो-.

^{१३} Read -व्यम्.

सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा (द्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥१२३॥*]
 संवत् १२३७^१ फाल्गुण (न) शुद्ध १० गुरौ रचितमिदं महापंडितश्रीबिल्हणसंमतेन राजगुरुणा मदनेन ॥

No. 48 : NO PLATE

SEHORE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1270

THE copper-plate which bears this inscription was found some time about 1836 and reached the hands of the late L. Wilkinson who was then Political Agent at Bhopāl, the Chief town of the old Bhopāl State, now integrated with Madhya Pradesh. While publishing the **Pipliānagar** inscription in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume V (1836), as seen above, Wilkinson observes on p. 377: "Three other copper-plates have since been found at the same village. I have not yet time to translate, or indeed to decipher them." From this statement it is possible to conclude that the present copper-plate too, like the one referred to above, was found at the same village² and possibly exactly under the same circumstances, i.e., in the process of ploughing a field. Some time thereafter, the plate reached the library of the Begum's School at Sehore,³ a District headquarter in Bhopāl, where it was examined by Fitz-Edward Hall, D.C.L., who noticed the inscription engraved on it in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume VII (1859), giving his own reading of the text on pp. 52 f., accompanied by a translation (pp. 33 f.), but without an illustration of the facsimile. The inscription is edited here from Hall's transcript thereof.

It is said to be a **single plate**. Its measurements are not known. The inscription on it is in **Nāgarī** and the language is **Sanskrit**, composed in an admixture of prose and poetry. The initial portion which begins with a small sentence *Om namaḥ puruṣārtha-chūḍāmaṇayē dharm-māya*, followed by 19 verses in the *anushtubh* metre, is practically identical with the previous inscription, composed by the same poet; the difference is only in the portion dealing with the grant and the date, which is here expressed in words and is repeated in figures in the concluding part of the record.

The grant portion may be divided up into two parts, the first of which states that **Arjunavarman**, after oblation at the *Sōmavatī-tīrtha*, granted to the excellent family priest (*supurōdhasē*), the *Paṇḍita* Gōvindaśarman, a plot of land for (constructing) the residence (temple?) for *daṇḍādhipati*,⁴ extending as far as the boundary of the occupied houses on the (main) street (*pratōlī-prāgāra-sīmā-paryantam*) in Mahākālapura, probably Ujjain. The date of this grant is stated to be **Monday, the 15th of the dark half of Āshāḍha**. The year is not mentioned; possibly it may be the same as of the following grant.

The inscription thereafter records another grant made by Arjunavarman from his stay at Bhṛigukachchha, which is the modern Broach in the Bombay State. The day of this grant is recorded to be **amāvāsyā of the dark half of Vaiśākha when there was an eclipse of the Sun**. The equivalent of the date, as calculated by Kielhorn, is the northern Vikrama 1270

¹ See *n.* on the correction of the date on the preceding page.

² Pipliānagar in the Shujālpur *tehsil* of the *Shājāpur* District in Madhya Pradesh. The village lies in 23° 8' N. Lat. and 76° E. Long. The inscription is also known after the name of Bhopāl. Since the plates of this and the next inscription were for long deposited at Sehore where they were examined by Hall in 1859, I prefer to call them both after the name of this town.

³ This place is about 15 kms. straight north-west of the find-spot of the inscription, and for the same reason the inscription is called here after this name. In his *Appx.* to the *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, D. C. Ganguly remarks that the find-spot of this inscription is unknown. See *H. P. D.*, p. 364, No. 32.

⁴ The expression *daṇḍādhipati* may mean either the deity popularly known as Kāla-bhairava who has a rod in his hand and who is always associated with Śiva, or a royal Police Officer in charge of the place.

expired (*pūrṇimānta*), which corresponds to **Monday, 22nd April, 1213 A.C.**, when there was a total eclipse of the Sun, visible in India.¹ The grant consists of a village of the name of Ubhuvōsaha, appertaining to Sāvairisōlē.² The conditions, with all the details of the grant, are the same as of the previous grant, and the donee too is the same *Purōhita* Gōvindaśarman as of the first grant recorded here and the details about whom (*i.e.*, his lineage and learning, *etc.*) are given in the preceding grant.

The concluding portion of the record repeats the date and year in figures. It does not contain any imprecatory verse as the previous one from which the initial and the concluding portions are copied. In the end the record tells us that it was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana, at the instance of the *Mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* Paṇḍita Bilhaṇa, both these persons being the same as connected with the preceding inscription. After this, the **sign-manual** of the king Arjunavarman is engraved, followed by the statement that the inscription was engraved by *Paṇḍita* Bāpyadēva.

Of the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription, the town of **Mahākālapura** is Ujjain, as has been indicated above. **Sōmavatitirtha** seems to be a holy place on the Siprā which flows by Ujjain. No indication is available as to the identification of **Ubhuvōsaha** and **Sāvairisōlē**. **Bhṛigukachchha** is, of course, Broach.

TEXT⁴

* * * * *

५म एष नरनायकः सर्वाभ्युदयी सावइरिसोलेसम्बद्ध उत्तरायणोग्रामे उभुवोसह⁶ ममस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्
प्रति निवामिषट्किलजनपाददीश्च बोधयति ।
अस्तु वः⁷ आषाढवदि १५ सोमे सोमवतीतीर्थे स्नात्वा श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवेन मुपुरोधमे पण्डितगोविन्दाय
महाकालपुरमध्ये दण्डाधिपतिवासविग्रहमुदकपूर्व प्रदत्तं⁸ प्रतोलीप्रागारसीमापर्यन्तम् ।
संविदितं⁹ यथा श्रीभृगुच्छसमावासितैरस्माभिः सप्तत्यधिकद्वादशशतसंवत्सरे वैशाखवदि ¹⁰अमावास्यायां सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि
स्नात्वा भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य संमारस्याऽमारतां दृष्ट्वा ।¹¹

* * * * *

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 175 No. 114. Thus, the aforementioned date, which must of course be taken earlier, regularly corresponds to 11th June, 1211 A.C. (for the same Vikrama year), for the *Kārttikādi* V. expired and the month beginning with the full moon.

² An additional word *uttarāyaṇō* also occurs here. I am unable to explain it. See *n.* on the corresponding portion of the text, below.

³ D. C. Ganguly's identification of this place with Savda, a town in the Khandesh District (*H. P. D.*, p. 202) is not convincing.

⁴ As transcribed by F. E. Hall in *Journ. of Am. Ori. Soc.*, Vol. VII, pp. 52 f. Hall's transcript is not line by line, but I have retained the lines of his transcript.

⁵ The preliminary portion, which is practically identical with that of the preceding grant, as Hall says, was omitted by him in his transcript and thus it cannot be given here, as the original too is now missing.

⁶ The meaning of this expression is rather indistinct. *Uttarāyaṇō* as a name of a village is rather curious and equally curious is the name *Ubhuvōsaha*. Probably the expressions appear to denote some two villages and if so, the use of *saha* may be justified. *Sāvairi* appears to be the name of the leading village, as can be guessed by the use of the word *sambaddha*. It is, however, not known if the word *sōlē* is to be taken here in its local use denoting sixteen, as actually taken by some, for which see *H. P. D.*, p. 201.

⁷ Supply *संविदितं* here.

⁸ Read *vigrahaḥ . . . pradattaḥ*. The first of these words which means 'body', appears to have been used here in the sense of an image to be installed in a *vāsa* (temple) to be constructed on the spot. Hall translated this expression as "a ground plot for a temple of *daṇḍādhipati*"; but cf. Barnett who says that *vigraha* here means a section or block and *vāsa* means a house. Thus the gift consisted apparently of a block of buildings which belonged to (the office called) *daṇḍādhipati*. Also see *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 896, n. 2.

⁹ Insert च after this word.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* is again violated here.

¹¹ The punctuation mark is redundant.

इति सर्व विमृश्याऽदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्य मुक्तावस्थूःस्थानविनिर्गताय वाजसनेयशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपा-
वत्सारनैध्रुवेतिविप्रवरायाऽऽवमथिकदेल्हप्रपौत्राय पण्डितसोमदेवपौत्राय पण्डितजैवमिहपुत्राय पुरोहितगोविन्दशर्मणं ब्राह्मणाय
समस्तोऽपि ग्रामश्चतुःकङ्कटविशुद्धः मवृधमालाकुलः महिरण्यभागभोगः सोपरिकरः सर्वादायसमेतः मनिधिनिक्षेपो
मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रार्कावक्षितिसमकाल यावत् परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वं प्रदत्तः ।
तन् मत्वा तन्निवामिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकं देवब्राह्मणभुक्तिवर्जमाज्ञाविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वममुष्मै दातव्यम् ।

* * * * *

संवत् १२७० वैशाखवदि १५ सोमे । छ । श्री मु ३ । रचितमिदं महामान्धि० पं०
श्रीबिलहणसम्मतेन राजगुरुणा मदानेन ।
स्वहस्तोऽयं महाराजश्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य ।
उत्कीर्णं पण्डितबाप्यदेवेन ।

No. 49 ; No PLATE

SEHORE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1272

THE copper-plate bearing the subjoined inscription is said to have been deposited in the library of the Begum's School at **Sehore**, the chief town of a District in the former Bhopāl State which is now integrated with Madhya Pradesh,¹ where it was examined by Fitz-Edward Hall, in February 1859. Hall edited the inscription borne by it, with his reading of the text in Nāgarī characters and its translation into English, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume VII (1862), pp. 24 ff.; but his article is not appended with an illustration. Besides, he has not brought out all the important points with reference to the inscription. The record is edited here from his reading of the text, as the original or its impression is not possible to obtain.

It is stated to be a **single** copper-plate, the measurements of which are not known. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit, composed in an admixture of prose and poetry. The opening portion of the record is the same as that of the preceding two grants; it begins with a small sentence paying obeisance to *dharma*, followed by a passage containing 19 stanzas in the *anushtubh* metre, consisting of four invocatory verses and 15 verses giving the genealogy of the **Paramāra** house beginning with **Bhōjadēva**, to which **Arjunavarman** belonged. The concluding part of the record is also a true copy of the preceding inscription, and it differs only in respect to that portion which records the details of the grant and the date, which is expressed in words, with the grant, and repeated in figures in the end.

The grant was made on the **full-moon day of the month of Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) Samvat 1272 when there was an eclipse of the moon**. The date regularly corresponds to **Wednesday, 9th September, 1215 A.C.**, when there was a **lunar eclipse** visible in India.² The donation was made by the king Arjunavarman, from his stay at the holy place (*tīrtha*) known as Amarēśvara, after taking bath in the confluence of the Rēwā and Kapilā, and it consisted of a plot of land in the village of Hathināvara in the Pagārā-*pratiṣṭhāgāraṇaka* (*parganā*). The measurements of the land are not recorded, and the expression used in this connection is only

¹ The portion between the asterisk marks is identical with that of the previous inscription.

² This name appears as Muktāvasu in the previous grant.

³ Read चतुष्कण्ट, which has been so often explained.

⁴ Also known as the Bhopāl plate. About the original find-spot of the plate and its subsequent history, see the preceding inscription.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX. p. 31, No. 40. The year was northern Vikrama, *expired*.

bhūmīr=īyaṇ, which possibly indicates that particular plot of land where the assemblage took place.

The donee of the present grant is the same as of the two preceding grants,¹ viz., the Brāhmaṇa *Purōhita* Gōvindaśarman. Here he is given the additional title of *Paṇḍita*. His genealogy, *gōtra* and *pravaras* too are mentioned to be the same as in the preceding grant. But the additional term mentioned in the donation here is *ghaṭṭādāya*, which means the tax collected for passing, landing or transporting goods on the *ghaṭ*, which is quite appropriate as the gift village Hathināvara lies on the Narmadā on its north bank: and it is interesting to note that it was in those days a ferry station.

The portion dealing with the grant is followed by the imprecatory and other concluding verses, as in the previous grant, with an additional stanza—*I'ātābhra-vibhramam=idam*, etc. (v. 23). After this, the date, as seen above, is repeated in figures, followed by the auspicious symbol *chha* and some others, and, in the end we are told that the record was composed by the *Rājaguru* Madana, who also had composed the two preceding records, with the consent of *Rājā* Salakhana², who was then the *mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* (expressed in its short form). The grant, after this, bears the royal signature *Sva-hast=ōyaṇ Mahārājaśrī-Arjunavarmadēvasya*, stating in the end that it was engraved by *Paṇ*, i.e., *Paṇḍita* Bāpyadēva, who is the same person who engraved the preceding record.

The **geographical names** mentioned in this inscription are: (1) Narmadā, (2) Kapilā, (3) Amarēśvara *tīrtha*, (4) Hathināvara and (5) Pagārā. Of these, the river **Narmadā** is well known, and **Kapilā** can be identified with the stream now known as Kolār which joins the Narmadā near **Amarēśvara**, which is the well known place Ōmkāra-Māndhātā in the east Nēmād District of Madhya Pradesh. It is interesting to note that this stream is the same as *Kuvilārā*, mentioned in the Dēwās grant of Naravarmā. **Hathināvara** is the same as the modern village of the name of Hatnāwar, situated about 3 kilometres west of Dharampurī in the Manāwar *parganā* of the Dhār District, in Lat. 22° 9' N. and Long. 75° 21' E. The village takes its name from a stone-figure of an elephant in the centre of the Narmadā opposite the village³. **Pagārā**, which is mentioned as a *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka* in the present grant, may be identified with the village of the same name, lying about 12 kilometres north of Dharmapurī.⁴

TEXT⁵

[Metres: Verses 1-19: 21-22 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 20 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 23 *Śālīnī*; v. 24 *Pushpitāgrā*]

ग्रोम्⁶ । नमः पुरुषार्थचूडामणये धर्माय ।
प्रतिविम्बनिभाद् भूमेः कृत्वा साक्षात् प्रतिग्रहम् ।
जगदाल्लादयन् दिश्याद् द्विजेन्द्रो मङ्गलानि वः ॥१॥
जीयात् परशुरामोऽसौ शत्रैः क्षुण्णं रणाह्वैः ।
सन्ध्याकविम्बमेवोर्वीदातुर्यस्यैति⁷ ताम्रतम् ॥२॥

¹ Nos. 47-48, above.

² This person is evidently the same as the father of Anayasimha, the donor of the Māndhātā grant of V.S. 1331 (No. 60, below) which gives him the credit of vanquishing the army of Siṃghaṇa of Dēvagiri and winning some other battles for his master Arjunavarmadēva (vv. 59-60). There he is called *sādhanika*, in l. 126.

³ *Western States Gazetteer*, Malwa, p. 501.

⁴ This view, however, is not conclusive, for, as suggested by Shri J. Dube, a Lecturer at Hardā, there are two other villages bearing the names Hathnāpur and Pagārā, lying on the north bank of the Narmadā, in the south-eastern border of the Bhopāl District, just opposite to Guvāḍā-ghaṭṭa mentioned in Udayavarman's inscription dated V. 1256 (No. 46, l. 13); and they may equally be taken to be identical with the two places mentioned in our record. There is no conclusive evidence on the point. In any case, D. C. Ganguly's suggestion identifying Pagārā with the village Pagar near Pachmarī in the Hoshāngābād District (*H. P. D.*, p. 202) cannot be upheld, since, besides being very distant, it is on the south bank of the river and not on the north, as mentioned in our inscription.

⁵ As transcribed by Hall in *J. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff. His transcript is not line by line.

⁶ Probably denoted by a symbol.

⁷ In the preceding grant the seventh syllable was read as *yō*.

येन मन्दोदरीवाष्पवारिभिः शमितो मृधे ।
 प्राणेश्वरीवियोगाग्निः स रामः श्रेयसेऽस्तु वः ॥३॥
 भीमेनापि धृता मूर्ध्नि यत्पादाः स युधिष्ठिरः ।
 वंशाद्येनेन्दुना जीयात् स्वतुल्य इव निर्मितः ॥४॥
 परमारकुलोत्तंसः कंसजिन्महिमा नृपः ।
 श्रीभोजदेव इत्यासीन् ना सीर^१क्रान्तभूतलः ॥५॥
 यद्यशश्चन्द्रिकोद्योते दिगुत्सङ्गततरङ्गिते ।
 द्विषन्नृपयशःपुञ्जपुण्डरीकैर्निमीलितम् ॥६॥
 नतोऽभूदुदयादित्यो नित्योत्साहैककौतुकी ।
 असाधारणवीरश्रीरश्रीहेतुर्विरोधनाम् ॥७॥
 महाकलहकल्पान्ते यम्योद्दामभिराशुगैः ॥
 कति नोन्मूलिताम्नुङ्गा भूभृतः कटकोल्वणाः ॥८॥
 तस्माच् छिन्नद्विषन्मर्मा नरवर्मा नराधिपः ।
 धर्माभ्युद्धरणे धीमानभूत् सीमा महीभुजाम् ॥९॥
 प्रतिप्रभातं विप्रेभ्यो दत्तैर्ग्रामपदैः स्वयम् ।
 अनेकपदतां नित्ये धर्मो येनैकपादपि ॥१०॥
 तस्याऽजनि यशोवर्मा पुत्रः क्षत्रियशेखरः ।
 तस्मादजयवर्माऽभूद् जयश्रीविश्रुतः सुतः ॥११॥
 नत्सूनुर्वीरमूर्धन्यो धन्योत्पत्तिरजायत ।
 गुर्जरोच्छेदनिबन्धो विन्ध्यवर्मा महाभुजः ॥१२॥
 धारयोद्धृतया मार्ध दधाति स्म त्रिधारताम् ।
 सायुगीनस्य यस्याऽसिस्त्रातुं लोकत्रयीमिव ॥१३॥
 तस्याऽमुष्यायणः पुत्रः मुवामश्रीरथाऽजिषत् ।
 भूपः सुभटवर्मेति धर्मो निष्ठन् महीतलम् ॥१४॥
 यम्य ज्वलति दिग्जेतुः प्रतापस्तपनद्युतेः ।
 दावाग्निच्छन्नताऽद्यापि गर्जन् गुर्जरपत्तने ॥१५॥
 देवभूयं गते तम्मिन् नन्दनोऽर्जुनभूपतिः ।
 दोष्णा धत्तेऽधुना धावीवल्यं बल्यं यथा ॥१६॥
 बाललीलाहवे यस्य जयमिहे पलायिते ।
 दिक्पालहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥१७॥
 काव्यगान्धर्वसर्वस्वनिधिना येन साम्प्रतम् ।
 भारावतारणं देव्याश्चक्रे पुस्तकवीणयोः ॥१८॥
 येन विविधवीरेण विधा पल्लवितं यशः ।
 धवलत्वं दधुम्नीणि जगन्ति कथमन्यथा ॥१९॥

स एष नरनायकः सर्वाभ्युदयी पगाराप्रतिजागरणके नर्मदोत्तरकूले हथिणावरग्रामे पूर्वराजदत्तावशिष्टायां भूमौ
 नमस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् प्रतिनिवामिपट्टकिलजनपदादीश्च बोधयति ।

अस्तु वः संविदितं श्रीमदमरेश्वरनीर्थाविस्थितैरम्माभिर्द्विमपत्त्यधिकद्वादशशतमंवत्सरे भाद्रपदपूर्णिमास्यां चन्द्रोपरागपर्वणि
 रेवाकपिलयोः सङ्गमे स्नात्वा भगवन् भवानीपतिमोङ्कारं लक्ष्मीपति चक्रस्वामिनं चाऽभ्यर्च्य संसारस्याऽसारतां
 दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि ।

^१ Perhaps *nāsira* is intended to be one word here. It means the front of an army. Along with the fourth part, it may be translated as one who has subdued the earth: and if this word is split up into two, it means a man (*nā*) who overpowered the world as the sun (*sira*). In No. 47 we have आसीमक्रान्तभूतलः.

वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यम्
 आपातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ।
 प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविन्दुममा नराणां
 धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥२०॥

इति सर्वं विमृश्याऽदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्य मुक्तावस्थस्थानविनिर्गताय वाजमनेयशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारने-
 ध्रुवेतिप्रवरायाऽऽवसथिकदेहप्रपौत्राय पण्डितसोमदेवपौत्राय पण्डितजैत्रसिहपुत्राय पुरोहितपण्डितश्रीगोविन्दशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय
 भूमिरियं चतुःकङ्कट^१विशुद्धा मवृक्षमालाकुला महिरण्यभागभोगा सोपरिकरघट्टादायलवणादायेत्यादिसर्वादायसमेता सन्निधिनक्षेपा
 मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत् परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वं प्रदत्ता ।
 तन् मत्वा तन्निवामिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वममुष्मै दातव्यम् ।
 मामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वाऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मा (मै) दायोज्यमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च ।

बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः मगरादिभिः ।
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२१॥
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुधराम् ।
 स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२२॥
 सर्वानिवं भाविनो भूमिपालान्
 भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः ।
 मामान्योज्यं धर्ममेतुर्नराणां
 काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥२३॥

इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां
 श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।
 मकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा

न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥२४॥ इति । संवत् १२७२ भाद्रपद सुदि १५ बुधे । छ । श्री
 मु ३ । रचितमिदं महासान्धि० राजासलखणमम्मतेन राजगुरुणा मदननेन ।

स्वहस्तोज्यं महाराजश्रीअर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य ।
 उत्कीर्णं पं० वाप्यदेवेन ।

No. 50 : PLATE XLVIII

HARSAUDĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DEVAPĀLA

[Vikrama] Year 1275

THIS inscription is engraved on a stone slab which was found in the ruins of a temple at Harsaudā, or Harsūd,² in the Harsūd *parganā* of the East Nēmāḍ District in Madhya Pradesh, some time in the sixth decade of the last century. It was discovered by Fitz-Edward Hall, who brought it to light by publishing his own transcript and translation thereof.

¹ Read *chatuskaṅkaṭa*.

² I.e., *Paṇḍita*.

³ Situated in Long. 76° 44' E ; Lat. 22° 6' N., it is a station 53 kms. east of Khandwā on the Bombay-Itārsī section of the Central Railway. In Kielhorn's time the place was known as Harsaudā and was included in the Hoshangābād District.

in 1859, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXVIII, pp. 1-8 ; but his article is not illustrated. He describes the stone in the following words: "It measures $13\frac{1}{2}$ " (34.3 cms.) in height by 13" (33.1 cms.) in breadth, beside a raised and rounded margin. It is thick and heavy, and shaped upon the back into some form of which the intent is not now recognizable. Its material is greenstone, and tough in quality." The text of the inscription was republished, with a photozincograph, in the *Archaeological Survey of West India*, No. 10, pp. 111-12 ; and Hall again published his text and translation thereof in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume VI, pp. 536-37, to which he presented the stone ; and it is now in the Cabinet of that Society, at New Haven. The inscription was re-edited by F. Kielhorn, from impressions supplied to him by Mr. Herbert C. Tohwan of the Yale University, New Haven, in 1891, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XX, pp. 310 ff., giving his own transcript, in Roman characters, but without a facsimile and with the remark that "the text of the inscription, even after this (Hall's) note is capable of improvement."¹ The record is edited here from a rubbing prepared by Professor Van Name and supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist, who noticed the epigraph under his No. C-2041 of 1963-64 of *Ind. Ep.* It may be remarked here that my reading of the text differs at a number of places from that of Kielhorn, attention to which will be drawn in proper places.

The **inscribed portion** covers a space measuring 31 cms. broad by 33.5 cms. high and contains eighteen lines of writing, which are fairly preserved. The lower part of the stone bears a crude representation of Śiva, in a double-lined rectangle with beaded sides, 6.5 cms. broad and 4.5 cms. high, and on his proper right side are three and on the proper left side four figures of males and females of about the same height, paying devotion to him and probably representing the members of the family of the person who built the temple referred to in the record, as we shall presently see. The **height** of an individual letter varies from 1 to 1.5 cms., exclusive of the occasional flourishes above the top strokes.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C., and show no special features excepting that the initial *a* begins with a curve, as in *adhikē*, l. 7, and with a little variation in *āṣīt*, l. 11 ; the loop of *ch* is angular so as to distinguish it from *v*, e.g., in *pañcha*, l. 4 ; the left limb of *dh* is endowed with a horn as in *dharma*, l. 11, but not when the letter is a subscript, as in *śuddha*, in the same line ; and the left-hand stroke of *bh* is occasionally taken below so as to end in a tail and to resemble *t*, as in *Bhārati*, l. 2. The left limb of *ś* is often engraved so as to appear like the Nāgarī numeral 2, as in *Kēśavēna*, l. 12, and the horizontal joining bar of *s* is often omitted, e.g. in *tasy-*, l. 10, and *sadā* appearing as *rādā* in l. 15.

In some cases limbs of letters have been omitted in the process of carving, whereas in others arbitrary touches of the chisel have transformed their expected shape, often confounding them with others. Some of the glaring examples of the first type of error are: *rāja* engraved as *gaja* and *sva* in *Māhēśvara* as *mva*, both in l. 5 ; the *vē* as *dē* in *Kēśavēna*, l. 12, and *sa* as *rā* in *sadā*, l. 15. Examples of the second type of mistake are: *rā* engraved as *sa* in *Dhārāyām*, l. 4 ; *Dēvapāla* as *Dēvashāla* and *rājyē* as *rājō*, l. 6, and *-naṅga-samāna* engraved as *-naṅma-samāna*, l. 10. Some of the letters are damaged but can be restored with the help of the context. It is, however, possible that some of the parts of letters referred to above are carved shallow on the stone and consequently they may not have come out in the rubbing at my disposal.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and with the exception of one small sentence each at the beginning and at the end and the portion showing the date and introducing the name of **Dēvapāla**, the record is composed in poetry. The composition is not free from errors, the glaring mistakes being the use of the word *nikētana* in masculine in l. 11, and the composition of verses 7 and 8, offending against the metre. From all the above remarks it is evident that the composer of the inscription was neither a sound scholar nor a polished poet, and the engraver too has not done his work with proper care. But notwithstanding this, the record is historically very important, as will be shown after reviewing its contents.

The **orthography** calls for the following remarks: (1) The sign for *v* denotes *b* as well, excepting the probable case of the use of *b* in *labdha* in l. 6 ; (2) the occasional doubling of a consonant following *r*, e.g. *sarva-guṇair=loke*, l. 9 but not in *mūrtiḥ* and *kūrtiḥ*, both in l. 10 ;

¹ A few of the errors appearing in the transcript given by Hall and not noted by Kielhorn are : कुर्वन्ती (for कुर्वन्ती in v. 2), लिखार्या (for लिवार्या in v. 3), -द्वोसी (for द्वोमी in l. 8) and प्रणस्तेयं (in l. 18).

(3) the indiscriminate use of the dental and the palatal sibilants, e.g. *sadyisaṃ*, l. 13, *Gaṇṇesvara*, l. 14, *taśy* = *ātma*jō-, l. 10 and *śama* for *samaṃ*, l. 14. (4) the medial diphthongs are sometimes denoted by the *prishṭha-mātrā*, as in *tamō*-, l. 2 and *vilōkē*, l. 9, but more often by the *ūrdhva-mātrā*, as in *rājyē*, l. 6, *Kēśavēna*, l. 12, *lōkē brūtē*, l. 16 and *rāgeṇa śrēyō*, l. 17. (5) the common use of an *anusvāra* for nasals, and (6) the use of *sha* for *kha* in *lēkhaka*, l. 18. (7) Occasionally the *daṇḍa* as a punctuation mark is so close to a letter as to look like a *mātrā* attached to it, as in *vikāśadā*, l. 2.

The inscription commences with a short sentence in prose, paying adoration to Śiva (*Oṃ namaḥ Śivāya*), and then offering praise to Hēramba (Gaṇapati), who is bowed down to at the beginning of the undertakings, it invokes the blessings of the goddess of Learning (Bhārātī) and Trimūrti (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) in stanzas 2 and 3, respectively. In the following stanza (v. 4), what is technically called a *kūṭa* (a riddle) and the meaning of which we shall see in a footnote appended to the text, are again invoked the Trimūrtis. This is followed by a prose portion introducing the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* **Dēvapāla**, who was “endowed with everything auspicious and resplendent with the epithet *pañcha-mahā-śabda*”, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and who was ruling at Dhārā, gloriously because of the grace of the goddess Līmbāryā, who may be taken to have been a local deity.¹ Then the record provides the date with details: it is **Saturday, the fifth of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha of the (Vikrama) year 1275**, which, according to kielhorn, corresponds to **Saturday, the 24th November, 1218 A.C.**² Then is mentioned the **object** of the inscription, which is sectarian: it is to record the construction of a temple of Śambhu by one Kēśava, who belonged to the mercantile community and who was a brother of Dhala, a son of Bilhaṇa and a grandson of Dōsī, a resident of Undapura. Kēśava also excavated a tank near the temple which was on the north-eastern side³ of the place and near it also put up images of Hanumat, Kshētrapāla, Gaṇēśa, Kṛishṇa and others, Nakulīśa and Ambikā (vv. 6-11). Verse 14 states that the inscription was composed by Dēvaśarman; and wishing well to the writer and the reader, the epigraph ends.

The present record is interesting in several respects. This is so far the earliest known inscription connecting Dēvapāla, a scion of the *Mahākumāra* line with the main branch of the Paramāra family ruling at Dhārā.⁴ The latest known year of Arjunavarman of the main branch is 1215 A.C. when he issued the Sehōre grant;⁵ and when and how his rule ended is not known: but the statement of the present inscription shows that he was succeeded by Dēvapāla, some time before 1218 A.C. The difficulty that presents itself in the present inscription, however, is the mention of both the contradictory titles, *viz.*, that of a feudatory and of an independent chief, associated with the name of Dēvapāla. This was already noted by Kielhorn while editing it, but he did not arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem. And in view of both the contradictory titles attached to Dēvapāla's name in the present record, it appears very probable that in the first instance, in the natural course, he succeeded his father Hariśchandra with the title of *Mahākumāra*,⁶ and for some time he may have ruled as a subordinate prince of the main branch: but soon after, with the end of the rule of Arjunavarman who may have left behind him no worthy person in the main branch, the throne of Dhārā was also held by Dēvapāla, who styled himself as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. In this connection it is worthy of note that the Māndhātā grant of this ruler, which was issued only seven years later, in V.S. 1282, gives him only the title of an independent king. And in view of all our findings we may connect the word *Dhārāyāṃ*, in l. 4, with the expression *Dēvapāla-charaṇānāṃ vijaya-rājyē* in l. 6, taking the phrase denoting the subordinate title in the sense “one who had (already before) been resplendent with the epithet *pañcha-mahā-śabda*”, as testified to by the grammatical construction also.

¹ To be seen below.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 24, No. 11.

³ Literally, the direction (north-east) which is guarded by Īśa, i.e., Śiva. According to the Hindu mythology, each of the ten quarters is guarded by a *digpāla*.

⁴ In the two inscriptions from Udaipur (below), Dēvapāla is called only a Paramāra ruler without the mention of his capital.

⁵ Above, No. 49.

⁶ That the succession did not pass on to him from his brother Udayavarman is evident from the next grant which in its v. 21 introduces him immediately after Dēvapāla and omits the name of Udayavarman.

The inscription also states that Dēvapāla obtained majesty (*i.e.* the sovereignty of Dhārā) through a boon bestowed upon him by the favour of Limbāryā, who may be taken to have been a local deity to whom he was devoted. A parallel case we have noticed is that of Naravarman who was devoted to the goddess of the name of Charchikā, who endowed him with power. And we may probably hold with Kielhorn who states that "the rulers of Dhārā adopted the phrase in imitation of a similar phrase employed by the Chaulukya kings of Aṇhilwād, with whose inscriptions they had reason to be familiar."

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Dhārā** is well-known; and **Harshapura** is the modern village of Harsaudā, or Harsūd, where the inscribed stone was found. **Undapura** I am unable to identify for want of sufficient data in the record.² Kielhorn, however, states that this place is probably mentioned also in the Udayapur inscription of which he has given the date in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 28, No. 28 (unpublished). According to his reading, it is [Uda?]pura.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1-6, 9-12 and 14 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 7-8 *Upajāt* (both irregular);³ v. 13 *Sālīnī*.⁴

- 1 ओ३ नमः शिवाय ॥ सर्वकर्मसमारम्भे गीर्वाण्यो नमस्कृतः ॥ (1) न मया पार्वतीपुत्र[ये] हेरवः(वः)⁶
[स्तू]य-
- 2 नेवि(नि)शं(शम्) ॥१॥[11*] भारती भवता भूयाद्रामुल्लामविकाशदा⁷ ॥ (1) जगज्जाड्य(ड्य)नमोऽधस्तात्कुर्वती
भा रवै(वे)रिव ॥२॥[11*]
- 3 केशाः कंजालिकाशाभा हंकाररिपिनाकिनः । विविगोगतयो दद्युः श वोम्बुजादुन[गौ]कमः⁸ ॥३॥
- 4 संवत् पंचमस्तत्यधिकद्वादशशतांके⁹ १२७५ मार्गमु(मंशु)दि ५ मत्तौ(शनी) स्वस्ति श्रीमद्वाराया समस्त-
प्रशस्तोप(पे)त-
- 5 समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दा(ब्दा)ल(लं)¹⁰कारविराजमानपरमभ[द्रा]रकमहारा[जा]¹¹धिराजपरमेस्व(स्व)रपरममाहेस्व(स्व)रश्री-

¹ It may here be noted that the *Prabhāvakacharita* (p. 143) mentions Limbajā (*i.e.* Limbāryā) as the *gōtra-dēvī* or the family-deity of the king.

² I may, however, propose to identify the place with Uṇḍwā which is about 8 kms. west-northwest of Harsūd on the Chhōḍā-tavā, a tributary of the Narmadā and lying in Lat. 22° 6' N.; Long. 76° 39' E.

See *Ind. Atlas*, Sheet No. 55 ^B
S E.

³ From a rubbing, supplied to me through the courtesy of the Chief Epigraphist, at his request, by Prof. Van Name.

⁴ In the fourth foot of v. 7 the third letter is required to be *guru*, and the error can be eradicated by reading the letter as *lla*, as it was probably intended. Verse 8 has its first and fourth feet in the *Indravajrā* metre whereas the second in the *Vaiśāstha* metre and the third in *Indravaiśā*.

⁵ Before this syllable there is an ornamental device which was taken by Kielhorn as a flower, but to me it appears to be a rayed Sun.

⁶ The *anusvārā* on *ra* is surrounded by an ornamental device resembling a petal on each of the four sides.

⁷ Here, as also in some other instances, the *daṇḍa* is engraved so close to the following letter as to appear as a *mātrā*.

⁸ Read —वोम्बुजाम्बुनगौकमः, which would offend against the metre but which has to be corrected as शं वोम्बुजाम्बुनगौकमः, to suit the metre. Parts of the third of these letters appear as scored off. This difficult verse was first explained by Hall as follows:

"May Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva (*Ka-I-Īśa*) — in colour resembling, severally, the water-lilly, the black bee, and the *kāśa* grass (*kañjalka-ali-kāśa*), having, respectively, for weapons, menacing utterances, a discus, and the *pināka* (*huñkāra-ari-pināka*); moving, in order as enumerated, with birds, a bird, and a bull (*vi-vi-gō*), and whose abode is on the Jambū-bearing mountain, bestow on you prosperity (*J. Am. O. Soc.*, Vol. VI, p. 537). Kielhorn suggested to translate the last compound as 'whose abode is, respectively, a lotus, the water, and the mountain' (*abja-ambu-naga*). Kielhorn also read the first *akshara* of the verse as *kai*, stating that the superscript line which turns *ē* into *ai* is very faint, but it is undoubtedly there. But he does not justify the reading *Kaiśāḥ*. And in this respect the following way of solving the compound is proposed: अश्व ईशश्च एणौ; कश्च एणौ चिति कैशाः.

⁹ As already noted by Kielhorn, one would expect -*śatē* = *śatē* here.

¹⁰ The sign of *anusvāra* was originally omitted and engraved subsequently, but it is only a dot, unlike others.

[illegible]

From Facsimiles

- 6 लि¹म्वा(म्वा)यप्रिनादवरल²ध्र(ध्र)³प्रतापश्रीमदे(दे)वपा(पा)लदेवचरणाणा महीप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये मति
7 ॥ अश्रिके⁴ पंचमपन्त्या द्वादशा[व्द(व्द)]गते शके [१*] वंजेर⁵ चित्रभानौ तु मार्ग(र्ग)शीर्षे मिते
दले ॥८॥ पंचम्यंतकमो(मं)-
8 योगे नक्षत्रे विष्णुदैवते । योगे⁶ हर्षणमज्ञे [तु] तिथ्यर्द्धे धातृदैवते ॥९॥ श्रीमदुदपुरे म(पू)र्व्वमासीद्दोसीति-
9 पुरूपः ॥(१) ख्यातः म^७र्व्वगुणैर्ल्लोके वि(वि)लोके⁷ सम्मतः सताम् ॥८॥ तदौगमः शुद्धमतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव
श्रीवि(वि)हृ^८ ॥⁸
10 णानं[गम]मानमृतिः ॥(१) तथ्या(स्या)त्मजोभूट्टणिजां महात्मा श्रीदल(ल्ल?)नामा महनीयकीर्तिः ॥९॥⁹
11 तस्यानुजः केशवनामधेयो त(व)णिक[प]थे शुद्धमतिर्जने रतिः(तः) ॥(१) आशी(मी)तदा धर्मनिकेतनः मदा¹⁰
12 भूदेवभक्तः स्वजनेतिरक्तः ॥८॥ तेषा(ना)कारि मनो धर्मं केशवेन मुजन्म[ना]¹¹ ॥(१) नलिनीदलनीरेण
13 पश्यता¹² मद्मं(शं) [व]पुः ॥९॥ हर्षपूर्व्वान्पुरादै(दे)जविभागे लोकनंदनं(नम्)¹³ । चकारायतनं म(शं)भोरं-
भोनिधि-
14 शम(ममं) मरः ॥९०॥ तत्तन्निधाने ह[नु]मत्के(त्क्षे)वपालगणेश्व(श्व)रात्(न्) । स्था¹⁴पयामास कृष्णादीन्कुलीशम[था]-
15 म्बि¹⁵(म्बि)काम् ॥९१॥ लोकानुरागतस्यागादिप्रसंतर्पणात् [म]दा । देवाच्चर्चन्ना(ना)ग्निहोमाभ्यामर्ज्जित सुपहा(सुमह)-
16 द्यशः ॥९२॥ लोके [वू(वू)]ते केशवः सत्यवाक्यं मन्त्रप्रादं यो न[रः] पश्यतीमं(मम्) ॥(१) सद्वापं
मां भूतमे मुप्र ॥¹⁶
17 सिद्धं जानत्त्वेते मज्ज[ना]: सर्व्वदैव ॥९३॥ महाजनानुरागेण [श्रे]यो मम वितत्त्वं(त्वं)ता ॥(१) कृता श-
18 स्ता प्रजन्मैयं¹⁷ धीमता देवशर्म[णा] ॥९४॥ शुभं भवतु लेप(प)क¹⁸पा[ठ]कयोः सर्व्वदैव ॥ शिवमस्त(स्तु) ।

No. 51 ; PLATES XLIX-L

MĀNDHĀTĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DĒVAPĀLA

[Vikrama] Year 1282

THE plates on which this inscription is engraved were discovered in 1905 by the late Shri K. K. Lele, then Director of Education in the former State of Dhār, now integrated with Madhya Pradesh : and a brief notice thereof was made by the same scholar in an issue of *Jñāna Prakāśh* (a local paper from Poona) and in *Subōdha-Sindhu* (published from khaṇḍwā),

¹ This is following Kielhorn and as the name appears in the other sources mentioned above. The consonant of the *akshara* in the impression before me is definitely न.

² This letter is badly engraved and also has a chisel mark above.

³ The right-hand curve of this letter appears to have been originally omitted and was engraved subsequently. The *danḍas* at the beginning of this line are superfluous.

⁴ Read वन्मेरे. The first of these letters is damaged.

⁵ A subsequent attempt was made to correct this *akshara*.

⁶ A curve resembling *u-mātrā* appears to have been attached to *sa*.

⁷ Probably by a superfluous chisel mark the *tri* appears as *vi*.

⁸ The *danḍas* are redundant and the first and the tenth letter of the first foot of this verse are damaged in the very process of engraving.

⁹ This sign of *visarga* is evidently superfluous.

¹⁰ Read निकेतनं. The following *sa* is so formed as to look like *sha*.

¹¹ The first two *aksharas* of this word have each an *anusvāra* over it, and the last two *aksharas* appear to have been corrected subsequently. The consonant of *ṣṭ* is engraved as *d*.

¹² Kielhorn read *pushyatā*, but the impression before me clearly shows the word as I have taken here.

¹³ Kielhorn read *manḍanam*, which I do not find in the impression before me.

¹⁴ The superscript of this *akshara* is engraved as *m*, as in some other cases also, which are not noted separately.

¹⁵ A redundant superscript *r* was at first wrongly engraved on this letter and an attempt seems to have been made to score it off later.

¹⁶ The *danḍas* are redundant. The first, third, fourth and the seventh *aksharas* of this *pāda* are all wrongly engraved. As suggested by Kielhorn, read [नदामं] मां भूत[ले] मुप्रमिद्धं.

¹⁷ Read प्रजन्मैयं, but it would not suit the metre and hence I follow Kielhorn in reading प्रजमेयं.

¹⁸ The slanting stroke of the preceding *akshara* is omitted and hence the letter appears as *pa*.

dated 2-2-1907. A transcript of the inscription, with a translation and notes, is said to have been prepared and furnished to the authorities by a pleader of the name of Pyare Lal Ganguli ; and the record was subsequently edited by F. Kielhorn from his own reading of the text from impressions supplied to him by Cousens, who was then the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Western India. Kielhorn's article, with his transcript in Roman characters, was published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IX (1907-08), pp. 103 ff., with facsimiles between pp. 110-11. The inscription is edited here from an excellent set of impressions kindly supplied to me, at my request, by Shri V. P. Rode, the Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, where the plates were then transferred and are now exhibited. I have also revised my reading from the original plates kindly placed at my disposal by the Curator.

The plates are stated to have been found near the temple of Siddhēśvara at **Māndhātā**, better known by the longer name Ōmkāra-Māndhātā,¹ which is an island in the Narmadā and is attached to the East Nēmāḍ District in Madhya Pradesh. They were enclosed in a receptacle made of two stones, measuring, as stated by Kielhorn, 1' high by 1' 5¼" broad.² It is a set of **three** copper-plates, which are all substantial and held together by two circular rings, passing through two ring-holes, each of about 1.6 cms. diameter, pierced through the middle of the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second and the third. The rings are open and do not seem to have been soldered together. The plates with the rings weigh 12.10 kgm.

The first and the third plate are incised on one side only and the second on both the sides. The writing on the first plate covers a space measuring 41 cms. broad by 26 cms. high, but on the rest of the plates, whereas it is uniform in breadth, and measures 42.4 broad on each, the height of it varies : that on the second plate first side it is 27 cms. on the second side of the same it is 28.2 cms. and on the third plate it is 26 cms. As to be found on most of the grants of the Paramāra dynasty, the proper lower right corner of the third plate shows a representation of **Garuḍa** with folded hands and facing proper left, carved between two snakes, in a double-bordered rectangular space, measuring 5.2 cms. broad by 7 cms. high. The writing is very carefully and elegantly executed. The engraving is fairly deep but does not show through on the other side. Some of the letters are subsequently corrected either by erasing or scoring off, which is seen comparatively more on the third plate, which also bears redundant chisel strokes, hampering smooth reading of the text. At two places (in ll. 40 and 54) letters which were originally left in writing are subsequently carved above the lines in smaller size. The composition shows a few grammatical and other errors, which are corrected in the text and in the foot-notes appended to it.

Altogether there are 80 lines of writing, of which the first plate contains 19 lines, the second plate lines 20-38 on the first side and 39-59 on the second, and the third plate contains 60-80 lines, of which the length of the last four is shorter by about 6 cms. because of the rectangle containing the representation of Garuḍa, as stated above. The **height** of an individual letter is about 1 cm.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C., and the **language** is Sanskrit. With reference to **palaeography**, we note that the left limb of the initial *a* is formed by placing a curve below another and superimposed by a vertical stroke, as in *Akōlā*, l. 36, and *Āṅgīrasa*, l. 60 ; the initial *i* is formed of two loops placed side by side with a fine bend below and thus being almost as a pre-cursor of the modern letter, as in *iti*, l. 22 ; the initial *ē* is formed by two curved horizontal lines with their ends joined, as in *ēśah*, l. 17 ; and the initial *au* by joining the upper loop of *a* with the vertical, by a bar, as in *Aurva*, l. 40. The loop of *ch*, which has developed its angle, is clearly distinguishable from *v* ; and the initial top-stroke of *dh*, though separated from its lower left limb, shows a beautiful bend, as in *Dharaṇī-dhara*, l. 39. But as a subscript this letter loses its top-stroke and almost resembles *v*, as in *sārddham*, l. 34 and *Samuddharaṇa*, l. 42. The vertical of the *ā-mātrā* of this letter continues to be joined to the main stroke by a horizontal bar, e.g. in *vaśudhā*, l. 75. The subscript *ṇ* is engraved as l. e.g., in *dōshṇā*,

¹ Long. 76° 9' E. ; Lat. 22° 15' N. For the description of the temple, see *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1903-04, p. 57. In my visit to the place I learnt from some old persons there that the plates were found in the vicinity of the Amarēśvara temple there.

² In my personal examination, however, I noticed that the dimensions of each of the plates slightly vary from one another, their height being between 30 and 30.5 cms. and the breadth, which is a little less in the middle, between 44 and 44.9 cms.

l. 12 and *Vishṇu*, l. 41 : and the conjunct *ṇṇ* is represented by a single *ṇ* with a slanting bar across it, as in *kshuṇṇam*, l. 2. *T* has developed a fine tail of the left limb, but when a subscript or superscript, it is after a stroke, though there are exceptions to this ; cf. *kulōttama*, l. 4 ; *dig-utsaṅga*, l. 5 ; *digjētuh*, l. 11 and *pattanē*, l. 12, showing the various examples. The letter *bh* represents a transitional stage ; in more cases it is carved in its old form, but sometimes the stroke on the left is drawn below so as to resemble *t*, e.g. in *bhūtala*, l. 5, *bhārāvatarāṇam* l. 14 and *asmābhīḥ*, l. 19. *R* appears with a wedge, e.g., in *Paramāra*, l. 4 and *raaksha*, l. 16, where we also note the form of *ksh*. The form of *th*, which is engraved as *ṭv*, is also noteworthy, e.g., in *tathā*, l. 20.

As verses from 1 to 22 (ll. 1-17) are all numbered, the specimens of all numerical figures are offered by the inscription which also presents the specimens for fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ in ll. 28, 34, 49 and 50. Before the word *rachitam*, l. 79, the record contains a peculiar symbol which is very probably a monogram. With reference to **orthography**, the following points may be noted : (1) the sign for *v* also denotes *b*, e.g. *pratirivva*, l. 1 ; (2) the dental and the palatal sibilants are used very indiscriminately even in ordinary words ; e.g., in *Sūra* (for *Śūra*), l. 29, and *sarmmaṇē* (for *śarmmaṇē*), l. 41 ; and examples of the reverse are *śutaḥ* (for *sutaḥ*), l. 9 ; *vaśudhā* (for *vasudhā*), l. 21 ; and *śimha* for *siṃha*, l. 26 ;¹ (3) a consonant following *r* is doubled e.g., see *dharmma*, l. 8 and *gāndharvva-sarvvasva*, l. 13 ; but there are exceptions, e.g. *marmā*, l. 7 and *Gūrjara*, l. 9. In this respect it is worth noticing that the *ma* which is preceded by *r* is doubled in the name *Yaśōvarmmā*, l. 8 but not in *Vindhyavarmā*, l. 10, *Naravarmā*, l. 7 and *Ajayavarmā*, l. 9 ; (4) an appropriate nasal is replaced by an *anusvāra*, even at the end of a stanza or a hemistich, excepting the dental nasal in a very few cases like *bhagavantam*, l. 20, *samanvitā*, l. 73 and *anumantavyaḥ*, l. 75, and, as far as I could detect, the labial nasal only once, in *tāmra*, l. 2 ; (5) *sandhis* are often violated while mentioning the names of the donees, and, in one instance, the letter *m* at the end of a verse (as in No. 27, l. 79) is joined to the next word ; (6) the use of the *prishṭha*- and the *ūrdhva-mātrās* is indiscriminate. (7) The sign of *avagraha* occurs three times, in *sō*'=*dbhuta*, l. 15 and *-āyō*'=*yam*-, l. 75, to denote the elision of *a*, which is correct, but incorrect in *vudhvā*'=*smat*, l. 75 ; (8) The word *tāmratām* in l. 2 is spelt as *tāmratām* ; *śakti* in l. 23 as *śaktru* ; and *Paramāra* in l. 16 as *Pramāra*, evidently for metrical purposes. The word denoting three is spelt as *tru* while giving *pravaras* but *ṭri* while denoting the Vēdas ; see l. 60. Local influence is to be seen in names like *Jasōdhara*, l. 29, *Rishi*, l. 60 and *Jasadēva*, l. 64. In all such cases I have retained the exact form in my transcript of the text, sometimes correcting them in foot-notes.²

The inscription opens with a sentence in prose, paying obeisance to *dharmma* ; and in the following portion, which is metrical (using the *anushtubh* metre all through), it repeats the draft of the introductory part of the three preceding grants of Arjunavarman (Nos. 47-49). This portion, as we have already seen, after devoting the first four stanzas to *maṅgalācharaṇa*, gives the genealogical portion of the reigning house of the **Paramāras** in the following order : **Bhōja**, **Udayāditya**, **Naravarman**, **Yaśōvarman**, **Ajayavarman**, **Vindhyavarman**, **Subhaṭavarman** and **Arjunavarman** (vv. 5-19). The following three stanzas (vv. 20-22) introduce **Dēvapāla**, the son of the *Pramāra* (*Paramāra*) *Hariśchandra*, as a successor of Arjunavarman, and describe him in the usual panegyric terms.

The prose portion that follows (ll. 17-72) records the main **object** of the inscription, *viz.*, the donation of the village of **Satājūṇā** in the **Mahuaḍa** *pratiḡāgarāṇaka*, by *Dāvapāla*, from his stay at **Māhishmati** on the occasion of the **eclipse of the moon on the full moon day of Bhādrapada** in the (Vikrama) year **1282**, as mentioned in words in ll. 19-20 and repeated in figures in l. 79, where the day is also mentioned to be a **Thursday**. While editing the inscription, Kielhorn has stated that "so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect." And after making calculations of the full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada, which ended in the current and expired *Chaitrādī* and in the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1282, he has concluded that none of the possible equivalents of the date was a Thursday, and that this day in l. 79 is "erroneously

¹ Kielhorn has noted that in this record the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal, about 30 times, and the palatal for the dental about 25 times.

² Some of the *dēvī* names, e.g., *Lōhaṭa*, *Lōhaḍa*, *Alli*, *Chhītū*, *Ḍālaṇa* and *Ūdhara* are common in *Mālwa* even to this day.

written instead of Tuesday". Thus, in view of his calculations, **Tuesday, the 19th August, 1225 A.C.** seems to be really the day on which the grant was made and on which day there was a lunar eclipse also.¹

Lines 72-5 refer to the usual conditions of the grant, which are the same as of the kings belonging to this dynasty;² and lines 76-8 give the imprecatory stanzas (vv. 24-27). The last two lines of the charter record the date in figures, as stated above, and also tell us that the inscription was composed by the royal preceptor Madana, under the guidance of the *Mahā-Sāndhi-vigrahika* (the great Minister of peace and war) *Paṇḍita* Bilhaṇa.³ This is followed by the **sign-manual** of the *Mahārāja-Śrī-Dēvapāla*, and with the usual *maṅgalam mahā-śrīh*, as also to be seen in the several grants of the dynasty, the charter comes to a close.

The inscription does not specify Dēvapāla's relationship with Arjunavarman whom he is said to have succeeded, or the state of affairs leading to the former's accession. In this respect we have already seen in the preceding record that Arjunavarman of the main branch probably died without leaving a male heir, and Dēvapāla of the subordinate branch, who first succeeded his father Hariśchandra on the subordinate throne, seems to have had an opportunity of uniting both the houses and occupying the throne of Dhārā.

The number of donees of the present grant is 32 in all, as will be clear from the abstract list, given below. In each case, the charter gives the *gōtra* and *pravaras* of the donee,⁴ with the names of his father and grandfather, with his epithet or family name or his distinctive designation in an abbreviated form, along with his place (or country) of origin, and excepting in two instances (Nos. 8 and 10), also the Vēdic *śākhās* or the Vēdas studied by them. In this respect it is interesting to note that the family names or the distinctive designations change not only in one generation but sometimes with each generation. Thus whereas a donee has one epithet, his father a separate and his grandfather a still separate one. For example, Bhadrēśvara is stated to have borne the epithet *Śukla*, his father was *Āvasathika* and grandfather *Dīkshita* (l. 25). Lāhaḍa calls himself *Dīkshita*; his father was *Agnihōtrin* and his grandfather *Upādhyāya*, (ll. 63-4). Narasiṃha is stated to be *Āvasathika*, but his father and grandfather are called *Dīkshita* and *Agnihōtrin*, respectively (l. 65). From these and from some other instances that may be noted, it is evident that the epithets or family-names in those days were not necessarily stereotyped as they are now, handed down unchanged to children and grand-children.⁵

The proceeds of the whole village granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas were divided into 32½ shares (*vaṇṭakas*)⁶ in a manner as shown in the following table:

No. of donees	No. of shares allotted to each	Total No. of shares
26	...	1
3	...	½
2	...	1½
1	...	2
Total 32		32½

The charter says nothing about half of the remaining share and the only presumption that we can make in this respect is that perhaps it was the same as already donated to gods (*i.e.* temples) and Brāhmaṇas as can be seen from the statement *dēva-brāhmaṇa-bhukti-varjaṇ* (l. 74), or it was reserved for some other purposes, *e.g.*, for marking the boundary, *etc.*

¹ Also see D. R. Bhandarkar's remarks in his *I. N. I.*, No. 480.

² As we have already noted, the word *kaṅkaḷa* in the expression *chatuṣh-kaṅkaḷa-viśuddhaṇ* is a local word known in Mālwa in its corrupt form *kāṅkaḍa*, to denote the fallow ground left as boundary mark between two fields or villages. D. C. Sircar interprets the expression as *chatuṣhkaṇḍa-kaḷa*, for which see his *I. E. G.*

³ He is the same person with whose consent grants Nos. 47 and 48 were drafted; and Madana, the sculptor, is also the same who engraved these two inscriptions.

⁴ To the name of each of the donees the word *śarmaṇ* is suffixed; and with the exception of Madhyadēśa and Hastināpura (ll. 63-67 and 70 respectively), the name of the place or country of his origin has the word *sthāna* attached to each.

⁵ Cf. also the same case in Nos. 1-2, above, and No. 60, below.

⁶ Kielhorn observed that *vaṇṭaka* is synonymous with *pada*; and we may note that it is perhaps derived from the root *vaṇṭ*, to divide.

It may be noted with interest that all the three names, *i.e.*, those of the *dūtaka*, the composer and the *Mahāsāndhi-vigrahika* Bilhaṇa with whose approbation the inscription was composed, are the same as those of the preceding grants of Arjunavarman. In line 79 the present charter has the *aksharas* *dū°*, *śrī*, *mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a mark which appears to be not a name but an impression of a seal. As seen above, while editing Arjunavarman's grants, *dū* is an abbreviated form of *dūtaka*, and the following *śrī* is the same as to be prefixed to a name represented in the charter by the seal: but the significance of *mu*, which too likewise appears to be an abbreviated form of a word which is not known, and of the numeral 3 cannot be ascertained. Bilhaṇa is evidently the same as the *Mahā-sāndhi-vigrahika* of Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhyavarman, as we know from Āśādhara's *Dharmāmṛta*.¹ Āśādhara is known to have migrated to Mālwa from the *Sapādalaksha* country, which was conquered by Mahmūd Ghorī in 1192 A.C.; and Vindhyavarman must be taken on the throne of Dhārā almost during the same time in view of his contest with the Yādava Bhīllama who ascended the throne of Dēvagiri in c. 1187 A.C. and was for a few initial years of his reign fully occupied in the south.²

Studying the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, we find that most of them are connected with the donees. Out of these, **Tripurī** (modern Tēwar near Jabalpur), **Akōlā** (in Berar), **Mathurā** (in U.P.), **Dīndyānaka** (modern Dindvana in Jodhpur) and **Madhyadēśa** are well known. **Hastināpura**, according to Kielhorn, appears to be the village of Hathnāwar on the northern bank of the Narmadā and mentioned in Arjunavarman's grant, No. 49, above, but viewing the places mentioned above, it can as well be taken to be the famous place in the Punjab. **Mahāvanasthāna** may be the town in the Mathurā District, U.P., as suggested by Kielhorn; but it may also be some other place, in view of the name being very common. **Sarasvatī-sthāna** suggests its identification with the ancient Sarasvatī-pattana, the same as the modern Surwāyā in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh. As regards **Ṭakārī**, which is mentioned as the original place of three of the donees and which appears also in some other grants of the Paramāras, nothing can definitely be stated in view of the fact that in the adjacent areas a number of places still retain this name, *e.g.*, one Ṭakāryā in the Mandsaur District and one Takali in the Dewās District, and still another, Ṭhīkrī, in the Dhār District itself.³ I am also unable to say anything definite about **Āśrama-sthāna** and **Mutāvasu**. Except the mere mention of all these names, we have nothing more in the record: and this makes it difficult to be certain about the identification of any of these places. Of the other names appearing in the record, **Mālava**, **Dhārā** and **Rēvā** (Narmadā) are too well known, and **Māhishmatī** is the modern Mahēshwar in the West Nēmāḍ District. As Kielhorn has observed, the village **Satājunā** appears to be the modern village of the same name, situated about 20 kms. south-west of Māndhātā in Long. 76° 3' and Lat. 22° 8'; and **Mahuāda**, after which the *pratiṣṭhāgarāṇaka* was called, may probably be the village Mohōḍ, about 40 kms. south of Satājunā, in Long. 76° and Lat. 21° 48'. About 3 kms. to the west of Dharampurī in the Dhār District there is a village of the name of

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar's *Rep. on the Search for Sans. Mans.*, 1883-84. The expression used in the work is "*Vindhya-bhūpatih*", which, as Kielhorn has rightly observed, can only denote Vindhyavarman, and not the king of the Vindhyas of Mālwa, in view of the fact that *Arjuna-bhūpati* used there denotes Arjunavarman. Also see below, No. 185, v. 19.

² The Mutgī (Bijāpur) and the Annigere (Dhārwar) inscriptions, both dated in a year equivalent to 1189 A.C., mention this as the third year of Bhīllama's reign (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 518). And considering that during the initial years of his reign he was incessantly struggling with his enemies in the south and was also busy occupying the throne of Kalyānī, we may place his struggle with Vindhyavarman some time later.

³ To give some more examples around the region of the find-spot of the plates themselves, we find one Ṭakārī, about 20 kms. north-west of Kukshī, the headquarters of a *tehsīl* in the Dhār District; another, about 55 kms. north of Khandwā in the East Nēmāḍ District; and still another, about 20 kms. north by east of Māndhātā itself. The second and the third of the places mentioned here are on the Narmadā. For some other places bearing similar names, see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 475 and *n.* But on the ground that the place was called a centre of holy Brāhmaṇas and that a Brāhmaṇa migration from it is recorded in the Silimpur stone inscription, the identification of Tarkārikā with the place of that name and situated in the land of Varēndra in Pundra, as suggested by R. G. Basak and upheld by Dr. G. S. Gai, seems to be more appealing. See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 271 ff.

Mōḍ ; it is about 3 kms. north of the Narmadā ; and this name also suggests its identification with the Mahuāḍa of the inscription ; but its distance from Satājuṇā, which is not less than 50 miles (80 kms.), and its situation on the opposite side of the Narmadā make it less possible to identify it with the Mahuāḍa of the record, though the case cannot altogether be precluded.

Appendix A: LIST OF DONEES IN LINES 22-71

(As in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16)

No.	Name of donee	Description	Gōtra	Śākha or Vēda	Place of origin	Shares
1	Gaṅgādhara ¹	Śrōtriya	Parāśara	Vājimādhyaṇdina	Āśrama ²	1
2	Bhadrēśvara	Śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrakaṇṭha	,,	,,	,,	,,	1
4	Nārāyaṇa	Dīkshita	Audalya	Mādhyaṇdina	,,	1½
5	Śūra	Trivēda	Kātyāyana	Sāmavēda	,,	1
6	Viśvēśvara	,,	Bhāradvāja	Kauthuma	Ṭakārī	1
7	Rāma	Dīkshita	,,	Mādhyaṇdina	,,	1
8	Bhṛigu	Paṇḍita	,,	(omitted)	Tripurī	1½
9	Nārāyaṇa	Agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvathū	1
10	Gōsala	Rājan	Parāvasu	(omitted)	Akōlā	1
11	Gōsē	Mahārājapaṇḍita	Vasishṭha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	Chaturvēda	Bhārgava	,,	,,	1
13	Gadādhara	,,	Kāśyapa	,,	,,	1
14	Garbhēśvara	,,	Bhārgava	,,	,,	1
15	Lōhaṭa	,,	Kāśyapa	,,	,,	1
16	Purushōttama	,,	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Ḍiṇḍvānaka	1
17	Gadādhara	Dvivēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyaṇdina	Mutāvathū	1
18	Udaī (Udayī)	,,	,,	,,	,,	2
19	Kuladhara	Paṇḍita	Gautama	Kauthuma	Mahāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	Āvasathika	Vatsa	,,	Ṭakārī	1
21	Ananta	Agnihōtrin	Mudgala	Mādhyaṇdina	Madhyadēśa	1
22	Sthāṇēśvara	,,	Śāṇḍilya	,,	,,	1
23	Ūdhara(va?)	Chaturvēda	Dhaumya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	Trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāṇāyanī	,,	1
25	Madhusūdana	,,	,,	,,	,,	1
26	Alli	Chaturvēda	Haritakutsa	Kaṭha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lāhaḍa	Dīkshita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyaṇdina	Madhyadēśa	1
28	Narasimha	Āvasathika	Śāṇḍilya	,,	,,	1
29	Mārkaṇḍēya	,,	Mārkaṇḍēya	,,	,,	1
30	Vāyudēva	Pāṭhaka	Bhāradvāja	,,	,,	1
31	Rājē	Chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	½
32	Kusumapāla	Paṇḍita	Pārāśara	Kauthuma	Hastināpura	1
						Total = 32½

Appendix B: NAMES OF FATHERS & GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES

Ajayī, chaturvēda, l. 62.

Āśādhara, trivēda, l. 31 ; chaturvēda, l. 35.

Bharatapāla, ṭhakkura, l. 37.

Brahman, śrōtriya, l. 23 ; chaturvēda, l. 47.

Chhītū, agnihōtrin, ll. 54, 66.

Ḍalaṇa, trivēda, l. 31.

¹ All the names have the word *śarman* attached to them.

² With the exception of *Madhyadēśa* and *Hastināpura*, these names have the word *sthāna* attached to each.

Dāllāṇa, ṭhakkura, l. 37.
 Dāmōdara, śrōtriya, l. 23 ; upādhyāya, l. 67.
 Dēvadhara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.
 Dharaṇīdhara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47 ; agnihōtrin, l. 54.
 Gaṅgādhara, dīkshita, ll. 25, 50.
 Gōvinda, dvivēda, l. 48.
 Hari, chaturvēda, l. 69.
 Haridhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
 Janārdaṇa, chaturvēda, ll. 38, 70 ; trivēda, l. 53.
 Jasadhara, agnihōtrin, l. 64.
 Jasōdhara, trivēda, l. 29.
 Kāṇhaḍa, paṇḍita, l. 51 ; pañchakalpin (?), l. 71.
 Kaṭuka, agnihōtrin, l. 65.
 Kēlhaṇa, dīkshita, l. 32.
 Kēśava, dīkshita, l. 50.
 Kṛishṇa, yājñika, l. 56.
 Kumāra, pañchakalpin (?), l. 71.
 Madana, paṇḍita, l. 51.
 Mādhava, trivēda, l. 59.
 Madhu, dīkshita, l. 32.
 Madhukaṇṭha, śukla, l. 27.
 Mahādītya, āvasathika, l. 25.
 Mahīdhara, paṇḍita, l. 34.
 Mārkaṇḍa, trivēda, l. 61.
 Nāgadēva, yājñika, l. 56.
 Narasīmha, trivēda, l. 53.
 Nārāyaṇa, upādhyāya, l. 63 ; dvivēda, l. 68.
 Padmanābha, dvivēda, l. 68.
 Padmasvāmin, dīkshita, l. 28.
 Pavitra, chaturvēda, l. 43.
 Pṛithvīdhara, chaturvēda, l. 35.
 Purushōttama, dīkshita, l. 65.
 Rāmēśvara, trivēda, l. 29.
 Ṛishi, trivēda, l. 60.
 Sādhāraṇa, chaturvēda, l. 57.
 Samuddhara, chaturvēda, l. 57.
 Sīmhakaṇṭha, dīkshita, l. 26.
 Sōmēśvara, trivēda, l. 59.
 Trilōchana, dīkshita, l. 28.
 Vāsadhara, dvivēda, l. 48.
 Vijayī, chaturvēda, l. 62.
 Viṣṇu, chaturvēda, ll. 41, 57.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-22 and 24-25 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 23 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 26 *Sālinī* ; v. 27 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 मिद्धम² ॥ ओं नमः पुरुषार्थचूडामणये धम्मस्य ॥ प्रतिविव(विव)निभाद् भूमेः कृत्वा माक्षात्प्रतिग्रहं(हम्) ।
 जगदाह्लादयन्दिश्याद्वि(द् द्वि)जे-
- 2 द्रो मंगलानि³ वः । १ । जीयात्परणुरामोसौ क्षत्रैः क्षुण्णं रणाह्नैः । संध्यावर्कविव(विव)मेयो⁴र्वीदातुर्य[स्यै]ति⁵
 नाम्ब्रतां(अताम्) । २ ।
- 3 येन मंदोदरीवा(वा)प्पवारिभिः स(ज)मितो मृधे । प्राणेस्व(स्व)रीवियोगाग्निः स रामः श्रेयसेस्तु वः । ३ । भीमेनापि
 धृता मूर्द्धनि यत्पादाः

¹ From the original plates and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Above *ga* and also above the *pa* that follows, a redundant *anusvāra* was originally engraved and subsequently an attempt to scratch it off was made, but it is partially visible at both the places. The numbers of the verses are throughout preceded and followed only by one vertical stroke, and I have retained the same arrangement in the text.

⁴ The letter *yō* seems to have been engraved after scratching off another letter which was originally put in its place.

⁵ The *prishṭha-mātrā* of the preceding *akshara* is not fully engraved.

- 4 स युधिष्ठिरः । वं[शा]१५नेदुना जीयात्सु(स्व)तुल्य^२ इव निर्मितः । १४। परमारकुलोत्तमः कंसजिन्महिमा नृपः । श्रीभोजदेव इत्या-
 5 सीन्नासीरकांतभूतलः । १५। यद्यगश्चंद्रिकोद्योने दिगुत्संगतरंगिते । द्विपञ्चपयशःपुजपुंडरीकैनि(नि)मीलितं(तम्) । १६। ततोभू-
 6 दुदयादित्यो नित्योत्साहैककौतुकी । असाधारणवीरश्रीरश्रीहेतुविरोधिनां(नाम्) । १७। महाकलहकल्पांते यस्योद्दामभिरासु(शु)-
 7 गैः । कति नोन्मूलितास्तुंगा भूभृतः कटकोल्वणाः । १८। तस्माच्छिन्नद्विपन्मर्मा नरवर्मा नराधिपः । धर्मो(मर्)भ्युद्धरणे धीमानभूत्सीमा
 8 महीभुजां(जाम्) । १९। प्रतिप्रभातं विप्रेभ्यो दत्तैर्ग्रा(ग्री)मपदैः स्वयं(यम्) । अनेकपदतां नित्ये धर्मो येनैकपादपि । १०^३ ।
 तत्या(स्या)जनि यशोवर्म्मा
 9 पुत्रः क्षत्रियशेखरः । तस्मादजयवर्माभूजयश्रीविश्रुतः शु(सु)तः^४ । ११। तत्सूनुर्वीरमूर्धन्यो धन्योत्पति(त्ति)रजायत । गूर्जरोच्छेद-
 10 निर्व्व(र्व्व)ध्री विध्यवर्मा महाभुजः । १२। धारयोद्धृतया सार्द्धं दधानि स्म त्रिधारतां(ताम्) । सांयुगीनस्य यस्यासिस्त्रातुं लोकत्रयीमिव । १३।
 11 तस्यामुष्यायणः पुत्रः^५ सुत्तामश्रीरथाणिषत् । भूपः सुभटवर्म्मेति धर्मो तिष्ठन्महीतलं(लम्) । १४। यस्य ज्वलति दिग्जेतुः
 प्रतापस्तपनद्यु-
 12 तेः । दावाग्निच्छन्नाद्यापि गर्जद्गूर्ज्जरपत्तने । १५। देवभूय गते तस्मिन्नंदनोर्ज्जुनभूपति(ति)ः । दोष्णा धत्तेधुना धात्रीवल्यं वलयं
 13 यथा । १६। वा(वा)ललीलाहवे यस्य जयमिहे पलायिते । दिक्पालहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृंभितं(तम्) । १७। काव्यगांधर्व्वसर्व्वस्वनिधिना
 14 येन साप्रतं(तम्) । भारावनरणं देव्याश्चक्रे पुस्तकवीणयोः । १८। येन विविधवीरेण विधा पल्लवितं यशः । धवलत्वं
 दधुस्त्रीणि ज-
 15 गति कथमन्यथा । १९। अर्थार्थिनामपुण्येन पुण्येन स्वर्गसुभ्रुवा(वाम्) । सोऽद्भुतत्यागशीलश्च शृंगारी च दिवं गतः । २०। त-
 16 तः प्रमारचंद्रस्य हरिश्चंद्रस्य नंदनः । ररक्ष मालवक्षोणी देवपालः प्रतापवान् । २१। पवित्रकरपद्मस्य(स्य) दानवारिविजृं-
 17 भितैः । न विद्यो देवपालस्य देवपालस्य चांतरं(रम्) । २२। म एष नरनायकः सर्व्वभ्युदयी ॥^६ महृअडप्रतिजागरणके सता-
 18 जुणाग्रामे समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवाशि(सि)पट्टकिलजनपदादीश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदि-
 19 तं यथा । श्रीमाहिष्मतीस्थितैरस्म[१*]भिः(भि)द्वर्चशीत्यधिकद्वादशजन्तसंक्मरे भाद्रपदे मासे पौर्णमास्यां सो-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 20 मपर्व्वणि रेवायां स्नात्वा श्रीदैत्यसूदनमन्त्रिधौ^७ भगवन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्यं संसारस्यासारता दृष्ट्वा । तथा हि ॥ वा-
 21 ताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वशु(सु)धाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो^८ विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविं(वि)दुममा नराणां ध-
 22 र्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥[२३॥*] इति सर्व्व विमृश्यादृष्टफलमगीकृत्य ॥^९ आश्रमस्थानविनिर्गताय वाजिमाध्यंदिनशा-
 23 खाध्यायिने पराश[र*]गोत्राय पराश[र]शक्तृ(क्ति)वशिष्टे(ष्टे)नित्तिप्रवराय श्रोवि^{१०} दामोदरर्पात्राय श्रोवि^{१०} ब्र(ब्र)ह्मपुत्राय
 श्रोवि^{१०} गंगाध-
 24 रस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ महावनस्थानविनिर्गताय पवित्रगोत्राय गार्ग्यगौरीवीतांगिरसेति त्रिप्रवराय आश्व-
 25 लायनशाखाध्यायिने दी^{११} गंगाधरपौत्राय आवश(म)थिकमहादित्यपुत्राय शुक्लभद्रेस्व(स्व)रस(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमे-
 26 कं १ महावनस्थानविनिर्गताय पवित्रगोत्राय गार्ग्यगौरीवीतांगिरसेति त्रिप्रवराय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने दी^{११} शि(सि)ह-
 27 कंठपौत्राय शु^{१२} मधुकंठपुत्राय शु^{१२} चंद्रकंठम(श)र्म्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ महावनस्था[न*]विनिर्गताय औदित्यगोत्राय^{१३} मा-

^१ A redundant stroke shows that this *akshara* is a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilants.

^२ Perhaps originally *nu*, later on corrected to *uu*.

^३ The unit figure of the number of this verse shows an ornamental curve above and also below.

^४ Possibly some other *aksharas* were first engraved here and later on scratched off to give place to these three.

^५ Originally *shu*, with the cursive stroke later on erased : but it is still visible.

^६ This sign of punctuation, as also the one in the next line, is redundant. The word *dānavāri* in the preceding verse has the double meaning, viz. (1) water used in making donations, and (2) the enemy of the *dānavas*. *Dēvapāla* = (i) the king with this name; and (ii) Indra.

^७ This appears to refer to the image of Vishnu installed in an old temple in the vicinity of the well-known temple at Māndhātā.

^८ The *dhā* in *vasudhā* was originally engraved as *dhō* and later on the *mātrā* above was scratched off.

^९ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. In the following lines the rules of *sandhi* are not often observed, which have not been pointed out every time.

^{१०} That is, *śrōtriya*, here and below. It may also be noticed that these abbreviations are sometimes accompanied by the sign for zero and sometimes by a *daṇḍa*, as here. I have reproduced these signs as in the original.

^{११} That is, *dīkshita*, here and below.

^{१२} That is, *śukla*, here and below.

Here the *pravaras* are omitted.

i[illegible]

ii (a)

[illegible]

- 28 ध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने दी० पद्मस्वामिपौत्राय दी० त्रिलोचनपुत्राय दी० नारायणस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय सार्धं वंटकमेकं १।¹ म-
 29 हावनस्थानविनिर्गताय कात्यायनगोत्राय² जा(सा)मवेदाध्यायिने तृ०³ रामेस्व(श्व)रपौत्राय तृ० जसोधरपुत्राय⁴ तृ० सू(शू)रशर्मणे
 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमे-
 30 कं १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय भारद्वाजगोत्राय⁵ भारद्वाजांगिरसवा(वा)हंस्येत्येतिप्रवराय कौथुमशाखाध्यायि-
 31 ने तृ० डालणपौत्राय तृ० आशाधरपुत्राय तृ० विम्बेस्व(श्वेस्व)रशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेक १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय भारद्वा-
 32 जगोत्राय भारद्वाजांगिरसवा(वा)हंस्य(म्प)त्येतिप्रवराय माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने दी० केल्लणपौत्राय दी० मधुपुत्राय दी० रा-
 33 मस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय[य] वंटकमेकं १ त्रिपुरीस्थानविनिर्गताय भारद्वाजगोत्राय भारद्वाजांगिरसवा(वा)हंस्येत्येतिप्रव-
 34 राय पं।⁶ हरिधरपौत्राय पं। महीधरपुत्राय पं० भृगुशर्मणे⁷ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय सार्धं वंटकमेकं १⁸॥ मुतावथूस्थानविनिर्गताय
 35 काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यप(पा)वत्सारनैध्रुवेतिप्रवराय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने च०⁹ पृथ्वीधरपौत्राय च० आमा(शा)धरपु-
 36 त्राय अग्नि०¹⁰ नारायणशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ अकोलास्थानविनिर्गताय परावशु(सु)गोत्राय परावशु(सु)कांकाय-
 37 नकैकशेयतिप्रवराय ठ०।¹¹ भरतपालपौत्राय ठ०। डाल्लणपुत्राय राजगोशलशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मथुरास्था-
 38 नविनिर्गताय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने वशिष्ठगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारवाशिष्ठेतिप्रवराय चतुर्वेदजनार्दनपौत्रा-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 39 य चतुर्वेदधरणीधरपुत्राय महाराजपंडितश्रीगोसेशशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकद्वयं २ मथुरास्थानविनिर्गताय आ-
 40 श्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने भार्गवगोत्राय भार्गवच्यवनआप्नुवान¹²अर्वजामदन्येतिपंचप्रवराय च०¹³ पौत्राय¹⁴ च०
 41 विष्णुपुत्राय च० रामेस्व(श्व)रस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मथुरास्थानविनिर्गताय आश्वला[य*]नशाखाध्यायिने
 काश्यपगोत्रा-
 42 य काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेतिप्रवराय च० समुद्धरणपौत्राय च० देवधरपुत्राय च० गदाधरस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय
 वंटकमेकं १ म-
 43 थुरास्थानविनिर्गताय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने भार्गवगोत्राय भार्गववैतहव्यसावेतमेतिप्रवराय च० पवित्रपौत्रा-
 44 य च० धरणीधरपुत्राय च० गर्भेस्व(श्व)रशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मथुरास्थानविनिर्गताय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायि-
 45 ने काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेतिप्रवराय च० समुद्धरणपौत्राय च० देवधरपुत्राय च० लोहटशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा-
 46 य वंटकमेकं १ डिड्वानकस्थानविनिर्गताय शांक्षायन¹⁵शाखाध्यायिने गौतमगोत्राय गौतमांगिरसअवत्येति¹⁶तिप्रव-
 47 राय च० धरणीधरपौत्राय च० ब्र(ब्र)ह्मपुत्राय च० पुरुषोत्तमशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मुतावथूस्थानविनिर्गताय माध्यं-
 48 दिनशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेतिप्रवराय द्वि०¹⁷ गोविंदपौत्राय द्वि० वासधरपुत्राय द्वि० गदा-
 49 धरशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटक[म*]र्द्धं ३ मुतावथूस्थानविनिर्गताय माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रु-
 50 वेतिप्रवराय दी० गंगाधरपौत्राय¹⁸ दी० केशवपुत्राय उदईशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटक[म*]र्द्धं ३ महावनस्था[न*]विनिर्गताय कौ-
 51 थुमशाखाध्यायिने गौतमगोत्राय गौतमांगिरस[औ]तत्येतिप्रवराय पं० मदनपालपौत्राय पं० काह्लडपुत्राय पं० कुलधरस(श)र्मणे

¹ The numerical figure denoting the share is sometimes followed by a *danḍa*, as here, while often not so. I have retained the original arrangement, as also said above.

² The seven *aksharas* showing the *gōtra* were originally omitted and are engraved above the line. Here again the *pravaras* are omitted.

³ For *trivēda*, or *trivēdin*, here and below.

⁴ It is Prakrit or local form of Yaśōdhara.

⁵ In place of the penultimate letter some other *akshara* appears to have been wrongly engraved, or there may have been some chisel strokes. The second letter of the *gōtra* was originally engraved as *va* and later on corrected.

⁶ For *paṇḍita*, here and below. The *danḍa* is redundant.

⁷ The *sūkhās* are omitted here.

⁸ Below in II. 47 and 49, this word is spelt as *Mutāvasthū*, obviously a corrupt form of *Muktāvasthu*.

⁹ For *chaturvēda* or *-vēdin*, here and below.

¹⁰ For *agnihōtrin*, here and below.

¹¹ For *thakkura*, here and below.

¹² Read आप्नवान्. The last letter is wrongly marked *halanta*. Also read और्वे.

¹³ The name, which consisted of four *aksharas* as to be known from the four top-strokes, is omitted here.

¹⁴ Read मांख्यायन, or, more correctly, ज्ञांख्यायन.

¹⁵ Read औतत्येति. The second and the third letters of the *gōtra* that follows appear to be overwritten.

¹⁶ For *dvivēda*, or *dvivēdin*, here and below.

¹⁷ Originally the first *akshara* of the name was engraved as *gām* and subsequently the *mātrā* was erased.

- 52 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय¹ कौथुमशाखाध्यायिने वत्सगोत्राय भार्गवच्यवनआप्नुवान²अर्धजामदग्न्ये-
 53 तिपंचप्रवराय त्रि० जनार्दनपौत्राय त्रि० नरशि(सि)हपुत्राय आव०³अभिनंदशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मध्यदेशविनिर्गता-
 54 य माध्यदिन⁴शाखाध्यायिने मुद्गलगोत्राय आगिरण(स)भर - - ४ समुद्गलेतिप्रवराय अग्नि० च्छीतपौत्राय अग्नि० धरणीधरपुत्रा-
 55 य अग्नि० अनन्तशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मध्यदेशविनिर्गताय माध्यदिनशाखाध्यायिने शांडिल्यगोत्राय शांडिल्यअशि(सि)त-
 56 देवलेति प्रवराय याज्ञि०⁵ नागदेवपौत्राय याज्ञि० कृष्णपुत्राय अग्नि० स्थानेस्व(श्व)रशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मथुरास्थानविनि-
 57 र्गताय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने धौम्यगोत्राय काश्यपावत्मारध्रुवेतिप्रवराय च० विष्णुपौत्राय च० साधारणपुत्रा-
 58 य च० ऊर्ध्व[र]शर्मणे⁷ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मथुरास्थानविनिर्गताय राणायि(य)नीशाखाध्यायिने भारद्वाजगोत्राय आंगि-
 59 रसला(बा)हंस्पत्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवराय तृ० माधवपौत्राय⁸ तृ० (त्रि०?) सोमेस्व(श्व)रपुत्राय तृ० कुलधरशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय
 वंटकमेकं १

Third Plate

- 60 मथुरास्थानविनिर्गताय राणायनीशाखाध्यायिने भारद्वाजगोत्राय आगिरसवा(बा)हंस्पत्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवराय तृ(त्रि)०
 रि(ऋ)षिपौत्राय तृ(त्रि)०
 61 मार्कण्डपुत्राय तृ(त्रि)० मधुसूदनशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ सरस्वतीस्थानविनिर्गताय कठशाखाध्यायिने [हरि]तकुत्स-
 62 गोत्राय आगिरिण⁹अं(व)रीषयौवनास्वे(श्वे)तिप्रवराय च० विजयीपौत्राय च० अजयीपुत्राय च० अल्लिशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १
 63 मध्यदेशविनिर्गताय माध्यदिनशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपावत्मारनैध्रुवेतिप्रवराय उपा०¹⁰ नारायणपौत्राय अग्नि०¹¹
 64 ¹²जसदेवपुत्राय दी० लाहडशर्मणे¹³ ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मध्यदेशविनिर्गताय माध्यदिनशाखाध्यायिने शांडिल्यगोत्राय अ-
 65 शि(सि)तदेवलशांडिल्येतिप्रवराय अग्नि० कटुकपौत्राय दी० पुरुषोत्तमपुत्राय आव० नरसिंहशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ म-
 66 ध्यदेशविनिर्गताय माध्यदिनशाखाध्यायिने मार्कंडेयगोत्राय भार्गवच्यवनआप्नु(न्)वानअ(अर्ध)जामदग्न्येतिपंचप्रवराय अग्नि० च्छीतपौ-
 67 त्राय उपा० दामोदरपुत्राय आव० मार्कंडेयशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ मध्यदेशविनिर्गताय माध्यदिनशाखाध्यायिने भारद्वाजगो-
 68 त्राय आगिरिण¹⁴वा(बा)हंस्पत्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवराय द्वि० नारायणपौत्राय द्वि० पद्मनाभपुत्राय पाठ०¹⁵ वायुदेवशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटक-
 69 मेकं १ मथुरास्थानविनिर्गताय आश्वलायनशाखाध्यायिने कौत्सगोत्राय आगिरण(स)अं(व)रीषयौवनास्वे(श्वे)तिप्रवराय च० हरिपौ-
 70 त्राय च० जनार्दनपुत्राय च० राजेशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं [11] हस्तिनापुरविनिर्गताय कौथुमशाखाध्यायिने पारास(श)रगोत्रा-
 71 य पारास(श)रशक्तृ¹⁶वशिष्टेतिप्रवराय पंच०¹⁷ कल्लडपौत्राय पंच० कुमारपुत्राय पंडि०¹⁸ कुसुमपालशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय वंटकमेकं १ [1*]
 72 समस्तोपि ग्रामश्चतुःकंकटविमु(शु)द्धः¹⁹ मवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सोपरिकरः सर्वादायममेतः सनिधिनक्षेपः प-
 73 म्हालात[ल]कसमन्वितो²⁰ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यज(य)शोभिवृद्धये चद्राकर्णवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्परय[1*] भक्त्यां(क्त्या)
 शासा(स)नेनोदकपूर्वं प्रदत्तः [1*] तन्म-

¹ A redundant stroke appears on *na*.

² See *n*. on the same words above.

³ Read *āvasathika*, here and below.

⁴ Here an open space with two top-strokes is left. Read *द्वाज*.

⁵ That is, *yājñika*, here and below.

⁶ Here the first letter of the *pravara* is omitted and the third is written above the line.

⁷ The bracketed *akshara* was first engraved as *pa*, and later on corrected.

⁸ The second *akshara* of the name was at first omitted and later on written above the line.

⁹ Read *आगिरिमा*.

¹⁰ That is, *upādhyāya*, here and below.

¹¹ Read *agnihōtrin*, here and below.

¹² The Prakrit or local form of *Yasōdēva*.

¹³ Originally the first letter of the name was engraved as *lō*.

¹⁴ See the *n*. on the word above.

¹⁵ That is, *pāṭhaka*.

¹⁶ Read *शक्ति*.

¹⁷ That is, *pañchakalpin*, here and below, equivalent to modern *pañchōlī*. I hesitate to take it as an abbreviation of *pañchakula*, for, as Kielhorn has rightly remarked, most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations.

¹⁸ Obviously this stands for *paṇḍita*.

¹⁹ Read *चतुष्कंकट*. As often remarked by us, the word *kaṇkaḷa* stands for *kāṇkaḷa*, which is current even today in Mālwa to denote the boundary-line between two villages or fields.

²⁰ Some vacant space is left between the second and the third letters in the line and the bracketed *akshara* appears to have been overwritten. As Kielhorn has also remarked, this phrase is unintelligible to me. Should we read *समस्तनलकैः सहितं*, as in No. 6, l. 8, above?

- 74 त्वा तन्निवाशि(सि)पट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकं देवत्रा(त्रा)ह्यणभुक्तिवर्जमाज्ञाविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमेभ्यो
त्रा(त्रा)ह्यणेभ्यो दातव्यं(व्यम्) [1*]
- 75 सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा)ऽस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायो¹ऽयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च² ॥
उक्तं च ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्वशु(सु)धा
- 76 भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२४॥*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह
- 77 मज्जति ॥[२५॥*] सर्वानिवं भाविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले
काले पालनी-
- 78 यो भवद्भिः ॥[२६॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बुवि(म्बुवि)न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं
च बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पु-
- 79 रुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति³ ॥ सवत् १२८२ वर्षे भाद्र सुदि⁴ १५ गुरो ॥ इ.⁵ श्री मु⁶ ३ ॥
रचितमिद(दं) महासान्धि-
- 80 विग्रहिकपंडितश्रीवि(वि)ल्हणसंमतेन ।⁷ राजगुरुणा मदनेन । स्वहस्तोयं महाराजश्रीदेवपालस्य ॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः [॥*]

No. 52 ; PLATE LI

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DEVAPALA

[Vikrama] Year 1286

THIS inscription was published, without a lithograph, by F. Kielhorn, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 342, and again with a partial transcript thereof, in its Vol. XX, p. 83, No. 2. It was subsequently noticed by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Administrative Report* of the Department of Archaeology of the (former) Gwālior State, for the year ending V.S. 1974 (1917-18 A.C.)⁸, and was also included by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions* (No. 483). It is edited here from an estampage supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.⁹

The record is incised on the lower part of a pillar on the proper right side of the eastern entrance of the Śiva temple at **Udaipur** in the Bāsōdā *tehsil* of the Vidishā (Bhilsā) District of Madhya Pradesh. It consists of fourteen lines of writing, covering an area about 38·8 cms. in length and about 50·8 cms. in height. The height of the individual letters ranges between 2·5 and 3 cms. They are sparsely written, and the mechanical execution betrays want of skill. The inscription is in a good state of preservation, except that the figure showing the date has peeled off.¹⁰ The stone also shows a vertical crack on the proper right side of ll. 2-12, but it does not affect the writing.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the 13th century A.C. Worthy of note is the old form of the vowel *i* in *ity-*, l. 12, consisting of two loops placed horizontally and subscribed by the sign of the medial *u* : the slightly varying formation of *r* in *-śvara* and *rāja*

¹ As often remarked above, this word is more often used in Mālwā, even today, in the sense of *dharma-dāya*, and it is very often found used in the grants of the Paramāras, for example, in Nos. 9-11, above.

² This *akshara* has a redundant *anusvāra* above.

³ Read विलोप्याः ॥२७॥ इति.

⁴ Read शु दि.

⁵ Read दूतकः, that is, royal messenger.

⁶ The significance of this mark is not known to me. It may be a letter, denoting the name of the messenger. Or it may be an abbreviation of *mukh-ādēśah* (the order of the king).

⁷ The punctuation mark is redundant.

⁸ Unpublished. The reference here is to H. N. Dvivedi's *List*, No. 102.

⁹ His No. C-1660 of 1961-62. Subsequently, I also had an occasion to study the original, *in situ*, and compare the text.

¹⁰ See *n.* on the corresponding portion of the text below.

in ll. 2 and 5 respectively, and lastly, that of the palatal sibilant which cannot be distinguished from that of the dental, as in l. 2. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the **orthography** does not call for any special remark except that *kh* is written for *sh* in *-mukha* in l. 12. Other mistakes, such as the omission of a letter in l. 1 and of the sign of a *mātrā* here and there, will be drawn attention to and corrected in the text.

The inscription refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious **Dēvapālādēva**, who is evidently identical with the homonymous Paramāra ruler of Dhārā, whose earliest known date is furnished by the Harsūd or Harsaudā inscription to be V. 1275 and another by the Māndhātā grant dated in V. 1282.¹ The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation of some plots of land,² in the presence of the deity called here Udalmēśvara, evidently Udayēśvara, installed in the temple. And since the donee is not mentioned in the record, we may conclude that the donation was made in favour of the deity himself, in whose temple the inscription was found. The donor was Dhāmadēya(va?), an officer in charge of the treasury of the king Dēvapāla, during whose reign the record was engraved.

Opening with the auspicious symbol for *siddham*, the inscription records the date. The year, which is expressed in numerical figures only, is **1286**, which must obviously be referred to the Vikrama era; and, as the *expired* northern Vikrama year, it corresponds to **1229 A.C.** The donation was made on the **bright half of Kārttika**, on a **Friday**; and according to the *Indian Ephemeris*, this week-day fell on the seventh of the bright half and again on the full-moon day of the month, respectively corresponding to the **26th October and 2nd November**. But as the portion showing the *tithi* is lost, as stated above, we may take either of the days as intended. The impression shows space for two digits for the *tithi* and it is more likely that they may have been for pūrṇimā, which was also regarded holy for any pious deed.³

The name of the village where the donated land was situated (l. 9) has lost one of its letters and hence it cannot be identified. It was probably situated in the vicinity of Udaipur. **Pañchamukha**, which too appears to be the name of a village from the context, cannot as well be identified. However, taking *Pañchamukha* as denoting Śiva, we may suggest that Udaipur itself may have been intended by the expression Pañchamukhapattana.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [॥*] संवत् १२८६ वर्षे कार्तिक* मु(शु)दि⁶
- 2 मु(शु)के दे[व]श्री⁷उदल्ले(ये)स्व(श्व)र-
- 3 सनि(न्नि)[धे(धौ)] समस्तप्र[श]स्तोपेत्त(त)-
- 4 सम[धि]गतपं - - राह्ल(?)लंका-⁸
- 5 रविराजमानमहाराज-⁹

¹ Nos. 50 and 51, respectively.

² In l. 12 the reading appears as *visvā*. If the reading is correct, it may be connected with the local word showing the 20th part of a *bīghā*. *Visvā* (or *Bisvā*) is possibly a corrupt form of *vimśatika*.

³ This calculation is according to the Chaitrādi Vikrama expired; for the Kārttikādi Vikrama expired, Friday on the bright half of Kārttika fell on 11th October, 1230 A. C., and again on 18th October in the same year.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Expressed by symbol which looks like the Nāgarī numeral 5 or 6 and is rarely found in inscriptions.

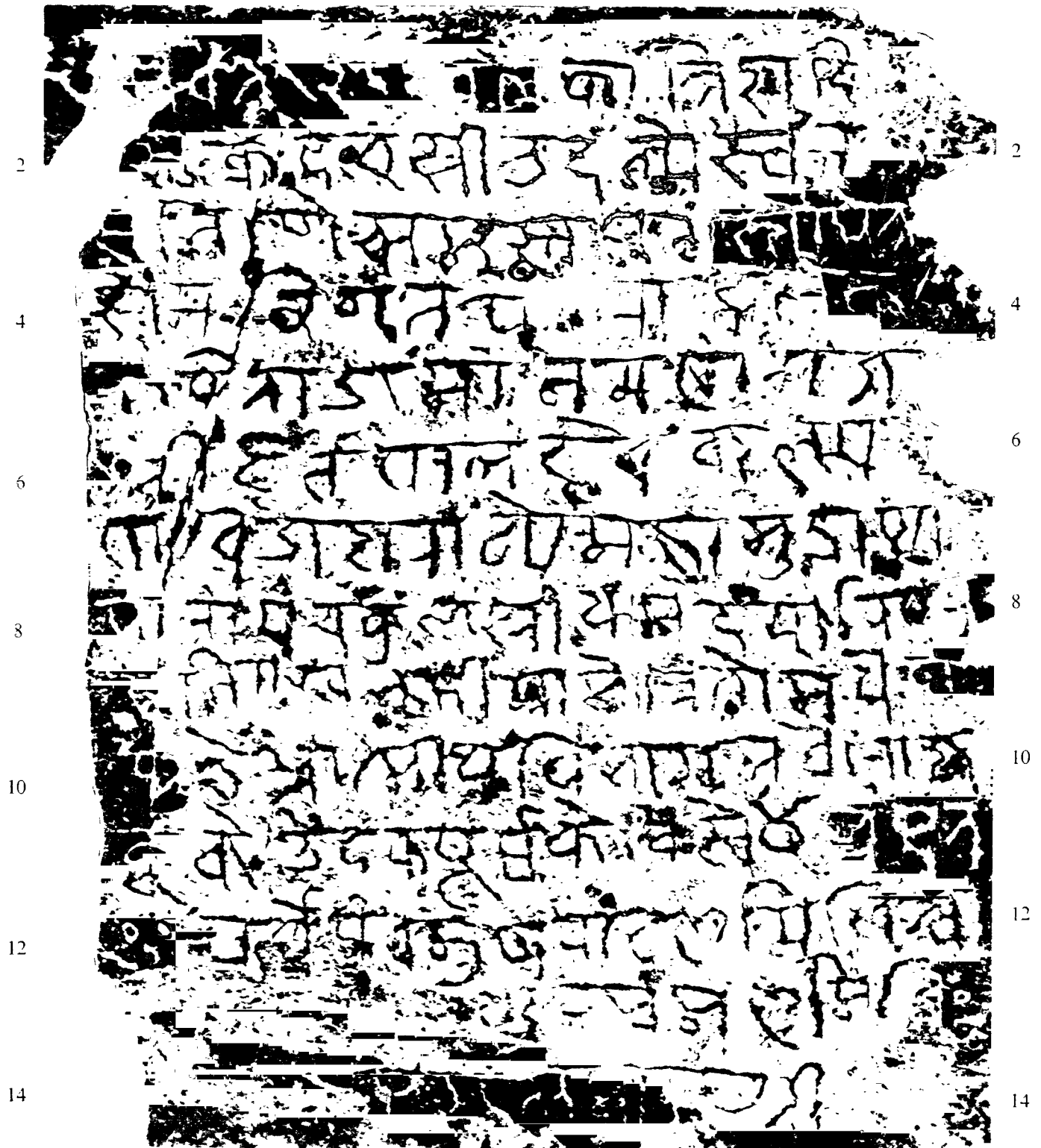
⁶ It cannot be definitely known whether the figure for the *tithi*, which appears to have been lost, was incised at the end of this line or at the beginning of the next line where a small portion of the stone has peeled off.

⁷ This *akshara* is a combination of both the palatal and the dental sibilants. *Sandhi* is not performed here and the *akshara* ल्ले is ornamental, but its reading is certain. In this respect also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 342, n. 4. Kielhorn read [ऊ]द[ले]-. Moreover, in the end of the line there appears to be a sign of *visarga*, which may have been a scratch.

⁸ The sign of the *mātrā* is detached from the letter. After the preceding पं in this line, there are traces of one *akshara* which is lost. Probably what appears to have been intended is पञ्चमहाशब्दालंकार.

⁹ The first *akshara* in this line is combined with the *daṇḍa* of the *mātrā* of the second, by a top-stroke.

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DĒVAPĀLA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1286



Scale: Two-fifths

- 6 श्रीदे[व]पालदेवकल्या-
 7 णविजयराज्ये महामुद्रा[व्या]-
 8 पारे¹ पंचकुल[श्री]धामदेय(वे?) [वितन्व]-²
 9 ति॥ ख-ही³ग्रामे। त(?)तोमधे(ध्ये) दा? -
 10 - - आत्मीयविभागमधे(ध्ये)। राय-⁴
 11 कूके⁵ उदकपूर्व[कं]⁶ वि(विं)से ४ प्रदत्त⁷
 12 इत्यर्थे(र्थ) पंचमुष(ख)पांठण⁸ मिलित्वा
 13 ———⁹ प्रम(मा)णमिति:(ति) [!]*
 14 मंगलं माह(महा)श्री[:!]*¹⁰

No. 53 ; PLATE LII

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DĒVAPĀLA

[Vikrama] Year 128[9]

THIS inscription too, like the previous one, was brought to light by F. Kielhorn when he transcribed the portion bearing the date and the name of the king, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 83, No. 3. Subsequently, it was noticed by M. B. Garde in the *Annual Administrative Report* of the Archaeology Department of the (former) Gwālior State, for V.S. 1975 (1918-19 A.C.), No. 100.¹¹ The record is still unedited. It is edited here from the original stone and an impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.¹²

The inscription is engraved on one of the left-side pillars of the eastern porch of the temple of Śiva, at **Udaipur**, in the Bāsōdā *tehsīl* of the Bhilsā (modern Vidishā) District of Madhya Pradesh. Above it, as the impression shows, are incised two small records of pilgrims which are unconnected with it. The present inscription consists of fifteen lines, occupying a space measuring 32 cms. broad by 49 cms. high. The last two lines are almost half in length of the others, as they are engraved towards the right of the space which is occupied by a few letters, incised some time previously. The height of an individual letter ranges between 2·5 and 3 cms. The record has constantly been exposed to the inclemencies of weather ; and what is besides, is that the engraving is so careless that even with all my patience and perseverance I could not succeed

¹ The reading of the *mātrā* is doubtful ; it appears as that of *ō* also.

² The letters in the brackets are indistinct and are read here as required by the sense. The next line begins with an indistinct *akshara*, which has been probably scratched off, and the *daṇḍas* in this line, as some others also below, are redundant.

³ The second letter of the name is indistinct. It appears as रु (?). For reading the name as खरेही, conjecturally, and its identification, see the next inscription.

⁴ The two letters at the beginning of this line cannot be made out, and the reading of the last *akshara* is uncertain.

⁵ The case required here is *chaturthī*, but the suffix is missing.

⁶ The punctuation marks are redundant, as some above.

⁷ Read त्त. The word is written without the case-ending. The preceding word is probably a short form of विशोपक or विस्वे (?).

⁸ The meaning of this word is not known to me. We have, however, *pañcha-mush(kh)a-pattanē* in the record that follows.

⁹ Almost the earlier half of this line is blurred and cannot be read.

¹⁰ This line is almost in the middle of others, leaving some space on either side. The *mātrā* of *mā* in *mahā* is struck off in the original.

¹¹ The Report is unpublished and the reference here is from H. N. Dvivedi's *List*, No. 104.

¹² It is his No. C-1663 of 1961-62.

deciphering some of the *aksharas* in the latter part of the record, though the purpose can be made out.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of about the thirteenth century A.C.; and the **language** is Sanskrit, containing a few mistakes which are drawn attention to and corrected in the text. The **orthography** does not present anything calling special notice, except that *kh* has been represented by *sh* in l. 12, and following it, the word *Brāhmaṇa* has been written as *Vrāmhaṇa*. Mistakes of engraving and grammar will also be drawn attention to and corrected in the text.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Dēvapāladēva**, who is introduced here as endowed with all the royal titles including those of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. Its **object** is to record the donation of plots of land in some villages, the names of which cannot be definitely made out. One of the villages appears to be Dēvadharmapurī, which is probably Udaipur itself, and another, the name of which is not completely preserved, was situated in Bhṛīṅgārikā-64. The record is **dated** in the first line as on **Thursday**, the **third of the dark half of Mārga**, *i.e.* Mārgaśīrsha, and the year, which is expressed only in numerical symbols, is **1289**; But the unit figure is indistinct owing to mutilation and also due to subsequent changes made by the scribe himself.¹ Like that of the preceding inscription, the date must be referred to the Vikrama era, and, as calculated by Kielhorn himself, it regularly corresponds to the **2nd of December, 123[2] A.C.**

Dēvapāla of the inscription is plainly identical with the homonymous Paramāra king of Dhārā, in whose reign the preceding inscription, which is dated only three years before and was found at the same place, was incised. The present inscription, however, is important as it is the latest known epigraph of his time, though from some other sources he is known to have been living even thereafter. For example, the Muslim sources inform us that he was alive in the following year, *i.e.*, in 1233-34 A.C., when Sultān Iltutmish of Delhi made a heavy raid on Mālwa, capturing the fort of Bhilsā (Vidishā), and rushed so far as Ujjain where he demolished the temple of Mahākāla and devastated the surrounding region.² That Dēvapāla was alive even thereafter when he revived the situation is known from the Māndhātā grant of the time of his son Jayavarman II, which states that the former killed a Muslim governor (*Mlēchchhādhipa*) at Bhilsā (Bhillasvāmipura),³ suggesting his reoccupation of the place. And that this locality continued to be in the possession of the Paramāras during the reign of Jayavarman (II) is also known from two inscriptions — one from Bhilsā itself, dated V. 1320 (1263 A.C.) and the other, dated V. 1326 (1269 A.C.) from Paṭhārī, which is only about 55 kms. further north by east of the place.⁴

Another interest of the inscription lies in its mentioning Dēvapāla with the paramount epithets of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* in ll. 4-6. The Harsūd inscription, no doubt applies these titles to his name, but along with them he bears also that of *Mahākumāra*; in his Māndhātā grant he is called only a *Mahārāja*; and in the preceding inscription too, though it claims for him the high-sounding epithets, we have for him the title only of a *Mahārāja* in l. 5. Thus the present record is the only epigraphic evidence to claim Imperial titles for Dēvapāla.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Bhṛīṅgārī** (l. 8) is doubtless the same as Bhṛīṅgārikā appearing in an inscription from the same place and recording the grant of a village by Lūṇapasāka in favour of the God Vaidyanātha in 1173 A.C.⁵ It appears to be represented by the modern village Bhiraṅgāvalī, about 6 kms. north-east of Udaipur. It is interesting to note that whereas in that inscription it is called a *pathaka*, in the present record it is mentioned as the principal village of the group of 64. **Dēvadharmapurī** (l. 10), if the reading is correct, seems to be the village of Udaipur itself, as we have already seen above. **Pañchamukha-pattana** I am unable to trace in the locality, but the name suggests that it may have then

¹ This figure appears as incised either 3 or 4 at first and later on corrected to 9 (?).

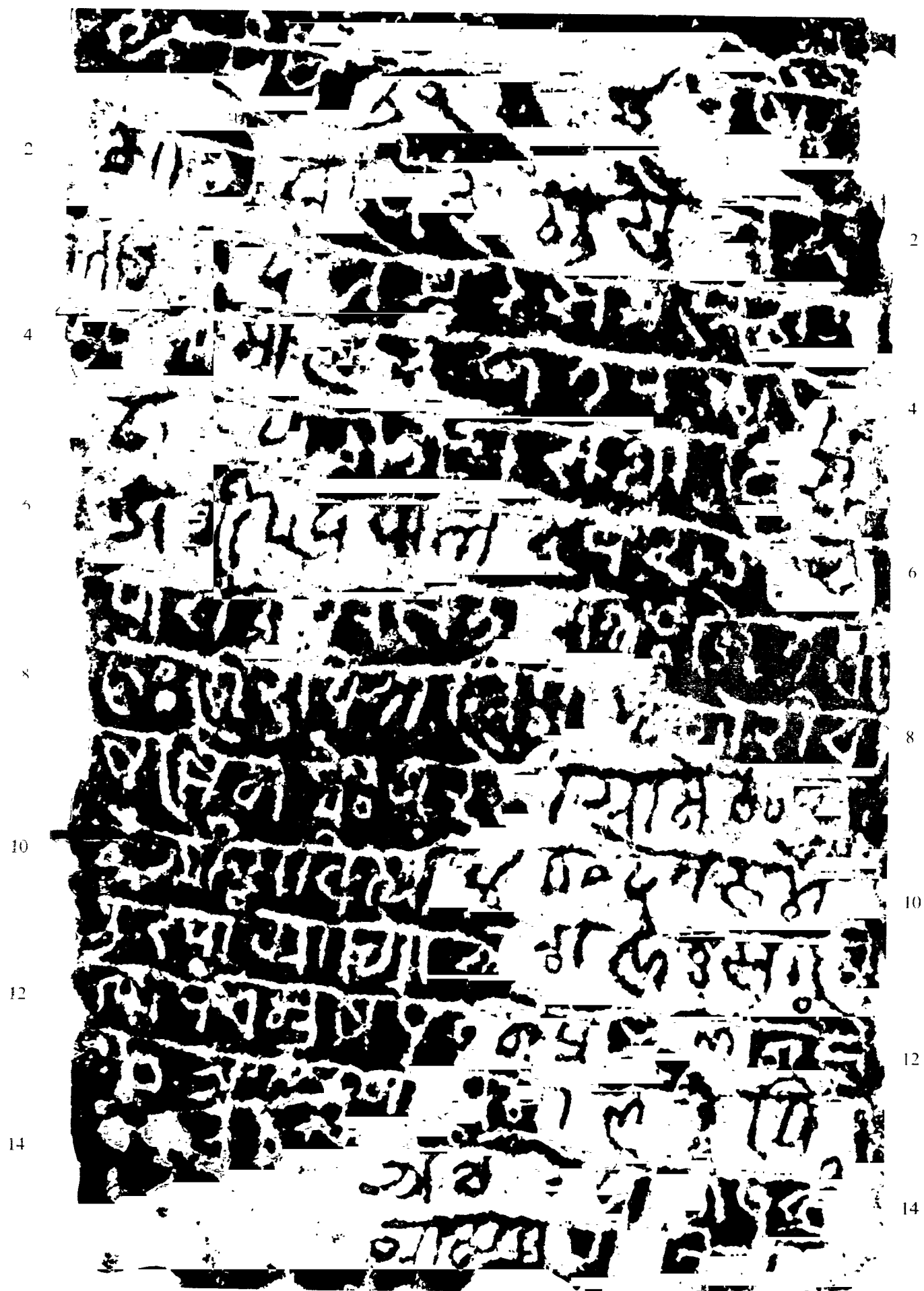
² Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. I, pp. 211-12; Elliot's *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 328.

³ Below, No. 60, v. 48. For the end of the reign of this ruler some time before 1243 A.C., see General Introduction.

⁴ Nos. 58 and 59, respectively.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 347 f.

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DĒVAPĀLA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 128[9]



Scale: One-half

denoted the town or village (*pattana*) after the temple of Śiva, *i.e.*, Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara at Udaipur itself. Thus we have to take the same place denoted by two names, which is rather curious. The village **Kharahi** (l. 9) may have been either Khiriyā, or Khaḍākhēḍī, both situated side by side at a distance of about 6 kms. and north-west of Udaipur; and **Umarata** (l. 7) is obviously the modern village Umarathā, in the vicinity. The two other villages mentioned in the record cannot be identified owing to their names being mutilated.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² [11] संवत्(त्) १२८[६] वर्षे
- 2 मार्गं वदि ३^३ गुरौ अ[द्ये]-
- 3 ह⁴ उदयपुरे समस्तराजा-
- 4 वलीमाला[लंकृ]तपरमभ-
- 5 टा(ट्टा)र[क]महाराजा[धि]रा-
- 6 जश्रीदेवपालदेवराज्ये^६ -
- 7 [पारी?]उ[म]रत^७ [प्र]दा(द)^७तः । . .
- 8 [लः?] भृंगारीच[तुः]^८-
- 9 षष्टिमधेः(ध्वे) - [रे?]हीग्रामे^९ [इह?]
- 10 . . - वित्यां ४ - देवसर्म^{१०} -
- 11 पुरयां(पुर्यां) ग्रा[मे]ल^{११}
- 12 .. पंचमुष(ख)पत्तने ब्राम्ह(ब्राह्म)णानां मे-
- 13 णां प्रमाणमि[ति] [1*]
- 14 _____^{१२}
- 15

¹ From an inked impression.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ After this numeral there are some faint traces leading us to doubt whether the *tithi* was intended to be 30, but on that *tithi* there was a Tuesday and not Thursday, as mentioned in the inscription.

⁴ The impression shows this *akshara* preceded by another which appears to belong to another inscription, incised on its left. In the next line also we have the same case.

⁵ The last *akshara* in this line is indistinct and so are the last two *aksharas* of the next line, which are all represented here by equal number of dots.

⁶ The letter in the brackets looks like *pa*, but I take it as *ma* as shown by the name of the village. The vowel उ is followed by a horizontal stroke as also the same *akshara* in l. 3, above. Read -*taḥ*.

⁷ It is not known if the *mātrā* of this *akshara* is scored off in the original.

⁸ Part of this *akshara* along with the sign of *visarga*, if cut at all, has disappeared. From traces left, the lost letters in this line may have been महाद्वादशकमंडले. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 344.

⁹ In my examination of the original, I read the first letter of the name as *sha* for *kha*, and thus the whole name is खरेही, as also in the preceding inscription. The reading मध्ये is also uncertain, and more likely पयके appears to have been engraved here.

¹⁰ Possibly what is intended is देवघर्मपुर्यां. The third *akshara* of this name is distorted.

¹¹ The bracketed *akshara* has an unnecessary vertical stroke on either side.

¹² This and the following line, which are the last two lines of the record, are indistinct.

RĀHATGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHADĒVA

[Vikrama] year 1312

THE stone bearing this inscription was brought to notice as early as in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, by Alexander Cunningham, who published a brief and in some respect incorrect account of it, with a transcript of the first four lines but without a lithograph, in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. X (for 1874-75 and 1876-77), p. 31.¹ The record was also referred to by F. Kielhorn in connection with the examination of the dates of the Vikrama era in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 84 ; and subsequently it was mentioned by R. B. Hiralal in his *Inscriptions of C.P. and Berar*,² where he stated that the whereabouts of the stone were unknown; and I too failed to succeed in my search of it some fifteen years before. The existence of the stone, however, was brought to my notice by Prof. K. D. Vajpeyi of the Saugor University, who removed it to the Archaeological Museum of his Department and who also favoured me with a set of inked impressions of the inscription. At my own request, the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India also obliged me with a fresh impression of the record, and I had also the good fortune to visit saugor (Sāgar) and inspect the stone bearing it. On the basis of all this material the record is edited here for the first time.

The inscription is incised on a dark pinkish stone-slab, which was found by Cunningham at **Rāhatgaḍh**, a hill-fort about 40 kms. west-southwest of Saugor (also spelt as Sāgar), the principal town of a district of that name in Madhya Pradesh. Cunningham did not mention the exact place of the find, but it appears to have been the Bādal Mahal which he described immediately before. The stone measures 91 cms. broad, 66 cms. high and 9 cms. thick, and a fragment of it (obliquely measuring 37 cms.) has been lost at the upper proper left corner. On the proper right corner at the top it has an elliptical gauge, showing its major and minor axes measuring 11 and 5 cms. respectively, and this shows that the slab was originally fixed on some projection. The mortise, which may be presumed to have existed on the corresponding left corner also, was lost in the missing portion of the slab, as stated above. On the proper right top, a portion of border is still visible, indicating that a broad border originally existed on all the four sides of the slab.

The inscription consists of 14 lines of writing which covers a space 67 cms. broad by 56 cms. high. The first four lines are only about 44 cms. long whereas the rest of them occupy the entire space of the breadth. The average height of the letters ranges between 1·5 and 2 cms. They are formed rudely and carelessly, as also noted by Cunningham and Kielhorn, and the incisions are not deep, despite the fact that the stone is sufficiently thick, as already stated above. The preservation of the inscription is far from satisfactory. Besides a number of abrasions that it shows, about one-third of the initial portion of almost every line from the 6th to the last has almost disappeared, leaving traces here and there, and parts of most of the letters in these lines have peeled off or effaced, though a letter or two here and there can be made out, e.g., *purē* in l. 6, *dēva* and *-āditya* in l. 7, again *dēva* in l. 8, *pratirājēna* in l. 13 and *likhitam* in the end. Even the name of the person appearing before *likhitam* cannot be correctly made out.

The **alphabet** is *Nāgarī*. The consonant *t* occasionally appears in its antique form, e.g., in *prati-*, l. 13 ; *dh* has developed a horn on its left limb and in some instances it is joined to the curve of the *mātrā*, e.g., in *-adhi-* in ll. 4 and 2 respectively ; and finally, the slightly different forms of *r* can be seen in the same word *-rāja-* in ll. 2 and 3. The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. The only **orthographical** peculiarity worth noting is the use of the *ūrdhva-mātrā*.

¹ On pp. 30-31. Cunningham also described the antiquities found at that place.

² First *edn.* (1916), pp. 44-45 ; second *edn.* (1932), p. 49.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Jayasimhadēva* of Dhārā, and its **purpose** appears to draft a royal document, the details of which cannot be made out owing to the indistinctness of the letters intended to show it. The inscription is **dated**, only in numerical symbols, on the **seventh tithi of the bright fortnight, of Bhādrapada in the year 1312**, which must be taken as belonging to the Vikrama era. According to Kielhorn's calculations, the date fully corresponds to Monday, **the 28th August, 1256 A.C.**, and thus it is quite regular.¹ The week-day was **Monday**.

After an auspicious symbol and the word *siddhiḥ*, following it, the inscription opens with the date as seen above. This date is important as it is the earliest known date of the Paramāra ruler Jayasimha, who is no other than Jayavarman, a son of Dēvapāla, as we shall discuss below.² The next known date of this king is V. 1314 (1257 A.C.), furnished by the fragmentary inscription from Mōḍī.³ The inscription then proceeds to mention some event happening during the reign of the glorious *Mahārājādhirāja Jayasimhadēva*, but it is all lost. It mentions an officer under the king, whose name is also lost, and a *maṇḍala* with the name Uparihādā, in ll. 4 and 3, respectively. Below are given some names and a title, e.g. Śrīdhara in l. 3, *Rā*, i.e. *Rāṭa* in l. 7 and Chūḍādēva in l. 8; but in what connection they are all mentioned cannot be made out.

The reading of the name of the king, which is partially preserved at the end of l. 2 and the commencement of l. 3, is not free from doubt. Cunningham read it as Jayavarmadēva, but Kielhorn, while calculating the date in the *Ind. Ant.* referred to above, read it as Jaya[sim?]ha. All the impressions before me show that the sign of the medial *i* is very distinct, though partly come out, and the letter following it, though not fully preserved, is more like *h* than *v*. For these reasons I agree with Kielhorn in taking the latter part of the name to be *simha*. But as we know the same ruler bore both these names, viz., Jayasimha and Jayavarman, historically it makes no difference. This person was a son of Dēvapāla and the younger brother of Jaitugidēva, as we already know. And in view of the fact that Jaitugi's only date is recorded to be V. 1300 or 1243 A.C.,⁴ the present inscription, which is the earliest of Jayasimha's reign, clearly indicates that he succeeded his elder brother Jaitugidēva sometime between 1243 and 1256 A.C. We also know that in Jaitugi's time Mālwa had suffered from the invasions of the Yādava Kṛishṇa from the south, of the Vāghēlas from the west, and also from the Muslim general Balban from the north;⁵ and the present inscription goes to indicate that in spite of all these odds, Jayavarman, besides maintaining the integrity of his kingdom, had successfully penetrated so far in the Saugor (Sāgar) District, following the foot-steps of his father, whose records are found in the Khaṇḍwā District which is to its west.⁶ It is possible that Jayavarman wrested some part around Rāhatgaḍh from the Chandēllas, who were then powerful in that region, as already shown by Dr. V. V. Mirashi.⁷

Uparihādā is the only **geographical** name mentioned in the inscription, as a *maṇḍala*. I am unable to identify the place, though it appears to signify the region around Rāhatgaḍh.

TEXT⁸

- 1 ओं मिद्धिः॥ संवत् १३१२ वर्षे भाद्रपद शु(शु) दि) ७ सो[मे]⁹
2 श्रीमद्वा[रायां]¹⁰ महाराजाधिराजश्रीमज्जय[सं*]-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84, No. 4. In *ibid.* n. 3, is mentioned an inscription from Udaipur and dated V. 1311 (*I. N. I.*, No. 550). It is not edited here as the stone is now lost, and no impression could also be had.

² In No. 60. A still earlier date for him, V. 1311 (1255 A.C.) is furnished by *I. N. I.*, No. 550. The stone is now missing.

³ No. 56, below.

⁴ As we find in Āśādihara's *Bhavyakumudachandrikā*.

⁵ *H. P. D.*, pp. 220 ff.

⁶ Vide his Harsūd and Māndhātā inscriptions, Nos. 50 and 51, respectively.

⁷ *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. cviii.

⁸ From the original and impressions.

⁹ What appears as an additional *mātrā* on the penultimate letter in this line is only a scratch.

¹⁰ The *mātrā* of the first of these *aksharas* is broken, leaving traces thereof, and of the second, the consonant is detached from the rest of the limbs. Cunningham read the first five of the *aksharas* as *tērasadhayam*, which gives no sense.

- 3 [ह]देवविजयराज्ये¹ उपरिहाडामं[ड]ले² राजश्री³ .
 4 .. हाव्यापारे तस्मिन् काले वंदना(?)धिकारे⁴
 5 [तमिर्जो?]दितपत्रकं समभिलिख्यते यथा ..
⁵

No. 55 ; PLATE LIV

ATRŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1314

THIS inscription was discovered by D. R. Bhandarkar in the early years of the present century : and he published his transcript of it in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western Circle*, for 1905-06, p. 56. He also included it in his *List of Inscriptions of North India* (No. 554). But the record has neither been so far edited critically nor is it illustrated with a lithograph. It is edited here from excellent estampages which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The record is incised on a pillar of the Gadgach temple, as it is locally called, at **Atrū**, which is the chief town of a *tehsil* in the Kōṭā District of Rājasthān and a station on the Kōṭā-Bīnā line of the Western Railway. The inscription consists of six lines of writing, measuring 31 cms. broad by 23 cms. high, excluding three figures at the top which appear to be unconnected with it, and the figures of an ass and a woman below. The last of the lines is only 11 cms. in length. The average height of the letters ranges between 3 and 3.5 cms. The record is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the thirteenth century A.C. *Ch* is distinguished from *v* by its angular loop, as in *chakra*-, l. 3 : *j* and *bh* have their antique forms, e.g., in *Jaya*-, l. 1 and *gardabha*-, l. 5, respectively : *dh* shows a straight horn on its left limb, as in *rājādhi*-, l. 1 : and lastly, *r* is engraved as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle on the left, as in the same instance.

The **language** is Sanskrit, with a few grammatical errors : and the record is throughout in prose. The **orthographical** peculiarities are that the dental sibilant is used in *sāsana*-, l. 4, and the local element figures in the use of *gh* for *h* in *Jayasimgha*-, l. 2, *jō* for *yō* in l. 4, and in writing *vashai* for *varshē* in l. 6, if we take D. R. Bhandarkar's reading to be correct.

The inscription is one of the *Mahārājādhirāja Jayasimgha(ha)dēva*, and its **object** is to record the donation by him of the village Mhaisaḍā in the territorial division of Paṁvīṭha in favour of a *kavichakravartin*, *Ṭhakara Nārāyaṇa*. It is dated in the (Vikrama) year **1315**,⁶ which corresponds to the northern expired year **1258 A.C.** No further details of the year are to be found in the inscription, which ends with an imprecation to fall on one whosoever discontinues the gift.

The record does not say anything about the name of the family to which Jayasimha belonged and it is also silent about his genealogy. But, as we shall see below, he was a **Paramāra**

¹ This letter has only traces left. The fourth *akshara* in this line is mutilated but the reading is certain.

² The reading of the third *akshara* of the name of the *maṇḍala* is highly doubtful, as also noted by Kielhorn, but here I follow him.

³ Two *aksharas* are lost here and an equal number of them at the commencement of the next line.

⁴ Cunningham read *tasminukūlē* and took *Ukūlēvandana* as a name : but in that case the consonant *n* would have been doubled. To me, however, this letter also appears as marked by a stroke resembling the sign of the *mātrā* of *u*.

⁵ The rest of the inscription cannot be satisfactorily made out for reasons stated above in the article.

⁶ See *n.* in the text, below.

RĀHATGĀDH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JĀY SĪMHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1312



Scale: One-third

king of Dhārā, and the high-sounding title of *Mahārājādhirāja* shows that he was a paramount ruler.

We have seen that since the time of Udayāditya the northern frontier of the Paramāra kingdom extended up to Jhālrapātan and Shērgaḍh where his inscriptions were found¹; and the present inscription, which was discovered at Atrū, which is about 65 kms. due north-east of the former of these places and about 20 kms. due north-east of the latter, indicates that Jayasimha, or some of his predecessors, extended his territories a little further in that direction. It is also interesting to note that the present inscription was dated in the same year as that which was found at Mōḍī,² which is about 110 kms. due south-west of it, and the difference in both these records is only that whereas the former mentions the name as Jayasimha, the latter mentions it as Jayavarman. And as the two similar names are both endowed with the same title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, we can definitely establish the identity of both these rulers, as will be seen below.³ Thus we may also note that probably the Paramāra frontiers in the north now ran along the lower course of the Chambal, to the north of which extended the kingdom of the Chāhamānas of Raṇathambhōr.

Jayasimha's contemporary on the Chāhamāna throne was Jaitrasimha, who, in his son Hammīra's Balvan inscription of V.S. 1345, is described as harassing a chief named Jayasimha, in Maṇḍapa-durga, i.e., the fort of Māṇḍū, and who also defeated and captured hundreds of the latter's brave warriors at Jhampaighaṭṭa and sent them as prisoners to Raṇathambhōr.⁴ Jhampaighaṭṭa has been correctly identified with Jhapat Ghāt on the Chambal, about 11 kms. to the south of Lākhērī, a station on the Kōṭā-Sawāimādhōpur branch of the Western Railway⁵; and from this it becomes all evident that Jayasimha, whose kingdom extended up to that place, came into a clash with his adjacent neighbour in that direction who was the Jaitrasimha of Raṇathambhōr.⁶

Of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Mhaisaḍā** appears to be the modern village Bhainrā, situated about 6 kms. straight west of Atrū.⁷ The word *paṇvīṭha* in l. 2 presents a difficulty, for it cannot be known whether it denotes a locality or its first letter is an abbreviation of *Paṇḍita* and the next two letters form a name, as *Vīṭhū*, a short form of *Vīṭhala*. And even if the former of these alternatives be correct, it is difficult to identify the place. There is, however, a village of the name of Penṭā, situated about 60 kms. due north-east of Bhainrā and now included in the Shāhbād *tehsīl* of the Kōṭā District.⁸ This *tehsīl* adjoins to that of Atrū in its north-east; and the distance of this place from Atrū goes to suggest the identity of Penṭā with *Paṇvīṭha*, if at all a village is thereby intended. However, nothing can definitely be said on this point, for want of a corroborative evidence.

¹ Above, Nos. 22 and 23, respectively.

² Below, No. 56.

³ See No. 60.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 49-50. Text vv. 7-9. It is *I. N. I.*, No. 623.

⁵ Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhāna Dynasties*, p. 105, n. 20.

⁶ In view of the fact that all the places mentioned here lie in a region which was then included in the Paramāra dominions and also in the neighbourhood of the provenance of the present record, I am inclined to agree with D. R. Bhandarkar in assigning it to the Paramāra Jayasimha II, and not to Jaitrasimha of the Chāhamāna house of Raṇathambhōr, as tentatively taken by D. Sharma, suggesting that the latter too may have been known as Jayasimha. See *E. C. D.*, p. 106, n. 27. Here it may also be pointed out that the Rājasthānī form of the name Jaitrasimha would be *Jētsī* or *Jaitasī* and not Jayasimgha, as we find in the present inscription. Nor do I agree with H. C. Ray who held that "the record probably belongs to Jayasimha of Anhilwād and that the era therefore is the (Simha) era instituted by him." See *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 965, n. 4. Ray's remarks are based on what is stated in *P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1905-06, pp. 56-57. But the impressions before me distinctly show that the year was given not in two but in four figures. Of these, the second figure, which was originally written 4, has been changed to 3, later on, as it appears in overwriting, and the last two figures, which are now lost, have left traces showing that they were actually engraved.

⁷ *C. I. R. A.*, p. 528, No. 49.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 516, No. 12.

TEXT¹

- 1 महाराजाधिराजश्रीजयसिं-
- 2 घ(ह)देवेन पंवीठप्रतिपत्तौ(त्तौ)² महा-
- 3 कविचक्रवर्त्तिठकुरश्रीनाराय-
- 4 ण³ म्हैसडाग्रामं सा(शा)मने प्रदत्त⁴ [1*] जो⁵ लो-
- 5 पयति⁶ तस्य माता⁷ गर्दभो चोदति [1*]
- 6 सं० १३[१४]⁸ व[र्षे]⁹ - [11*]

No. 56 ; PLATE LV

MŌḍī STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYAVARMADĒVA (II)

[Vikrama] Year 1314

THIS inscription was found at **Mōḍī**, a village about 12 kms. west of Bhānpurā, the chief town of a *tehsil* in the Mandsaur District of Madhya Pradesh. It was first brought to notice by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for 1912-13, p. 56, where it is stated to have been broken into four pieces "lying uncared for in the Town Hall at Indore." It was again referred to in the *Report* of the same Circle for 1919-20, by R. D. Banerji, who described in it the remains of a group of temples at that place, one of them, as remarked by him, "must have been one of the finest mediaeval shrines of Malwa",¹⁰ and he also stated that the inscription was found in the vicinity of this group of temples.

From the records of the former State of Indore in which the find-spot of the inscription was then included, as also from those of the Indore Museum, I could gather that the inscribed stone was brought to Indore in 1905 by the then Prime Minister of the State, Rai Bahadur Nanakchand, who deposited it in the Town Hall at that place, from where it was taken in its fragmentary condition to the General Library at Indore, and from there two of the four fragments were removed to the Museum, in 1929, and the fate of the remaining two pieces was unknown. An attempt to recover the other broken parts of the inscription was all futile; and during this repeated transit, in which two of the pieces were altogether lost, the other two which are now preserved in the Museum have also suffered, losing some lines above and a number of *aksharas* on the pieces on either of the vertical sides all through, in consequence of the flaking off of their parts; and there are also abrasions and indentations, causing some difficulty to make out a coherent sense. This may probably be the reason why this important inscription remained unedited so long, though often referred to¹¹; and it is edited here for the first time from the text

¹ From impressions, Government Epigraphist No. C-2808 of 1968-69. Just above the first line two symbols or letters are engraved in the middle but I am unable to explain them.

² For the explanation of this expression, see above.

³ Read नारायणाय.

⁴ Read —ग्रामः . . . प्रदत्तः. The *akshara grā* is written above the line.

⁵ Used for यो.

⁶ The verb should be in the future tense.

⁷ Read this word in the accusative.

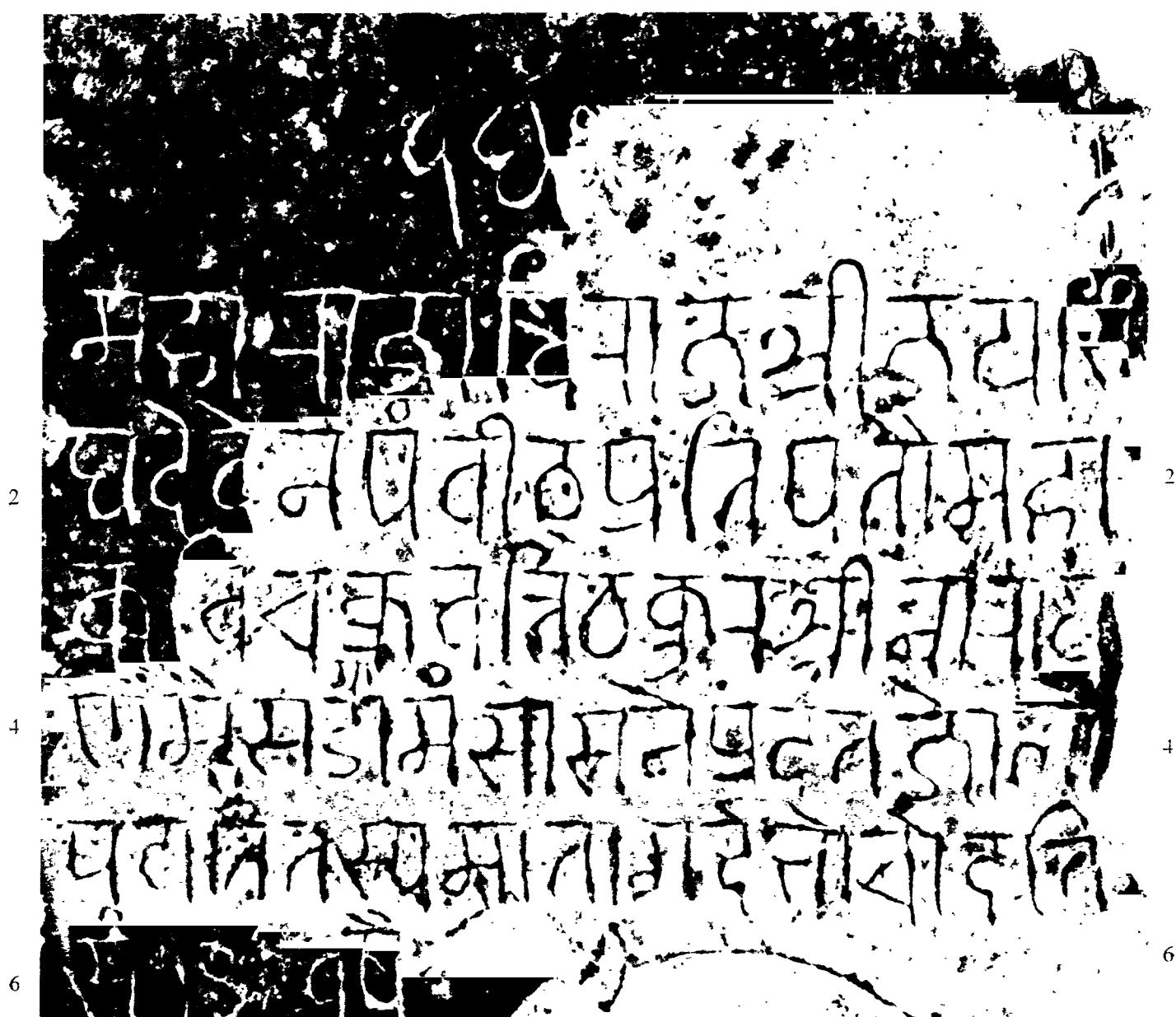
⁸ In his *List of Inscriptions of N. India*, D. R. Bhandarkar remarked that the century figure seems to be omitted. The impressions before me show that this figure was at first engraved as 4 and later on changed to 3. The last two figures have now disappeared and have been adopted from Bhandarkar's reading.

⁹ Bhandarkar, in *I. N. I.*, No. 554, read this word as *vashai* (*varshē*), but out of the two strokes above the second of these *aksharas*, the first is clearly for the *mātrā* and the second seems to have been intended for the *rēpha*. Following them, there are traces as of a letter which has now disappeared.

¹⁰ Page. 94.

¹¹ For example, in D. C. Ganguly's *H. P. D.*; H. C. Ray and the other writers on the history of the Paramāra dynasty have also referred to it.

ATRŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1314



Scale: One-half

I prepared from the original fragments and a facsimile which, at my request, has been kindly prepared and supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist, Dr. G. S. Gai.

One of the two fragments,¹ which contains 28 imperfect lines, shows its total height to be 48 cms., while the length of the lines, beginning with 34·5 cms. in the first, is 40 cms. in ll. 11-13, and gradually, though irregularly, decreases again to 24·5 cms. in the last line : and the second fragment, which contains 23 imperfect lines and which too has equally suffered, measures about 36 cms. high and 23 to 25 cms. broad. The letters were neatly formed and cut, but some of them, particularly on the first of the fragments, are either choked up with lime or have become more or less illegible due to the shallow engraving or damages, leaving only traces thereof. The average size of the *aksharas* ranges between 1·2 and 1·5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, marking the intermediate stage between those employed in the Māndhātā grants of Dēvapāla, V. 1282 and Jayavarman, V. 1331.² The vowels are gracefully formed, *e.g.* in *ādhāna*-, l. 11, *va*-, l. 3, *uttamka*-, l. 3, and *ēsha*-, l. 2 : the secondary *u*, which is generally cut as a curve attached to the foot of the vertical stroke and sharply turned above to the left, is occasionally shown by a curve turned downwards and attached to the middle of the vertical stroke, as in *Mēru*-, l. 20 and *chyuta*-, l. 11, respectively : *dh* has a horn which is sometimes joined to its vertical, as in *sindhau*-, and its subscript form also shows this horn, *e.g.* in *-varddhana*-, both in l. 4 : the subscript *th* is laid flat on its side, *e.g.* in *sthiti*-, l. 5 : the letter *r* is often wedged at its lowest extremity, as in *nirjjara*-, l. 2 : in *-ari*- in l. 42, this letter shows a different form : and lastly, we may note the three different forms of the palatal *ś* in *śśu*-, l. 18 and *śu*- in the last line.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, and the panegyric part of the fragments now available is all in verses composed in a good *kāvya* style and mostly in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Sragdharā* metres. The last number of the verses on the fragments now available is 74 in l. 31, and to judge from the contents of the inscription, the lost portion may have contained about 2-3 verses thereafter, followed by the formal part, which was wholly in prose : and following this, the record appears to have been rounded off with two verses in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

The record shows the usual **orthographical** peculiarities, such as (1) the use of *v* to denote *b* also, *e.g.* in *vrahma*-, l. 2 : (2) the reduplication of a consonant following *r*, as in *-nirggata*-, l. 22 : (3) the general use of the sign of *anusvāra* to denote the dental and the labial nasals : (4) *sandhis* violated between *Śrī* and the vowel following it, *e.g.* in *Śrī-Arisimha*-, l. 42 : (5) the general use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* and the occasional use of the sign of *avagraha* : and lastly, the spellings of *khaṇḍa* with *sh*, *aṅghri* with *h*, and *samvat* with *m*, respectively in ll. 13, 14 and 36.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign of the illustrious **Jayavarman** who belonged to the Paramāra dynasty of Mālwa (ll. 6 and 38). The immediate **object** of it is to record some donations in the form of land, villages and money, made to the temples at Mōḍī, by persons who resided in the neighbouring places, and in all likelihood, the construction of the temples also, by a sage of the name of Mallikārjuna (l. 33). The **date** of the record, as expressed in figures only in l. 36, is the **first tithi of the dark half of Māgha of the (Vikrama) year 1314**, which corresponds to **1258 A.C.** We have no means to verify the date.³ To judge from the contents of the fragments now preserved, the inscription may be split up into two parts, the earlier portion containing a laudatory account of the Imperial house of the Paramarās, showing it to have been a *prāśasti*, the word also being used in l. 51. It was composed by the learned Brāhmaṇa Vāmana ; and it is thus obvious that the stone was set up in a newly constructed temple at the place where it was originally found.

¹ For the sake of convenience, the fragments are taken here as No. 1, which is earlier, and No. 2, which is later. The inscription was also edited by me in *A. H. R. S.*, XXXV, pp. 221 ff.

² Nos. 51 and 60, respectively.

³ For the *chaitrādi* V. 1314, expired, it would correspond to Wednesday, 3rd January, and 1st February, both 1257 A.C., respectively according to *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* reckoning. The figure for the *tithi* is 1 in the impression and also on the original, and thus D. R. Bhandarkar's reading of it as 7 is wrong. See his *I. N. I.*, No. 552.

Coming to notice the contents of the inscription in its fragmentary condition, we find the word *Hērāmba* in l. 1 of the bigger piece, which indicates that this verse which was probably the first stanza of the record, must have been devoted to pay obeisance to Gaṇapati. Line 2 describes a deity 'who was adored by the lord of the city of the *Siddhas*', i.e., Kuvēra ; and we may conclude that this verse was composed to pay salutation to, or invoke the blessings of, Śiva. The figure 4, which is engraved just after this account, goes to indicate that the inscription began with as many *maṅgala-ślōkas*, their contents being unknown. The next ten verses, in ll. 3-8 which are all fragmentary, appear to have embodied the mythical account of the origin of the **Paramāras**, as to be found in the Udaipur *praśasti* and some other records of the house, telling us about the sage Vasishṭha, his penances on the Mount Arbuda and the creation of a hero of the name of Paramāra, who was the originator of the house. This is obvious from the words *Nandivardhana-giri* and *Pramāra* (for *Paramāra*), respectively in ll. 4 and 6. A sage of the name of Manduka is also mentioned in l. 7, but the details about him are all lost. Verse 15 begins with the expression *vaṁśē tasya mahārathaḥ samajani* (l. 8), showing that this contained the description of the individual rulers belonging to the house. In l. 13 we find the name of **Vairisimha**, (who is evidently the second ruler of the name, mentioned in the Udaipur *praśasti*), as his son **Siyaka** (II) (called *Sīyaka* here for metrical exigencies) is mentioned in the immediately following portion, with some of his exploits which are well known. The description as a whole is poetic, except that we learn in l. 13 that Vairisimha performed a *tulādāna*(?) and that his son *Sīyaka* II, as referred to above, defeated the *Hūṇas* and enjoyed that portion of the earth for long.

Vairisimha's success over the *Hūṇas* is known from the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* ;¹ but so far as I know, the present inscription is the only record affording epigraphical confirmation of what is recorded in a literary source.

Line 16 of the inscription incorporates the name of *Vaḍajānātha*,² apparently a local deity whose favour Vairisimha enjoyed, as shown by the tenor of the description. In l. 17 appears the name of **Vākpatirāja**, who was also known as **Muñja**, as said here. He was a multitude of fame ; and in l. 19, we find his brother **Sindhurāja** mentioned. The description of both these princes is highly poetical, though worthless from the historical point of view.

The conventional nature of the description that follows precludes the possibility of judging if the name of any other prince was incorporated in the rest of the portion inscribed on the first of the fragments now available. In the last line thereof, however, we have the expression *suślakṣṇā Yaduvā[ṁśajā]*, which appears to be applicable to a Paramāra queen ; but we do not know any of these queens to have taken her birth in the *Yadu-vaṁśa*.

Coming to study the contents of the second slab, we find that the partly broken letters in the first line thereof are too fragmentary to afford any intelligible sense, and the second line thereof, i.e. l. 30, has the expression *trividha-pravīra-*, which we know to have been the title assumed by Arjunavarman.³ The next line (v. 54) mentions a ruler, whose name is again lost but who is said to have put to flight (made *kāndiśīka*) a *Yadu* king. This is evidently a reference to Arjunavarman's successor **Dēvapāla** who, by a stratagem to avoid invasion of his own country, concluded a treaty with the *Yādava* *Siṅghaṇa* (1210-1247 A.C.) and entered with him into a confederacy to invade *Gujarāt* which was then passing through a crisis during the weak rule of *Bhīma* II.⁴ And the description of **Jayavarman** during whose reign the inscription was set up, as seen above, also appears to have been lost on the portion which is now missing.

Following the *praśasti* of the royal house, we hear of a sage of the name of *Mallikārjuna*, who was a *pāśupata* and who belonged to *Avantī*. The fragmentary nature of the inscription does not enable us to know the purpose of the mention of this person, but it appears to be tempting to hold that he was credited with building a temple or all the temples and installing

¹ See the Political History Section.

² This name appears to be the Prakrit equivalent of *Vajraṭasvāmin* of the Udaipur *praśasti*, above, No. 24 ; v. 11 (l. 12). If *Vaḍajā* is the same as *Vajraṭā*, then it gives us the name of the queen and not of the deity.

³ Above, No. 47 ; l. 19.

⁴ *H. M. M.*, Act I ; *H. P. D.*, p. 215 ff.

deities in them. For the immediately following lines mention the donations made to them. These donations with the names and other details of the persons who made the gifts may be tabulated as follows:

Name of donor	Details about him	Object donated	Name of deity	Line
<i>Lost</i>	<i>Maṇḍalīka</i>	Guvāsā village	Ekalladēva	35-36
Hara(dēva?)	<i>Ṭhakura</i>	three (villages) with all dues	„	37
Haradēva	„	a village (name lost), with all its trees (from his own <i>bhukti</i>)	<i>lost</i>	38-40
Chāduri	Jayavarman's <i>mahāpradhāna</i>	a village (name lost)	Vaidyanātha	41-42
Arisimhadēva	grandson of <i>Rāja-putra</i> Govinda	—	Half to Vaidyanāth and half to Ajayēśvara	43-45
Arjuna	Kāyastha-Paṇḍita	1 <i>hala</i> of land to <i>s.e.</i> of Mōḍī		45
Bālasimha, head of the village		one <i>hala</i> of land to the south of the village		47
<i>Lost</i>		two <i>haṭṭas</i> and one house		49
„		two <i>drammas</i> per month		48
Four workers in precious stones		in the village of <i>Rāūta</i> , or <i>Mahirāūta</i> , land measure (unknown or lost)		52

The fragmentary nature of the inscription does not enable us to know if any other donation was recorded in it; but it reveals for the first time the name of **Chāduri** who was the Chief Minister of Jayavarman, along with that of **Arisimha**, who is stated here to have been the grandson of *Rājaputra* **Gōvinda** and who is otherwise unknown. I am also tempted to suggest that the deities **Ekalladēva** (a local name?) **Vaidyanātha** and **Ajayēśvara** mentioned in the inscription under study may have been those that were installed in some of the shrines at Mōḍī and graphically described by D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji in their *Reports* referred to at the beginning of this article. It is unfortunate that such an important inscription should be available only in its fragmentary condition.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the record, **Mauḍī**, which is mentioned as a city and the head-quarters of a *maṇḍala* in l. 44, is the place where the inscription was found, as already stated above. It is fateful that such a flourishing place showing numerous archaeological remains of the late Paramāra period should have been submerged under the water of the Chambal dam! **Gharatōda** (l. 46) is the village Ghaḍod, about 12 kms. west-northwest of Mōḍī and it too has now undergone the same fate! **Rāūtā** (l. 52) is likely to be the modern Rāvatpurā, as suggested by the name. It is now altogether deserted and is included in the Forest Division of Rāmpurā, about 18 kms. west of Mōḍī. **Karkō-**, which is lost partly (l. 33) reminds us of Karkaryā, now a deserted village near by. The only place **Guvāsā-grāma** (l. 35) I am unable to identify.

Most of the images and sculptures from this place have been removed either to the Indore Museum or to some other safe places.

TEXT¹

Fragment No. 1

- 1 १हतहृदि विदधन्मिद्विदत्तावलंबो(वो) हेरंबो(वो) वो विवेकं वितरतुमधुनापादिते²
 2 ४निहंति सततं मत्र(ब्र)ह्मका निज्जराः साक्षादेव स एष मिद्धनगरीनाथाच्चितो-
 3 व्विशंति चकिताः ५[ख]द्योतपुंजा इव ॥४॥ उत्तंकाय महीध्रदर्पदलनश्च-
 4 ६[द्धृ]तं भुजमिवाम्नाकौजसां पश्चिमे सिधौ निष्ठति नन्दिवर्द्धनगिरिर्भ-
 5 त्ययं(यम्) । क्रीडाभिश्च निदर्शयति गगनेऽध्वा यव भूमौ स्थिति र्व्वाणि-
 6 ७सनाथं प्रमारः प्रसिद्धस्तद्वश्यं यद्भुविष्यत्यपरनृपणतं तद्भुविष्यत्य[जि]-
 7 ८— — डुकल्पो निधिरिव महमां मंदुको नाम यज्वा । तापेनार्ता धरित्री विचलति व[सुधा]
 8 ९U — न मह[वि?]श्चक्रे धरित्रीधवः ॥१४॥ वंशे तस्य महारथः समजनि श्रीदर्पविष्कं(श्वं)भरः संवर्त्ता[f]
 9 रणैकपादविजयी कोपि प्रभुज्यायामेतस्मिन्नजनिष्टदुष्टभिदुरः कायस्थिरश्चान्वये ॥१ —¹⁰
 10 नायाचितो गूढं मंवि[ज]नस्य सोतिनियते यु[द्धा]य संकेतितः¹¹ । सत्यं पश्यत राजराजमु[द्धौ?]
 11 धाः ॥१६॥ आधाने¹² यस्य हेतुः स्वमुखवि(वि)लविशत्स्वप्रभावे सवित्री विवा(विवा)त्प्रद्योतनस्य च्युतम-
 12 त्वातधूलीप्रव(ब)लतरतमोव्यस्तमार्त्तडविवं(विबं) शके संतप्त[गोलं] करकमलपुटेनेव कृष्टं ध[र]त्र्यां(व्याम्) ।
 13 पं(खं)डे यतिनगसरिता पुण्यतीर्थान्यभूवं हेम्नां श्रीवैरिमहस्ततितितुलाः¹³ मंददां स्व-
 14 १४हते क्षिप्तः शर्वेह्नि(त्रि)क्रमः । हृन्नालीकमनोमिलल्लयममुं मीयाकमीशप्रिया प्रीता प्रेतन-
 15 २६॥ हूणानां रुधिराक्तमालवमही रक्तोदकेनोक्षितां सीयाकां वु(वु)भुजेज्युतानि मुभटत्रा[त*]-
 16 तन्नाम्ना स्वयशःस्थलक्षितिले व्यक्तं समुत्पाद्यतां(ताम्) । इत्युक्त्वा परमेश्वरेण वडजानाथेन¹⁴ स — —
 17 रः ॥[३०]॥¹⁶ यस्य वाक्पतिराजेति नाम होरा परिस्फुरन् । स मुंजो यशसां पुंजः पंचान[न]-
 18 मा(?)रं विना नासांगेऽनुभवः¹⁷ परो मृगशिशुक्रीडास्फुरच्चक्षुषां(षाम्) । ता म्लानाः किरणैः-
 19 रकुलं तस्मिन्कथाभूमयः ॥३४॥¹⁸ तद्भ्राता मिधुराजोऽभवदिह वसुधाप्रेम-
 20 रः ॥३६॥ ¹⁹नाम्ना यच्चतुरुत्तरं जनमियन्मेरुत्रिकूटादयः प्रामादा जल-

¹ From the original and an impression.

² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

³ It is not known if this *akshara* was तो, for a vertical after it, if engraved at all, is lost. At first, तुंमधुता was engraved and later on, the sign of *anusvāra* was erased, retaining the mark, and the consonant of the last was changed to न्.

⁴ Metre in this and in the following three lines: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Because of a redundant stroke this letter appears as म्व.

⁶ Read —उद्धृतं, or समुद्धृतं. Probably नाकौजसां = 'of the gods' is intended. *Va* changed to *vā*, *metris causa*. The first letter in *paśchimē* was originally cut as *pā* and later on the sign of the *mātrā* was scored off as redundant.

⁷ Metre in this and the following line: *Sragdharā*. Read थः. The word *Paramāra* is changed to *Pramāra*, for metre.

⁸ These *aksharas* are partly visible but they cannot be made out. The last two in this line are restored conjecturally.

⁹ Metre in this and the following two lines: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*. The reading of the bracketed letter that follows is certain but it gives no sense.

¹⁰ The unit figure of the number is lost. Also note the invented origin of the word *Kāyastha*.

¹¹ The bracketed letter is erased (?). The phrase gives no sense.

¹² Metre in ll. 11-13: *Sragdharā*.

¹³ The sign of *anusvāra* is erased and the consonant of the third letter is changed to *t*. Should we read तनिरतुलाः, which also suits the metre (?)

¹⁴ Metre in this and the next two lines: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁵ This is apparently a local deity. The name appears to be connected with *Vajraṭa*, occurring in No. 24, v. 11. But also see *n.* on this name, in the edition of the inscription, above, on p. 196.

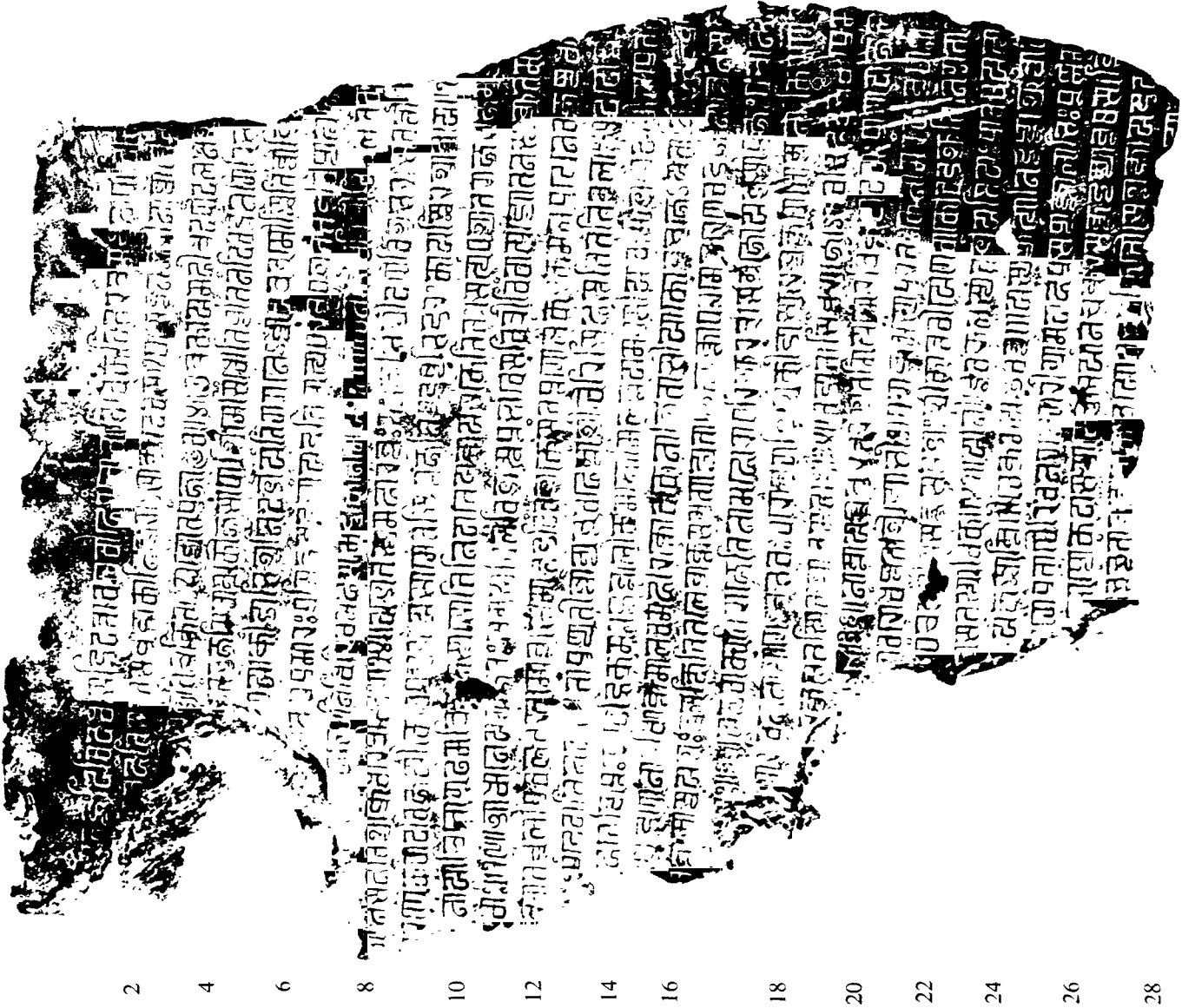
¹⁶ Metre: *Anushṭubh*. The lacunae at the end of this line may be filled in by reading समप्रभः.

¹⁷ Metre in this line and in the beginning of the next: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*. The reading of the first four *aksharas* in this line, which are indistinct, is not certain.

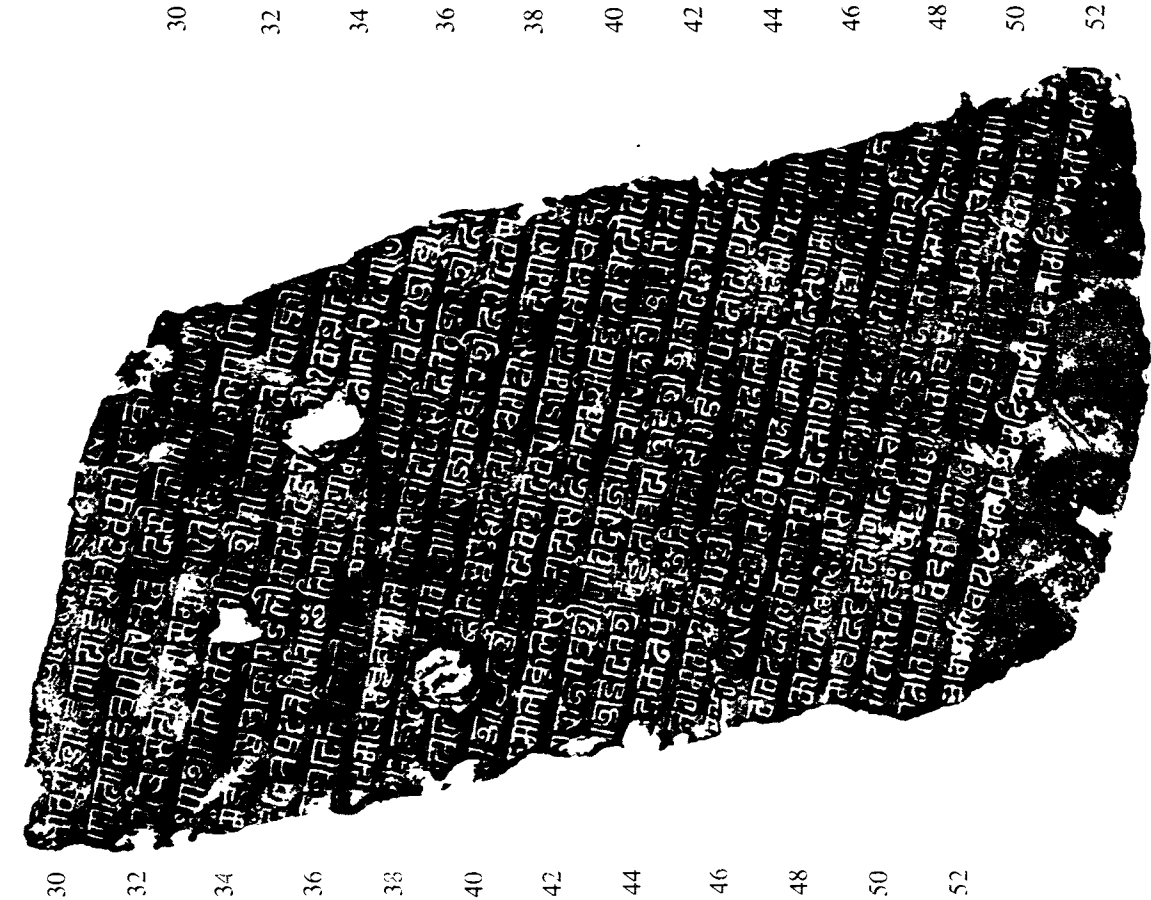
¹⁸ Metre: *Sragdharā*. This is evidently the description of *Bhōja*.

¹⁹ Metre in this and the next two lines: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

MŌDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYAVARMADEVA: (VIKRĀMA) YEAR 1311



A. First fragment



B. Last fragment

Scale: One-third

- 21 [ज ?]वरोधंणुतश्चैद्यो भीमपराक्रमस्य पुरतः के नाम रंका नृपाः ॥३-¹.....
 22 पंच[मु -] ममज्ज मद्गुणः श्रीकार्तवीर्येण² वा कोदंडश्रुतिनिर्गताः.....
 23 - मवम्याधिकं(कम्) ॥४१॥ योनीद्वैकुलस्य दर्शय[ति]³ यः प्रावर्षयत्यं-.....
 24 हर्यक्षस्थाम्नि पीठे क्रमय इव नृपा यस्य कृत्यानि दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा.....
 25 -गे प्रतापैरिव नगनगरीग्रामदा[हं] प्रमर्ष्य ज्वालाभिः पूर्णम[नं*].....
 26 ५पाप्येकदा मंग्रामे तुलयां न चकुरमकृद्[द्] द्रम्या वृषस्य[द्धि].....
 27 भूभृतां च जनको भूयो व(व)भूव क्षितौ। मुश्लक्षणा यदु[वं]⁵.....
 28 × × × × × × × × × × × ×

Fragment No. 2

- 29 प्राणा .. जान- च्वारा
 30 ६[दा ?]वरीशार्ङ्गणा यादृमस त्रिविधप्रवीरमुकु[टै]-
 31 ७णात्यो यदुनृपतिरभूत्कादिसी(शी)कोतिदीनः ॥५४॥ क- ...
 32 [म]रुचिः मत्यः सतां सम्मतः। एतस्मिन्नपि शूलपाणि[र]- ...
 33 : पाशुपतोऽव[त्य]⁸ ऋषिः श्रीमल्लिकार्जुनः। कक्को-
 34 मंडले स्वभुक्तौ मंडलीकयमदंडर[जितश्री]⁹एकल्लदेवा[य].....
 35 द(दे)वेन प्रदत्तमिति ॥ इति गुवामाग्रामस्य [दा]नं(नम्) ॥ वारिहि(धि ?)गा[उ ?]¹⁰.....
 36 ¹¹कल्लदेवः क्षितौ ॥ ॥ मम्ब(संव)त् १३१४ वर्षे माघ वदि १ अद्ये[ह].....
 37 [व]यमात्रं मवृक्षमालाकुलं मवर्वादायमहितं ठकुरश्रीहर-
 38 श्री मज्जय[वर्म]¹²देवकल्याणराज्ये। ठकुरश्रीहरदेवेस-
 39 -यदे[वपरिगृ]¹³हीतः स्वभुक्तावायातं च मत्वा मवृक्षमालाकु[लं].....
 40 म अद्येह श्रीमज्जयवर्मदेवराज्ये महाप्रधानचा[दुरि]¹⁴.....
 41 [क्ष]मालाकुलं¹⁵ मवर्वादायमहितं देवश्रीवैद्यनाथायोद-¹⁶.....
 42 - राजपुत्रश्रीगोविंदराजपौत्रेण राजश्री¹⁷अरिसिह[दे]-
 43 ॥ अर्द्ध देवश्रीवैद्यनाथाय । अर्द्ध श्रीअजयेश्वराय च
 44 [उ]दकेन प्रदत्त इति ॥ मौडीमंडले पत्तनादाग्नेयां दि[शि]

¹ The unit figure of the number is lost.

² That is, Sahasrārjuna who ruled at Māhishmatī and was killed by Paraśurāma.

³ The consonant of this *akshara* is formed as *s*. Metre in this and the next line: *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Metre of verse in this and the next line: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁵ Probably -वंजजा, but the rest of the line is lost. The next line contains parts of only two *aksharas* which cannot be made out.

⁶ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*. *Kāndīśika* means frightened, or 'afraid'. Literally, one who has lost the direction.

⁸ The latter part of this *akshara* is lost.

⁹ The letters in the brackets are altogether lost and are conjecturally supplied, as the last one also in this line. No *sandhi* is made between *Śrī* and the following *ē*, of which we have some other instances below. In the beginning of this line the lost letters appear to be मालव-.

¹⁰ The reading is certain but no intelligible sense can be made out.

¹¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*. The first letter which is lost may have been को. The number of the verse is lost.

¹² These two letters are slightly damaged but the reading is certain. Some of the following punctuation marks are redundant.

¹³ The bracketed letters in this line are all lost and their restoration is conjectural but almost certain.

¹⁴ The consonant of the first of these *aksharas* looks (or, is) somewhat as *d* and the second has left only traces. It may also have been *ṇ*.

¹⁵ Read मवृक्ष-.

¹⁶ Read -कपूर्वकं.

¹⁷ *Sandhi* is not made here, as also in some other instances below. The last two *aksharas* in the line are obviously -वेन.

- 45 नैगमकायस्थ पं¹ श्रीअर्जुनेन हलैकस्य भूमी प्रदत्ता ॥
 46 ग्रामे ॥ घरटौदग्रामेधिप । राज । वा(बा)लसी(मि)हेन ग्रामादक्षिण
 47 द(दे)वेन हलैकस्य भूमी प्रदत्ता । ग्रामादीणान्यां दिशि । बृह(बुद्ध)
 48 ²कादायान्मासं मासं प्रति द्रम्म³ १ प्रदत्तः ॥ तथा दायात् दिनं प्र
 49 मध्ये हट्टद्वयं ॥ गृहैक च ॥ डोडराज । कम्ब(म्ब)लसी(सि)हसुते[न]
 50 ⁴नीयो भवद्भिः ॥ अष्टाविंशतिकोट्यम्बु म(न)रकाणां च दाहणाः
 51 -येन विप्रेण विदुषा वामनेन वै । प्रशस्तिः मदलंकारा कृतेह
 52 भूमिः⁵ मणिवाय ४ ग्रामे पञ्च(ञ्चि)मदिशायां प्रदत्ता महिराउता⁶-ग्रामे शु[दि] ⁷

No. 57 : PLATES LVI-LVII

MĀNDHĀTĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF JAYAVARMAN (II)

[Vikrama] Year 1317

THIS inscription is engraved on two copper-plates which are said to have been found by the late Shri Lele, some time in 1904, and were first mentioned by him in *A Report on the Progress of Archaeological work in the Dhār State*, dated 24th August, 1904. The inscription was also brought to notice by the same scholar in some local papers, along with the one dealt with above (No. 51) and which too, as already stated, was discovered almost about the same time. The inscription was subsequently edited by F. Kielhorn, from impressions sent to him by the then Government Epigraphist, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IX, pp. 117 ff. Kielhorn published his transcript in Roman characters, and his article is not accompanied by a facsimile. In the meantime, the plates were acquired by the Central Museum, Nagpur, where they are now preserved. The subjoined transcript has been prepared by me from a set of impressions, which, at my request, was sent to me by the Curator of the Museum, and finally revised from the original plates placed kindly at my disposal by him.

As stated above, the copper-plates are **two** in number and were found at the village of **Gōḍarpur**,⁸ opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the East Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh, formerly belonging to the old Central Provinces. The plates, are stated to measure about 43.5 cms. broad by 27.3 cms. high,⁹ and their total weight is 8.57 kg. Each of the plates shows two holes of the diameter of about 2.5 cms., pierced in the lower margin of the first and in the upper margin of the second, showing that they were originally held together by two rings which are now not forthcoming. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side, whereas the second on both the sides. The

¹ This letter stands for *Paṇḍita*. It is noteworthy that this is used with the name of *Kāyastha*, who was also a trader.

² Should we read *maṇḍapikādāyāt*, i.e., from the house where the articles brought for sale were taxed ?

³ This word is used without any case-suffix. The last five letters in the line have to be restored as *tad = ādāyānudinān*.

⁴ The first two *aksharas* in the line appear to have been पल्ल.

⁵ The sign of *visarga* appears to have been later on inserted. *Maṇivāya* is rather an uncommon word and may denote a 'jeweller who prepares strings of precious beads', on the analogy of *tantuvāya* from *tantu*. It appears that they are shown by the number 4, without giving their names.

⁶ It is not known whether *Rāūtā* or *Mahirāūtā* was the name.

⁷ Probably ॐ, denoting the end of the record.

⁸ Lying in Long. 76° 9' E. and Lat. 22° 15' N. on the south bank of the Narmadā. The inscription is known after the famous place Māndhātā which is close by.

⁹ This is according to Kielhorn. To be more exact, in my personal examination of the plates, I found that the breadth of the lower side of the first and the second plates is respectively 27 and 27.5 cms., and in height, their sides at the top and the bottom also show slight variations, possibly so intended for fitting in one of them into the other. The plates are massive, with their middle slightly concave.

writing on the first plate which is in nineteen lines, covers a space measuring 41·5 by 23·5 cms., that on the obverse of the second, 42 by 25 cms., and that on its reverse side, 41·5 by 20 cms., including the last line which is only about 15 cms. long. The writing on this plate consists of twenty and fourteen lines, respectively, on its obverse and reverse.

The letters have been carefully drawn and well engraved. The engraving is fairly deep but does not show through on the reverse. The writing as a whole is in an excellent state of preservation. On the proper right side of the reverse of the second plate, just above the mid-line, in a rectangle, which lessens the length of the initial portion of lines 43-49 and measures about 10·2 cms. high and 8 cms. broad, is engraved the figure of **Garuda**, the emblem of the royal house of the Paramāras, in human form, kneeling towards the left and with four hands, the upper two of which are folded over the breast, the lower right lifted up with fingers raised and the lower left holding a snake with its hood raised. The figure has a bird's beak, and shows its hair raised up: its face is bearded, as of the Rājapūts, and it has a necklace, armlets and anklets. It also wears a scarf in the neck and an upper garment with flaring ends. Below it, is engraved the **sign-manual** of the king *Sva-hastō = yam mahāvājasya*, in characters smaller than those of the body of the main record.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, resembling those of Dēvapāla's grant found at the same place and dealt with above. However, noteworthy are the forms of the letters *i*, *ē*, *k*, *th*, *bh* and *ś*, which mark a transitional stage. The form of the initial *i* in *ity = āsīt*, l. 5, is different from that of the same vowel in ll. 4, 27 and 47, where the two loops, which are placed horizontally in its former form, are not only one below the other but each of them also shows a hook at its end, turned in opposite directions. The slight difference in the formation of the initial *ē* is to be noticed in *ēśah*, in ll. 23 and *ēvam*, l. 36, the latter assuming almost the modern shape. Of the consonants, the letter *k* has begun to lose its loop occasionally, as in *kula*, l. 5, and *chakrē*, l. 16. The letter *th* also shows two forms, one, made up of two loops of equal size, engraved one below the other and followed by a vertical, as in *atha*, l. 13, and the advanced one in which the upper loop is shortened and rounded as in the same word in l. 18. Attention may also be drawn to the formation of *bh*, which continues as before, but occasionally its left-side stroke is drawn only upwards, as in *bhūmi* and *bhūyō*, both in l. 45, showing it to be a precursor of its modern form. The palatal sibilant also shows two forms, the older one in *Paraśurāma* and the other which is slightly advanced, in *dśyāt*, both in l. 2. To note some other peculiarities, the initial *a* in *Ajayadēva*, l. 53, *ā* in *Amadēva*, l. 52 and the conjunct consonant *jñ* in *ājñā*, l. 40 are precursors of the modern forms of these letters. The subscripts *chh* and *th* are laid flat on their sides and are almost alike in form: cf. *chchanna*, l. 8 and *sthāna*, l. 31; the conjunct consonant *ññ* is engraved so as to resemble *nl*, in *kshannān*, l. 2 and *dōshñā*, l. 15, but in *utkīrññam*, l. 52, as before, i.e., a single *n* crossed by a slanting bar. *R* continues to appear with a wedge in the middle but with a pointed tail, cf. *vāmbhū*, l. 3.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is almost faultless. With the exception of the grant portion and a small sentence in the beginning and one in the end, the charter is composed in verses. In respect of **orthography**, the following points are worth noticing:—(1) the letter *b* is indicated by the sign for *v*: cf. *prativimva*, l. 1; (2) the consonant following *r* is generally doubled, with a few exceptions: cf. *dharmmāya*, l. 1 and *Yasōvarmmā*, l. 10 but not in *svargē*, l. 44 and *durgē*, l. 49; (3) the sibilants are correctly used with the singular exception of *sata* for *śata* in l. 25; (4) *sandhis* are occasionally violated, as in mentioning the *gōtras* etc. and in a few instances like *śrī-Ajayadēva*, l. 53; (5) the medial diphthongs are denoted by *prishṭha-mātrās*, which, in case of *ō*, marks one of the components at *prishṭha* and the other at *agra*: cf. *lōkān*, l. 20 and *kshōñm*, l. 22; and in *au*, one of the components is used at *prishṭha*, cf. *tithau*, l. 28, but there are a few exceptions to the use of the *mātrā* of diphthongs, like *dēvēna*, l. 28 and *dēvō*, l. 52, no *prishṭha-mātrā* being employed in such cases; (6) the class nasals at the end of a verse or a hemistich are correctly used and not changed to *anusvāra* with the only exception in *sāmpratam*, l. 16; in two instances, viz. *samupanēlavayam*, l. 41 and *śāsanam*, l. 51; *anusvāra* is wrongly used along with the following *m* and in the first of these instances it appears to be scored off: but it continues to serve the purpose of a nasal in the midst of words: cf., for example, *utsamga* and *puñja*, both in l. 6 and *pañḍitēndra*, l. 50, for all

the nasals respectively. (7) the sign for *avagraha* is employed about half a dozen times, and it is interesting to note that it is engraved in three different forms: e.g., in *śrēyasē'stu*, l. 4, it shows a hook at the top: in *yaśōbhi-*, l. 28, it is endowed with a top-stroke as attached to a letter, and in *dāyō'yaṃ*, l. 42, it has a loop at the top.

It may also be noted that with all the beautiful engraving the inscription contains some errors of technical execution, e.g., *diśyād-vijēndrō* for *diśyād-dvijēndrō*, l. 2, *sārdham* for *sārd-dham*, l. 12, *dagjētuḥ* for *digjētuḥ*, l. 13, *shautrāya* for *pautrāya*, l. 32, and *sahastra* for *sahasra*, l. 44. We also have instances when letters and their parts are subsequently corrected. All these and such other errors occurring in the inscription are noticed in the transcript of the text.

The plates were issued by the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Jayavarmadēva**, the younger brother of Jaitugideva. They record the perpetual grant of the village Vaḍaūda, situated in the Mahuaḍa-*pathaka*, to three Brāhmaṇas, hailing from different localities. The (produce of the) village was divided into six shares (*vaṇṭakas*), so that one of the donees obtained four shares, and the other two, one share each.

In its initial portion the charter cites the same verses (1-22) as found in Dēvapāla's Mān-dhātā grant, containing the genealogy of the house from **Bhōja** to **Dēvapāla**,¹ and new information is added thereafter in two stanzas (vv. 22-23), the first of which states that Dēvapāla was succeeded on the throne of Mālava by his son **Jaitugi**, who bore the epithet of *Bālanārāyaṇa*:² The second of these stanzas means to say that Jaitugi was succeeded by his younger brother **Jayavarman**. This account is followed by recording the purpose.

Lines 27-28 tell us that the king from his stay at *Maṇḍapa-durga*, caused the *Pratīhāra* (abbreviated as *pratī*) Gāṅgadēva to donate the village Vaḍaūda in the Mahuaḍa-*pathaka*: and the latter made the grant, on behalf of the king and under his orders, after bathing in the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā, on **Sunday, the third day of the bright half of Āgrahāyana of the (V.) S. 1317**, when the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshāḍhā and the *yōga* was *Śūla*. This day, with all its details as mentioned, for the expired (*Chaturādi*, or *Kārttikādi*) Vikrama year regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 7th November, 1260 A.C.**³

The village was divided into six shares (*vaṇṭakas*) which were assigned as follows:

- (a) Four shares to the *Agnihōtrin* Mādhavaśarman, a son of the *Pāṭhaka* Hariśarman and grandson of the *Dvīvēda* Vēda — a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhārgava *gōtra* and student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*, with his *pravaras* Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya, who had hailed from Navagāmva (ll. 31-32).
- (b) One share to the *Chaturvēda* Janārdana, a son of the *Dvīvēda* Līmadēva and grandson of *Dvīvēda* Lāshū — a Brāhmaṇa of the Gautama *gōtra* and student of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā*, with his *pravaras* Gautama, Āṅgīrasa and Autathya, who had hailed from Takāri (ll. 33-34).
- (c) One share to the *Dvīvēda* Dhāmadēvaśarman, a son of the *Dīkshita* Divākara and grandson of *Dīkshita* Kēkū — a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and student of the Mādhyandina *śākhā*, with his *pravaras* Āṅgīrasa Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, who had hailed from Ghaṭāūshari (ll. 34-36).

It will be noticed that the name of each of the donees has the word *śarman* suffixed to it and the word *sthāna* is attached to each of his place of origin, as in Dēvapāla's grant dealt with above. But more interesting is the information that the king's *pratīhāra* Gāṅgadēva enjoyed a high status as he was deputed to donate the shares on behalf of the king and also that he did it after taking bath in the confluence of the rivers and after performing all the prescribed duties.

The formal part of the grant, which we have just seen, is followed by five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses (Nos. 25-29). Then in lines 48-49 we have another date, the one when the charter was actually issued. It is, as expressed in words, like the previous one, **Thursday, the eleventh of the bright half of the Jyēshṭha of Saṃvat 1317**, the English

¹ In v. 17 this record gives the name as Jaitrasīnuha instead of Jayasīnuha, and in v. 21 it has *praśāsti* instead of *raraksha*.

² In the *N. S. C.*, I. v. 59, we have *kumāra-nārāyaṇa*, for *Sindhurāja*.

³ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 119.

equivalent of which is the **12th of May, 1261 A.C.**, taking the year to be *Kārttikādi*.¹ On this date, as we are told in lines 49-52, the charter was composed by the learned Harshadēva, the son of the learned Gavīśa, under the approbation of Paṇḍita Mālādhara, who was employed a minister of war and treaty by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Jayavarmadēva at Maṇḍapa-durga, and that it was revised by the grammarian (*śābdika*) Āmadēva, a disciple of the wise Gōsēka who was well versed in legal science (*smṛiti-śāstra*). The last two lines (52-53) have the statement that the record was engraved by the artisan (*rūpakāra*) Kānhaḍa and the *dūta* was the *mahā-pradhāna*, the illustrians Ajayadēva.

The statement that the grant was made and the charter was issued by Jayavarman from his stay at Maṇḍapa-durga seems to suggest an important event : and to understand it properly, it is necessary to consider the political situation of the time. We know that in 1233-34 A.C. Iltutmish, the Turkish Sultān of Delhi, had turned his arms against Mālwa, where he captured the fort of Bhilsā (modern Vidishā) and from there he marched to Ujjain where he destroyed the temple of Mahākālā.² These aggressive operations, though of a temporary nature,³ had opened a way for the Muslims to make expeditions further in the south ; and during the years that followed, Nāsiruddīn's general Balban successfully over-ran the land up to Chanderī and Narwar which were then on the northern fringe of the Paramāra dominions. It was about in 1250 A.C. ;⁴ and almost at the same time, that this region was attacked from the south by the Yādava Kṛishṇa, whose enmity with the house of the Paramāras was hereditary and who claims success over the contemporary king of Mālava in his epigraphical records.⁵ Almost about the same time the vāghelā Vīsaladēva of Gujarāt sacked Dhārā.⁶ And it is possible to hold that in view of all these troubles Jayavarman or his predecessor Jaitugi may have thought it best to resort to the fort of Māṇḍū, which is a place of better strategic position than Dhārā, situated on the plains.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, **Dhārā** (l. 12) and **Mālava** (l. 24) are well known : and **Maṇḍapa-durga**, where the king issued his orders (l. 24), is the well-known fort of Māṇḍū, situated about 35 kms. south of Dhār. **Rēvā** (l. 29) is the river Narmadā ; and **Kapilā** (l. 29), which is perhaps the Kuvilārā of Naravarman's grant of V.S. 1252, is a stream now known as kolār or Kholār, which falls into the Narmadā near the place where the plates were found.⁷ **Amarēśvara** (l. 29) is, of course, at Māndhātā. **Mahuāḍa**, mentioned as a *pratiṇāgarāṇaka* in which the donated village was situated (l. 23), has already been identified while dealing with the Māndhātā grant of Dēvapāla (No. 51), and **Vaḍaūda** may perhaps be the same as the modern village Barūḍ, about 15 kms. south-west of Māndhātā. Of the places of origin of the Brāhmaṇas, **Takārī** (l. 35) appears to be the same as mentioned in Dēvapāla's grant just referred to and also in Jayasīṃha-Jayavarman's grant which we shall edit below (No. 60). **Navagāmva** (l. 31), as pointed out by Kielhorn, may be the town of Nawēgāon in the Chāndā District, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the (former) Central Provinces*, p. 370 ; but he also states that "there is at least one other place of the same name," without mentioning it. I could find out some more places with the same name in the locality, for example, one place now known as Naugāwān, a railway station near Ratlām, and another as Nagavān which is about 12 kms. west of Barūḍ itself and about 40 kms. south-west of Māndhātā. This place is on the Narmadā and is the nearest of all the others. But as the donee cannot necessarily be taken as hailing from a place

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

² *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, Briggs' translation, Vol. I, p. 211 ; *Tabaqūt-i-Nāsirī*, Raverty's translation, Vol. I, p. 622. For general references, see Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, Vol. II, p. 328.

³ See my remarks in No. 60, vv. 46-48, below.

⁴ *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. III, p. 68.

⁵ The Muṇōli (Belgāon) Canarese inscription of Kṛishṇa, dated in Śaka 1174 or 1252 A.C. represents the Yādava king as a *trīnētra* or the three-eyed god Śiva to Madana or Kāmadēva who was the king of Mālava. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 23, l. 19. The same account is also to be found in his records from Mamdāpur and Arjunavāḍ, both in the same district. See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 25 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 332 ff., respectively.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 107, v. 6.

⁷ Or, it may be what is locally known as the *Kapilā-saṅgama*, near the village Lohārā (22° 5' N. ; 75° 13' E.) which is held with great sanctity even to-day. This view appears to be more probable as the donated villages along with Māndhātā are all on the south of the Narmadā.

i

ॐ नमः पूरुषार्थवदामाद्यधस्मादापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 २ नदत्तानि विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 ४ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 ६ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 ८ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 १० विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 १२ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 १४ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 १६ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा
 १८ विद्वान्नामोत्तमसुहृदापतिविमुक्तिना दामः कृष्णान्नामोत्तमसुहृदा

[illegible]

- 18 १६ अथाश्विनामपुण्येन पुण्येन स्वर्गमुद्भुवाम् । सोऽद्भुतत्यागशीलश्च शृंगारी च दिवं गतः
19 ॥२० ननः प्रमारचंद्रम्य हरिश्चंद्रम्य नंदनः । प्रजाम्नि मालवक्षोणी देवपालः प्रतापवा-

Second Plate: First Side

- 20 न् ॥२१ तस्मिन्नैद्रपदं मुदा धितवति श्रीदेवपाले नृपे तत्सुतुष्टिपदंतको निजगुणैर्लोका-
21 न्नदा रंजयन् ।¹ धीमान्जैनुगिदेव एष नृपतिः श्रीमालवाखंडलः शाम्नि क्षोणिमिमामुदारच-
22 रितैः स्वैर्वा(वा)लनारायणः ॥२२ भुक्वाराध्य मुखं तस्मिन्प्राप्ते विदग्धमंदिरम् । शाम्नि तस्यानुजः क्षोणी जय-
23 वर्मा जनाधिपः ॥२३ स एष नरनायकः सर्वविभूदयी ॥² महृग्रडपथके वडउदग्रामे³ समस्तराजपुरुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)-
24 ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवापिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा ॥ श्रीमत्संडपट्टु(र्ग)स्थितैर⁴-
25 स्मामिः सप्तदशाधिकवयोदशम(ज)नमंस्वमरे समारम्यामारता दृष्ट्वा ॥⁵ तथा हि ॥ वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं
वनु-
26 धाधिपत्यमापतमात्रमधुरो विद्योऽभोगः । प्रागास्तृणाग्रजनिवि(वि)दुसमा नराणा धर्मः⁶ नखा परमहो
27 पर[लो]क्याने⁷ [॥२४*] इति सर्वं विमृश्य दापतादुष्टफलमगीकृत्य । प्रनी० श्रीगांगदेवपाश्वन् वडउदग्रामोयं
28 त्रिभ्यो त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणभ्यो दापितः । तेन च प्रनी० श्रीगांगदेवेन समन्⁸ १३१७ आग्रहायणशुक्लतृतीयायां⁹ तिथौ
29 रविवासरे पूर्वपादानक्षत्रे जुलनाम्नि योगे श्रीमदमरेश्वरक्षेत्रे रेवाया दक्षिणे कूले रेवाकपिला-
30 मंगमे स्तत्वा भगवंतं चराचरगुरु श्रीमदमरेश्वरं पंचोपचारैः समभ्यर्च्य¹⁰ ॥ जीवितं विद्युच्चंचलं ज्ञात्वा
31 नवगाम्बस्थानविनिर्गताय भार्गवमगोत्राय भार्गव(च्य)वनप्राप्तज्ञानप्र(औ)र्वजामदन्येतिपंचप्रवराय माध्यं¹¹-
32 दिनशाखाध्यायिने द्वि०¹² वेदशौ(पौ)त्राय पा० हरिश्चर्मपुत्राय अग्नि० मायवजर्मणे त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाय पदानि चत्वारि
33 ४[१*] टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय गौतममगोत्राय गौतमागिरमश्रौतथ्येतिप्रवराय¹³ आश्वलायनशाखाध्या-
34 यिने द्वि० लापुपौत्राय द्वि० लीमदेवपुत्राय च०¹⁴ जनार्जनशर्मणे त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् १[१*] घटाउषरिस्था-
35 नविनिर्गताय भारद्वाजमगोत्राय आगिरमवा(वा)र्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवराय माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने
36 दी०¹⁵ केकुपौत्राय दी० दिवाकरपुत्राय द्वि० धामदेवशर्मणे त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् १[१*] एवमेभ्यस्त्रिभ्यो¹⁶
37 त्रा(त्रा)ह्मणभ्यः प[३भ]र्वटर्कैर्वडउदग्रामोयं समन्तोपि चतुः(तुप्)कंकटविजुडः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभा-
38 गभोगः सोपरिकरः सर्वदायममेतः¹⁷ सन्निधिनक्षेपो मातापि[त्रो]रात्मनश्च पुण्ययज्ञोऽभिवृद्धये
39 चद्रावर्कणवक्षिणममकालं यावत्य(त्य)रया भक्त्या देवत्रा(त्रा)ह्मणभूक्तिवर्जं जामनेनोदकपू-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 40 र्वं प्रदत्तः । तन्मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्य[था]दीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाविधे-
41 र्यैर्भूत्वा सर्वमेतेभ्यः समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) । सामान्यं चैतद्धर्मफलं वु(वु)द्ध्वास्मद्धं(द्धं)शर्जर्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिर-

¹ Following this *danḍa*, there is a vacant space with some traces showing that two *aksharas* were at first engraved here and subsequently erased.

² The *danḍas* are superfluous.

³ A *mātrā* of short *i* was originally attached to the first letter of this name and later on scored off.

⁴ Note the use of *Śr* before the name of a place.

⁵ These *danḍas* are intended to introduce the following verse as a paranthesis. The letters *समार* appear to be written after scoring off some others which were originally put here.

⁶ By mistake, a *danḍa* was at first put after this word and later on erased so as to leave the mark.

⁷ The bracketed *akshara* was at first engraved as *मो*

⁸ Originally the second letter was engraved with the *mātrā* of *ā* which was later on erased. Read *सवन्*.

⁹ The *akshara* in the brackets is misformed.

¹⁰ The *danḍas* are redundant. For the five requisite articles of worship in the contemporary age, cf. *T. M.*, p. 40 where we read *snāpana-mālyā-nulīpana* and *alaṅkāra*. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 119, n. 11; and p. 327.

¹¹ Both these *aksharas* show some redundant strokes in their formation.

¹² For the abbreviations in this line and below, read respectively, *द्विवेद* or *-दिन्*, *पाठक* and *अग्निहोत्रिन्*.

¹³ The vowel *u* is here formed as *au*.

¹⁴ Read *चतुर्वेद*, or *-दिन्*, here and below. The third *akshara* of the name that follows appears more probably to be *rdda*.

¹⁵ Read *दीक्षित*.

¹⁶ A redundant *visarga* was at first engraved after *त्र* and then erased, as known from the marks.

¹⁷ There is a redundant *anusvāra* above *वर्वा*. The sign was lightly scratched off, subsequently.

- 42 स्मत्प्रदापितधर्मादयोऽयमनुमन्वयः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । व(व)दुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः मगरादि-
 43 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिन्स्य तस्य तदा फलम् [112५*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
 वसुधराम् ।
 44 ।¹ विष्टायां म कृमिभूत्वा पि[तृ]भिः² मह मज्जति । [12६*] पष्टि वर्षमहस्ता(स्त्रा)णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ।
 45 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् । [12७*] सर्वानिव भाविनो भूमिपालाभ्यो भू-
 46 यो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं धर्ममेतुर्पाणां काले काले पालनीयो
 47 भवद्भिः । [12८*] इति कमलदलाम्बुवि(म्बुवि)दुलोला श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । मरु-
 48 लमिदमुदाहृतं च बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः³ परकीर्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ ॥⁴ संवत्
 49 १३१७ ज्येष्ठ शुदि ११ गुरावद्येह श्रीमंडपदुर्गे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजयवर्म-
 50 देवनियुक्तेन मांघ्रिविर्ग(ग्र)हिक पं०⁵ श्रीमालाधरमम्मनेन । पंडितेद्रगवीशस्य सूनुना विदुषा स्फुटम् ।
 51 हर्षदेवाभिधेनेदं लिखितं राजशासनं(नम्) । [1३०*] यो वेत्यपारं स्मृतिशाम्भवारं गोमेकनाम्ना⁶ बु(बु)धपुंगव-
 52 स्य । शिष्यः सुधीः जाव्दि(व्दि)क ग्रामदेवो भूपस्य लेख्यं समशोधि तेन । [1३१*] उत्कीर्णमिदं
 रूपकारकान्दडेन⁷ ।
 53 दूतो महाप्रधानराजश्रीअजयदेवः⁸ ।

No. 58 : PLATE LVIII

VIDISHĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASĪMHA (II)

[Vikrama] Year 1320

THIS inscription was discovered and also copied by Dr. D. C. Sircar, who was then the Government Epigraphist, in 1958. Subsequently, it was edited by him, with a lithograph, in his article on 'Three Paramāra inscriptions', published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 137 f.⁹ From the same lithograph it is edited here.

The stone bearing the inscription is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at **Bhilsā**, now known as Vidishā, the principal town of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. It is a detached slab, and its find-spot and the circumstances under which it was obtained are not known, though from the mention of Bhillsavāmidēvapura in it, which is Bhilsā itself, it could not have been brought from far and may have been originally set in or in the vicinity of the temple which was broken by the Sultān Iltutmish in his conquest of that place.¹⁰

The inscription consists of ten lines of writing, which covers a space about 46 cms. broad by 28 cms. high : but only the first two lines of it have the full length. The rest of the lines gradually decrease in length till the last one is only 3 cms. long, since all these are engraved towards the proper left side of the space on it, the proper right side being occupied by the representation of the donkey-and-woman motif, referred to in the last three lines of the record. The average height of the *aksharas* is about 2.5 cms. The letters are neither well formed nor carefully engraved. The record has also suffered a good deal from weather.

¹ One of the *daṇḍas* is redundant.

² In place of the bracketed *akshara*, originally व्वा was cut and later on corrected.

³ Originally, a *daṇḍa*, later on corrected to *visarga*.

⁴ There is a floral design between the double *daṇḍas*. This stanza is No. 29.

⁵ Read पंडित.

⁶ As Kielhorn has already remarked, he may have been the same as Gōsē, mentioned as one of the donees in No. 51, l. 39 ; but in the same grant the name Rājagōśala also appears in l. 37.

⁷ A person with a somewhat similar name (Kānhāka) was the engraver of the Māndhātā grant of Jayasīmha-Jayavarman, of V.S. 1331 ; and Dr. D. C. Sircar identifies them both. But we have no definite evidence to do so.

⁸ As in many other cases noted above, *sandhi* is not observed here.

⁹ The other two inscriptions referred to here are edited above, Nos. 17 and 32.

¹⁰ See Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. I, pp. 211-12. More probably the stone was set up near the remains of the temple and not in itself.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C., and the **language** is corrupt Sanskrit. The most glaring mistakes of grammar consist in the use of *śrēya-* for *śrēyō-* in l. 4, and *dēvī Sā(Bhā?)numatī*, in the first and not the third case, as required by the construction. In respect of **orthography**, what is specially worth noting is that the letter *kh* is represented by *sh* in *Vaiśāsha* in l. 1, and *y* by *j* in *jabhati*, in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva**, evidently the same as the Paramāra king Jayavarman of the preceding record,¹ in whose dominion the town of Bhilsā, as we learn from it, was included. The **object** of the inscription is to record, at that place, a pious deed, *viz.*, the donation of Dvōrmēla(?), which appears to be the name of a locality. The donation was made by a lady of the name of Sānumatī (or, Bhānumatī?), residing at Kuptakā(?), for the religious merit of *Paṇi* (Paṇḍita) and *Th* (Thakura) Madanasimha, who seems to have been her husband. The name of the donee is not mentioned; and it thus appears that the donation was made in favour of a deity, probably an image, near which the stone bearing the record may have been originally set up.

The inscription is dated in l. 1, as the **(Vikrama) year 1320, on Thursday, the third tithi of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha**. According to Sircar, the year is Kārttikādi, *current*, and the date regularly corresponds to the **12th April, 1263 A.C.**²

While dealing with the Udaipur inscription of the time of Dēvapāla, dated V.S. 128[9], we have seen that the Paramāras, after their defeat at the hands of Itutmish, succeeded in reconquering the town of Bhillasvāmin (Bhilsā) from the Muslims:³ and the present inscription which comes from the same place, corroborates the findings.⁴

As for the **localities** mentioned in the record, **Bhillasvāmidēvapura** (1-2) is evidently Bhilsā, as seen above, and the other localities mentioned in it cannot be traced.

TEXT⁵

- 1 मिद्धम्⁶ ॥ मवन् १३२० वर्षे वैशाख(ख)मु(शु)दि [३]⁷ गुरी अद्ये[ह]
- 2 [श्रीभाइ]⁸लस्वामिदेवपुरे श्रीजयमिहदे[*व]राज्ये पुभा⁹-
- 3 [नि]न्ना(ना)यक पं ठ¹⁰ मदनसी(मि)-
- 4 ह[दे*]वश्रेय(यो)निमित्त(त्तं) कु-
- 5 पत्ता[स्थ]देवीमानु-
- 6 मनी¹¹ द्वोर्मेलं प्र-
- 7 दत्तं(त्तम्।) यो न द¹²-
- 8 दाति तस्य मा-
- 9 ता¹³ गर्दभो ज-
- 10 भाति¹⁴ ॥

¹ For details, see below, No. 60.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 187. To me the year appears to be expired, of course with the same calculation.

³ Above, p. 188.

⁴ For further discussion on the subject, see below, No. 60.

⁵ From facsimile facing p. 187 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV.

⁶ Expressed by symbol, the formation of which is rather peculiar and not generally found in inscriptions.

⁷ Sircar remarked that the reading of this numeral may be 2 also, but then it would offend against the week-day (Thursday) mentioned just after it and which, according to him, is regular.

⁸ At the beginning of this line there is a trace of one *akshara* which I am unable to make out. It appears as *su* (?).

⁹ This *akshara* appears also as पत्ता, and thus the reading is uncertain. Compare with it the formation of the first *akshara* in l. 5. However, I follow Sircar in the reading of this name as also of two others which occur in ll. 4-6.

¹⁰ That is, *Paṇḍita-Thakura*.

¹¹ As Sircar has already suggested, read देव्या मानुमत्या. The reading of the first *akshara* of the name, however, appears to me to be doubtful, as it may also have been भा.

¹² What appears after this *akshara* may not have been a redundant *danḍa*, as taken by Sircar, but a *kāka-pada*-sign, which is partly preserved.

¹³ Read मातरं.

¹⁴ Read यभति. The double *danḍa* that follows is joined at the top by a horizontal stroke.

No. 59 : PLATE LIN

PAṬHĀRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASĪNHA (II)

[Vikrama] Year 1326

THIS inscription was noticed by Kielhorn, from a rubbing supplied to him by Hultsch, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, appx., p. 33, No. 232, and subsequently, by D. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1905-06, p. 56 (No. 2111), and again in the same, for 1913-14, p. 26 (No. 2644). It was also enlisted in the *Annual Report of Ind. Epigraphy*, 1963-64, as No. C-2031 : and finally, it was edited by Dr. Ramsharma, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 33 ff., and Plate. It is edited here from an impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

The record is stated to have been found on a stone near the eastern bank of a tank at **Paṭhārī**,¹ a large village in the Kurvai-Kēthōrā *tehsil* of the Vidishā District in Madhya Pradesh. The village is about 20 kms. by metalled road from Kalhār, a railway station between Vidishā and Kurvai on the Bombay-Delhi line of the Central Railway.

The inscription covers a space measuring 37 cms. broad by 30 cms. high. It contains seven lines of writing, the last of which is about half in length of the others. The formation of the letters is rather crude and cursive : but they are generally legible, though occasionally, with the help of the context. The height of the individual letters varies from 2.5 to 3 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī : and the **language** is Sanskrit. With reference to **orthography**, it is worth noting that one of the components of the medial *ai* and *au* is marked as a vertical stroke before the letter to which it belongs : see *Vaisāsha* in l. 1, and *gaudānvayē* in l. 4 : whereas the *mātrās* of *ē* and *ō* are marked above. Local element is responsible for spelling the name Jayasīnha as *-siṅgha* in l. 3, and Mahājasīnha as *-sīnha* in l. 5. *Sandhi* has been violated in *vāṭikā udyāpanārthē* in l. 6 : and *anustāra* is wrongly put for *m* at the end of a sentence in the last line.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the allotment of a patch of ground² for completion of the religious right (*udyāpana*) in connection with an orchard, by Raṇasīnha, the son of Mahājasīnha and the grandson of Dōdē, who belonged to the Gauḍa lineage (*Gaudānvaya*). This person is not known from any other source. The **date** of the record, which is given just after the *Siddham* symbol and in figures only, is **Wednesday, the seventh of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha of the (Vikrama) year 1326**, which, as calculated by Kielhorn, regularly corresponds to **the 10th April, 1269 A.C.**³

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it refers to a ruler of the name of **Jayasīnha**, *i.e.* Jayasīnha, with all the royal epithets, as ruling over the region around Paṭhārī in an year which corresponds to 1269 A.C. The record is silent as to the house to which this king belonged, as we also find in the Atrū and Bhilsā inscriptions, edited above ;⁴ but it is evident that he was a member of the royal **Paramāra** house of Mālava which held this region under its sway from the time of Udayāditya, whose records were found quite near by, at Udaipur, which is about 15 kms. distant from the find-spot of the present inscription.⁵ During the reign of Udayāditya's son, Naravarman, this region was no doubt captured by the Chaulukyas,

¹ It is an ancient place. For the numerous archaeological remains found there, see Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 64 ff. ; *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 69 ff. ; Marshall's *A. S. I.*, Vol. for 1925-26, p. 192 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 349 ; *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 258 ; and *Imp. Gaz. of Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 29. The stone bearing this inscription is not traceable now. In my visit to the place some three years back, I failed to discover it on the whole of the bank and also in the vicinity.

² In the *A. R. on Ind. Ep.* for 1963-64, No. 2031, where this inscription is noticed, the word *kīrti* (l. 6) is taken synonymous with 'inscription'. But it also means any work of public utility, calculated to render famous the name of its constructor. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. In the present context it has to be taken to refer to the orchard mentioned in the inscription. For the use of the word in this sense, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 267, n. 3, also.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, appx., p. 33, No. 232.

⁴ Nos. 55 and 58, respectively.

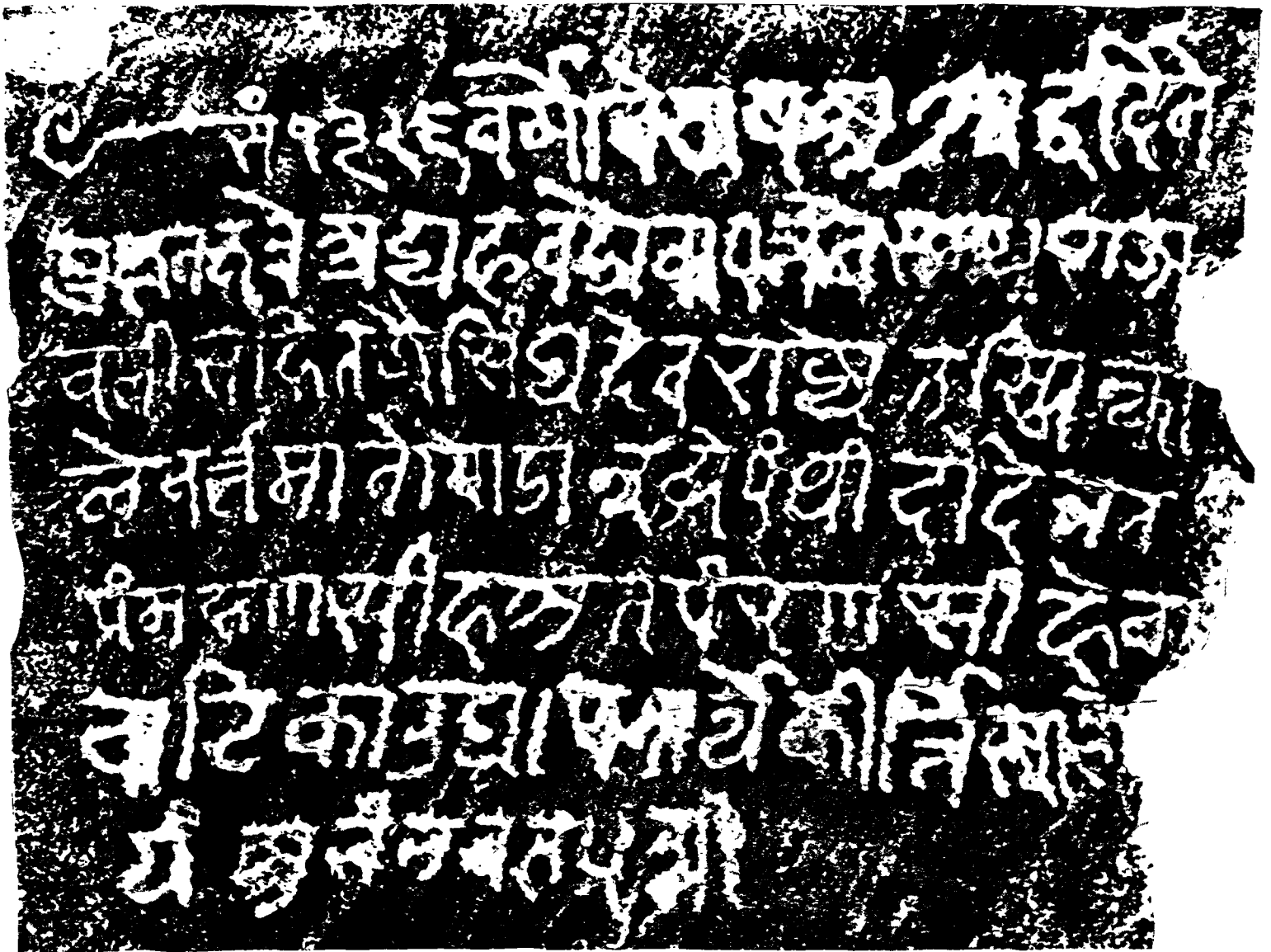
⁵ Nos. 19 and 181, respectively.

VIDISHĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1320



Scale: One-third

PAṬHĀRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1326



Scale: One-half

but it was recovered by the Paramāras, as we know from the Vidishā inscription of Trailōkya-varman, dated V.S. 1216 (1158-59 A.C.) and also from the two inscriptions of the time of Dēva-pāla, dated V.S. 1286 (1229 A.C.) and V.S. 1289 (1232 A.C.),¹ both found at Udaipur. The expression *samasta-rājāvalī-sahita*, which is used along with the name of Jayasimha in ll. 2-3 of the present inscription, reminds us of a similar expression in the Māndhātā grant of V.S. 1331 (l. 86), where we have also shown that this ruler is identical with Jayavarman II, who is mentioned in it.²

Jayasimha's contemporary in the immediate north of his kingdom was Jaitrasimha of the Chāhamāna house of Raṇathambhōr, a brave and ambitious ruler, who was then striving hard to extend his territories in the south. The struggle between both these rivals has already been referred to by us while editing the Atrū inscription of V.S. 1314 (1257 A.C.),³ and it need not be repeated here.

The only **geographical** name mentioned in the inscription is **Vaḍōvyapattana**, which is evidently the modern village of Baḍōh, adjoining to Paṭhārī, where the inscription was found. The two villages which now appear as separate from each other, were in old times parts of the same village which then extended over a greater area, as we know from the description of antiquities found there by Cunningham, who also remarks to this effect.⁴

TEXT⁵

- 1 सिद्धम्⁶ [I*] सं १३२६ वर्षे वैसाख(शाख) शु ७ बुद्ध(बुध)दिने
- 2 [पुष्य]नक्षत्रे⁷ अद्य(द्ये)ह वडोव्यपत्त[ने] सम[स्त]राजा-
- 3 बलीसहितजैसिघदेवराज्ये⁸ तस्मिन्का-
- 4 ले वर्तमाने गौडान्वये पंथीदोदे[सु]त-
- 5 प्रं(पं)महणसीं(सि)हसुत-पं-रणसीं(सि)हेन⁹
- 6 वाटिकाउद्यापनार्थे¹⁰ कीर्त्तिस्थलो-
- 7 यं(यम्)¹¹ [I*] [सु(शु)]भं भवतु -¹² श्री[:II*]

No. 60 ; PLATES LX-LXIII

MĀNDHĀTĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1331

THIS set of plates is said to have been found in 1927, in course of cleaning ground for the Kārttika *Mēlā* on the southern bank of the Narmadā, near the famous Kāśī-Viśvanātha temple at **Ōmkāra-Māndhātā**,¹³ an island attached to the East Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh.

¹ Nos. 42, 52 and 53, respectively.

² No. 60, below.

³ No. 55.

⁴ Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. X, p. 76.

⁵ From an inked impression.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ The first two letters in this line, as some others below, are not well formed ; but the reading is certain.

⁸ Read जयसिंह-.

⁹ The second *akshara* in this word is probably to be corrected to श्री. In the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, referred to above, it is taken as given here and it is also stated in it that Raṇasimha, whose name ends in *siṃha*, may not have been a Brāhmaṇa and therefore the prefix *paṇi*, that is, Paṇḍita, cannot be applied to him. But names with the suffix *siṃha* are also found among the Brāhmaṇas, for example, that of Jaitrasimha, the father of the Paramāra Arjunavarman's royal preceptor Gōvinda, for which see No. 49.

¹⁰ Read वाटिकोद्यापनार्थ.

¹¹ Read -स्थलमिदम्. Ramsharma read कीर्त्ति[:*] स्था[पि*][ते]यं.

¹² Here the impression shows a sign resembling the Nāgarī figure 5 ; and it is not known if it is a *mātrā* combined with the *daṇḍa* that follows, which is in fact needed here. Ramsharma took it the Nāgarī 5 and explained it as "repeated five times." But it may perhaps be the sign of a misformed double *daṇḍa*.

¹³ For the location of the place, see above, Nos. 18, 51 and 57.

The record was first brought to light by Paṇḍit Bābū Śāstrī of Dhār, by publishing its transcript in the Nāgarī characters with translation in Hindi, in a monthly *Journal* from Dhār, called *Ushā*, in eight instalments, from January 1953, p. 46, to October-November 1954, pp. 41 f. On pp. 43 and 20-21 of the November-December (1953) issue of the same *Journal*, also appeared an introductory note on the record, from the pen of the late R. B. Deshpande, an Assistant Engineer in the State, who was also in charge of the archaeological monuments at Māṇḍū. The inscription was brought to my notice by the late Rao of Māndhātā, Sobhag Singh, who also kindly sent the plates to me for examination, and I contributed a note with my own transcript of it, in Nāgarī characters, to the eighteenth session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, in 1955 (Section II). In 1957-58, the document was edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, who was then the Government Epigraphist for India, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 139 ff., with his transcript thereof in Roman characters (pp. 148-156) and facsimile plates between pp. 148-157, on the basis of photographs taken from a set of impressions sent to him by Deshpande. The subjoined edition of the inscription is based on a set of inked impressions taken by my self and also on the original plates, which were with me for some days, as already stated above.

In the beginning it may, however, be recalled here that while editing the record Dr. Sircar himself observed, that "Mr. Deshpande's views on the importance and interpretation of the record are all misconceived", and also that "the impressions received from him were not quite satisfactory." A careful study of the original plates also goes to indicate that the text prepared by Sircar from the unsatisfactory impressions is also in need of revision, in view of the fact that some of the letters and their parts with signs of medial vowels, and some of the signs of *anus-vāras* and *visargas*, which are either faint or thinly marked even on the originals, had not at all come out or were illegible in the impressions on which Sircar's edition of the record was based. To give here only one example, we notice that in verse 22 (l. 31), which is in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, three letters which were originally omitted through inadvertence on the part of the writer, were subsequently engraved in small characters above the line, with arrow-heads above and below, to draw attention where they are exactly to be supplied. This subsequent insertion, which is also thin in form, is totally missing in the illustration accompanying Dr. Sircar's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and thus it was quite natural for him to remark that the stanza with a lacunae is metrically defective.¹ Thus there are a number of omissions and commissions in Sircar's transcript: and though they do not affect the meaning in any way, they mar the faithful reproduction of the text.

The inscription is engraved on **four** massive plates of copper, each measuring 43·2 cms. in length, 33·1 cms. in breadth, and is between 4 and 5 cm. in thickness. Their edges are fashioned thicker so as to serve as rims for the protection of the writing. They are held together by two copper-rings, each of which is about 4 cm. thick, showing their inner diameter to be about 7 cms. and passing through two proportionate holes of about 2·5 cms., cut in the upper border of the plates, so as to disturb the writing in the first or last two lines of each. The total weight of the plates with the rings is 16 kgs. and 450 grams. The plates are in a fair state of preservation, except the third one, which, on its obverse side, suffers from a crack about 6·5 cms. long in the lower proper left corner, in which the last three letters in the last line and one in the penultimate line are partially lost, though can be supplied from the context.

The size of the letters is about 1 cm. They are well formed and deeply cut, and the plates, being thick, do not show them on the other side. The technical execution was very carefully done, though minor mistakes of the writer or the engraver are occasionally to be found. As already noted above, there are also subsequent insertions of letters and signs, often in smaller form, in some of the lines, and at times some letters or their parts are also erased or changed, showing clearly the traces of the previous writing.

The first of the plates bears writing only on its inner side, whereas all the others are inscribed on both the sides. The reverse side of the last plate shows only four complete lines and the fifth one containing six letters, engraved in the middle of the proper right side. The

¹ See *n.* on the corresponding portion of the text, below. The record contains some more examples of the type.

record consists of 140 lines of writing, the first and the obverse side of the second plate containing 21 and 22 lines respectively, and all the other sides showing 23 lines each, excepting the last side which has only five, as stated above. In the proper right side beneath the writing, in a square measuring 19 cms., is engraved a representation of **Garuḍa**, the emblem of the royal Paramāra dynasty and common to all the grants issued by the members of this house. The figure is 13 cms. high by 11 cms. broad, and in technical execution it resembles the one engraved on the inscription of the same king from the same place, issued on V.S. 1317. The image is enshrined in a structure with a plain rectangular pillar divided into three parts, on either side, and supporting the roof which consists of three superimposed slabs, which, in their turn, support the spire, all looking like a miniature shrine as was in vogue in Mālava during the time when the record was issued.¹ The exact shape of it may be seen from the photolithograph.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī, bearing a close resemblance to that of the Māndhātā grant of the king, which was engraved only fourteen years before, in V.S. 1317. As regards the individual letters, initial *a* generally appears with a vertical stroke above a curve on the left, as in *atha*, l. 26, but it is often indistinguishable from *śra*, as in *asrānta*-, l. 4. The initial *i* shows no less than three different forms; (a) a loop with a curve above and subscribed by the sign for medial *u*; cf. *iti*, l. 25, *iva*, l. 57, and *ittham*-, l. 74; (b) a vertical between two loops subscribed by the same sign but ending in a sharp curve; cf. *iti*, ll. 37 and 137; and (c) two open loops assuming a *ś*-like curve and thus showing a form which is the precursor of the Nāgarī *i*, as in *iti* in ll. 8, 14 and 138. Initial *ē* with its vertical not fully developed occasionally resembles the letter *pa*, as in *ēsha*-, l. 86; and the initial *ō*, which appears only once in l. 82, almost resembles the same symbol, as in l. 1. The initial form of *ṛi* has assumed the modern shape, as in *Ṛigvēda*-, in ll. 96, 98 and 103. Of the consonants, the signs for *ch* and *v* are clearly distinguishable, for which see *virachayya*, l. 1; *j* has almost begun to assume its modern form; cf. *jala*-, l. 4; the subscript forms of *chh* and *th* are alike, see *-ichchhā*- and *sthira*, both in l. 32, and *ṇṇ* is indicated by a single letter marked across by a slanting bar, as in *karṇṇa*-, l. 30. *Dh* shows a transitional stage: the upper loop of its left limb is mostly a curve separated from the lower one, as in *dharmmā*-, l. 1, but occasionally, this curve is substituted by a straight horn, as in *vadhū*, l. 61, and *dhūta*, l. 63; and in *dhuta* l. 54, it has also assumed its modern form. The subscript form of this letter continues to be engraved so as to resemble *v*, as in *dvē*, l. 9; and the verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined, as in *vasudhā*, l. 63. And lastly, *r* also has assumed its modern form, but the wedge at its lower limb is prominently shown, as in *virachayya* in line 1.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and except for the opening sentence paying obeisance to *dharmma*, as in the preceding grant of the king, the formal portion in ll. 86-134, and a sentence giving the name of the engraver in the end, the whole record is in verse. In all there are 72 stanzas; and with the exception of one of them in ll. 93-94, which is generally found in all the Paramāra plates, and the concluding five which are imprecatory and benedictory, all the remaining 66 verses are numbered, indicating specimens of the numerical figures current at that time. The verses are composed in an ornate and highly flown style abounding in figures. The language is generally correct, though there are a few grammatical and other errors, which are noticed below, in the text, or in the foot-notes appended to it.

The **orthography** shows the following peculiarities: (1) the doubling of a class-consonant after *r*, as in *-arṇṇava* l. 131, with a few exceptions as in *chandr-ārkkā* in the same line; (2) the usual occurrence of *v* for *b*, as in *vibhrat*, l. 7; (3) the confusion of the palatal and the dental sibilants, the former of which is wrongly put about twenty times even in most common words like *viśrānti*-, *Īśvara* and *Śambhōr*-, all in l. 82, and *vice versa* to be noted about half-a-dozen times, e.g., in *haṁśa*-, l. 23 and *-avatamśa*, l. 39; (4) The lingual sibilant wrongly occurs in *ḍiśhya*-, in l. 12; (5) the confusion between the dental and the palatal nasals is shown by examples like *Sivir*=*ṇṇa*, l. 30 and *pravana* for *-ṇa*, l. 54; (6) the confusion between *kha* and *sha* can be illustrated by putting *śaḍgēna*, *sishara*- and *Lashaṇapura*, respectively in ll. 54, 81 and 102; and *vice versa* in *sumakhī*- for *-shī* and *sarvaṁkakhē* (for *-shē*) in ll. 3 and 70, respectively. (7) There is a general tendency to use the sign of *anusvāra* for the final *m* even at the end of a hemistich, except in a very few instances; (8) the medial diphthongs are indicated both by the *prishṭha*-

¹ For example, see *P. R. A. S. I.*, W. C., 1920, Pl. XIX-B.

and the *ūrdhva-mātrās*, both of which are also seen side by side as in *mōha-mah-ōrrmmi*- l. 12 ; (9) the sign of *avagraha* has been employed only twice, though there are many more occasions for it, e.g., in ll. 59 and 77, to show in both the instances the elision of *a* ; and (10) the *daṇḍa* marking the punctuation or the vertical for the *prishṭha-mātrā* is occasionally engraved so close to the preceding syllable as to appear as a medial *ā* attached to it, as after *dharmmāya*, l. 1, and *madhyē*, l. 59, appearing respectively as *dharmmāyā* and *mādhyā*. Besides these, rules of euphony have not been occasionally observed as in *madhyē'mvu* ; l. 59 ; and finally, *aṁghri*, l. 62, and *ujjala*, l. 74 are wrongly spelt as *aṁhri* and *ujvala*, respectively.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the endowments of land in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas residing at the Brāhmaṇa-settlement at Māndhātā and belonging to the various *gōtras*, *śākhās*, etc., whose families hailed from several localities. The gift was made by the *Sādhanika* Anayasimha from his residence at the fort of Maṇḍapa (Māṇḍū), for creating a rent-free holding, 'with the prior approval' of the illustrious **Jayasimhadēva**, lord of **Dhārā**, on a date which is mentioned only in words in lines 91-92, as **Friday, the seventh of the bright half of Bhādrapada, of the (Vikrama) Samvat 1331**, called here **Pramāthin**, when the *nakshatra* was **Maitra**, i.e., Anurādhā. The date, as calculated by Dr. Sircar, regularly corresponds to the **10th of August, 1274 A.C.**¹

To review the contents of the record, we may split up the same in the following sections :

- (a) From the beginning to the end of verse 11—*maṅgala-ślōkas* ;
- (b) Verses 12-55—the genealogical account of the Imperial Paramāra house up to Jayavarman in whose reign the grants were made ;
- (c) Verses 55-56—the genealogy of Anayasimhadēva and the account of his various deeds and munificences.
- (d) Lines 86-134—the date and the formal portion of the grant ;
- (e) Imprecatory verses and the names of the poet and the engraver.

The inscription opens with the auspicious symbol *Om*, followed by a sentence in prose, paying obeisance to *dharma*, which is said to be the crest-jewel of all the *purushārthas*, and after that, a verse saluting the Moon-deity, the lord of sacrifices. The next four stanzas are devoted to praise Paraśu-Rāma, (Dāśarathī) Rāma, *Puradruh* (Tripurāri Śiva), and the *aṣṭa-mūrti* Śiva, respectively. Here we may note that the initial sentence is the same as of the other grant of Jayavarman, and also that the first three of the deities praised here are the same as in the preceding grant, though the way of eulogising them differs. The following five verses (5-9) introduce a new feature by describing in a practical way the locality of Ōmkāra-Māndhātā, its presiding deity, and the Narmadā and the Kāvērī flowing by its side. Verses 10-11 invoke the blessings, respectively, of the boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and of the **Pitāmaha**, i.e., Brahmā ; and verse 12 states that the latter of these deities, who sprang from the naval of the former, created from his own mind the Universe, the first of his creation being the seven sages, of whom Vasishṭha was the foremost.² The next five verses refer to the well-known legend about the origin of the **Paramāras**, as we find in the Udaipur *prāśasti* and in some other inscriptions of the house, viz., the creation by Vasishṭha of a hero whom he named Paramāra (destroyer of enemies) ; and verses 16-24 furnish the names of eight of his descendants ; they are : **Kamaṇḍalu-dhara**, king of **Dhārā** (v. 16), his son **Dhūmarāja** (v. 17), his son **Dēvasimhapāla** (v. 19), his son **Kanakasimha** (v. 20), his son **Śriharsha** (v. 20a), **Jagaddēva**, king of **Dhārā** (vv. 21-22), **Sthirakāya** (v. 23), and **Vōśari**, lord of **Dhārā** (v. 24). It may be noticed here that the last three of these rulers are stated merely to have occupied the throne, one after another, and no relationship existing between them is mentioned. It may also be noticed that the name of Dhūmarāja was also borne by one of the rulers belonging to the Ābū branch of the Paramāra house and that Śriharsha and Jagaddēva are mentioned much later, though both of them are known to have flourished earlier in the house. And as none of the remaining six of the names mentioned here is so far known as belonging to the Paramāra house of Dhārā in an earlier period, they may be taken to be unhistorical and their description to be merely a creation of the poet's mind. For all these reasons, we may agree with Dr. Sircar who states that "Imagination

¹ Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

² The beginning here is almost similar to that of the Chandēlla records Nos. 98 and 114, below.

and confusion have both played a part in the genealogy of the Imperial Paramāras quoted above from the inscription under study".¹

Of the names of kings mentioned above, Vōsari appears to be a corruption of Vairisimha ; but below in v. 25 Vairisimha is also mentioned as the son of Vōsari, which again shows that the poet of the present inscription had no authentic document before him while composing the genealogical account. However, at this point the legendary account ends and the historical genealogy begins, which we may now deal with. **Vairisimha**, as we are told, was succeeded by **Vākpatirāja**, who pleased the people with *sūktis* (good sayings), (v. 26), and he by Sīyā (v. 27), who, in his turn, was succeeded by **Muñja**, a warrior who was also renowned for his generosity (vv. 28-29). This account too is equally confusive. The composer of the record, besides his ignorance of the fact that Vākpati and Muñja were the two names borne by the same king, ascribes Muñja's erudition to his predecessor Vākpati. Moreover, from his description it is not clearly known whether in the house there were one or two kings bearing the names of Vākpati and Sīyaka.

The next king was **Sindhurāja**, who was fond of warlike activities and a poet as well (vv. 29-31). His relationship with his predecessor is not mentioned in the inscription, but we know him as a brother of Vākpatirāja-Muñja. Sindhurāja was succeeded by his son **Bhōjadēva**, whose description is all poetic (vv. 32-35). Thereafter, the inscription is silent on the whole of the unpleasant episode following Bhōja's death, and merely states that then arose **Udayāditya**, who was the boar in relieving the earth (Paramāra kingdom) which had been drowned in the ocean of (in the form of) the Gurjara king (v. 36). This is evidently a reference to Udayāditya's success in repulsing the attack of the Chaulukyas, in alliance with the Kalachuris, on Mālava, as we know from history. How Udayāditya was related to Bhōja is not stated in the inscription, but from the Ḍōṅgargāon inscription of the time of Jagaddēva, of Śaka 1034 or 1112 A.C., we know him to have been the latter's younger brother.² The name of Jayasimha, who was the immediate successor of Bhōja, is omitted in the present record, as in the others, for reasons stated elsewhere.

Then are mentioned the following rulers in turn : Udayāditya's son **Naravarman** (vv. 37-38), the latter's son **Yaśōvarman** (v. 39), his son **Ajayavarman** (vv. 40-41), his son **Vindhyavarman** (v. 42), his son **Subhaṭavarman** (v. 43), and his son **Arjunavarman** (vv. 44-45). The description of all these rulers is entirely in vague terms, though highly interesting from the poetical point of view. It is significant to note here, however, that Arjunavarman is stated to have been solely devoted to Kṛishṇa. We are further told that from Arjunavarman the throne passed on to **Dēvapāla**, whose relationship is again not mentioned ; but we have seen above, while dealing with the Harsūd and the Māndhātā inscriptions of V.S. 1275 (1218 A.C.) and V.S. 1282 (1225 A.C.), respectively,³ that the latter of these princes was a son of Hariśchandra, who belonged to the branch line of the Paramāras, and also that with his accession, the main and the branch lines of the house were reunited.

The inscription devotes three stanzas (vv. 46-48) to describe Dēvapāla. He is said to have vanquished his enemies and firmly established *dharma* ; but the information furnished by the last of these verses is historically important, telling us that he "by his sword, cut off into two (the body of) the arrogant lord of the *Mlēchchhas*, in a battle fought near Bhillasvāmipura," which is Bhilsā, now known as Vidishā. This statement appears to have an allusion to the invasion of the city of Bhilsā by Iltutmish, the Turkish Sultān of Delhi. We know from the Muslim historians that this ruler subjugated the fort of Gwālīor, in 632 A.H., or 1233-34 A.C., and soon after, advancing further in the south, he demolished the temple of Bhillasvāmin (at Bhilsā).⁴ But in view of the statement of the inscription under study, it would appear that Dēvapāla succeeded in recapturing the fort at the city, which remained in the possession of the Paramāras about half a century, till it was again snatched from them by the Khalji Sultāns of Delhi.⁵ The *Mlēchchādhīpa* of the present inscription, in that case, would be no other

¹ Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

² Above, No. 28.

³ Above, Nos. 50 and 51.

⁴ *H. I. E. D.*, Vol. II, p. 328 ; *T. E. B.*, Vol. I, p. 211 ; and *T. N. R.*, Vol. I, p. 622.

⁵ See *T. F. B.*, Vol. I, pp. 303-04.

than the Muslim governor who might have been placed in charge of the fort when it was captured by Iltutmish.

The document proceeds to state that Dēvapāla was succeeded by his son **Jaitugidēva** (v. 49), and the latter, by **Jayavarman** (v. 50), whose relationship with his predecessor is again not mentioned, but we know him to have been his younger brother. Jayavarman is stated to have firmly established *dharma*, which had waned in course of time; and here a statement of the record goes to suggest that he was also known as **Jayasimha** (v. 51), which is really an important historical information, on which we shall comment later on.¹ Verse 52 is again historically important; it states, in a poetic way, that Jayasimha was both — a *dauhitra* (daughter's son) as well as a *pautra* (son's son), so far as the succession in the Paramāra kingdom was concerned. From the latter of these statements, it would appear that Jayavarman's father Dēvapāla, under whom both the branches of the royal Paramāra house are known to have united, succeeded Arjunavarman as his son-in-law; this is a view which, if accepted, would dismiss the whole controversy regarding Dēvapāla's accession to the throne of Dhārā, viz., whether he captured Dhārā by overthrowing Arjunavarman, or, was a natural successor of him, when he died without leaving a male heir.² Commenting on the above-mentioned statement of the record, Sircar has also observed: "If the stanza in question means to say that Jayasimha-Jayavarman claimed to be a *dauhitra* of Arjunavarman, Dēvapāla may be regarded as having succeeded Arjunavarman as the latter's son-in-law and heir."³

Viewing the available evidence, I have no doubt in agreeing with Sircar in taking Jayasimha and Jayavarman as identical; and the only way in which we can reconcile the statement of the stanza in question (No. 52) is, as already stated, that Arjunavarman may have given his daughter in marriage to Dēvapāla, and being without a son, later on may have nominated his son-in-law as his successor on the main throne. The two branches had been separated by some generations; and the question of *sagōtra* marriage too is out of consideration in this case; for, though prohibited by some of the Śāstras,⁴ it is allowed by some others,⁵ as probably also by the custom of those days.

Verse 54 of the present record represents Jayavarman's powerful army crossing the Vindhya in its victorious march, in which it put to flight the forces of his enemies in the south (*dākshinātya*). The expression evidently refers to Jayavarman's struggle with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who were his southern neighbours and the hereditary enemies of his house.⁶ On the evidence of the Ṭhānā and the Udāri inscriptions, dated respectively in 1272 and 1276 A.C., Dr. Sircar is inclined to take this enemy of Jayavarman to have been the Yādava king Rāmachandra,⁷ who had ascended the throne only a couple of years earlier than the year of the

¹ The identification of Jayavarman with Jayasimha was also suggested, though casually, by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Progress Report of A. S. I.*, W. C., 1912-13, p. 56. And the evidence of the present inscription goes in support of it. It may also be equally assumed, however, that being a younger son, Dēvapāla was perhaps given in adoption (as son-in-law) in the time of his father, and Udayavarman too may have died later, without a son; and thus Dēvapāla succeeded to both his brother's (Jaitugi's) and adoptive father's (*i.e.*, Arjunavarman's) throne.

² As doubted by H. C. Ray, for which, see *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, 902.

³ Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 146. It must, however, be mentioned here that the stanza is not well worded and the name of Jayasimha is suddenly and abruptly introduced.

⁴ See for example, *Gōbhila-Grihyasūtra*, III, iv, 4; and *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*, II, v, 11, 15, etc.

⁵ In his *H. D.*, II, ii, pp. 452 ff., P. V. Kane has discussed the whole question and concluded that those who resort to such marriages incur no blame (p. 468). Also see Raghunath Sastri's article in the *Proceedings of the A. I. O. C.*, Nagpur Session, pp. 251 ff.

⁶ The Yādava-Paramāra struggle is known to have begun in the last quarter of the tenth century and with the rise of the later Chālukya house when, according to the Saṅgamnēr grant of 1000 A.C., Bhīllama II of the Yādava house, assisted his overlord Tailapa in the latter's war against the Paramāra Muṇja. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 215. The struggle of Bhīllama V (1187-1191 A.C.) with the Mālava army is referred to in the Mutgi (Bijāpur) inscription dated in 1189 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 34), and that of his son Jaitugi (1191-1210 A.C.), in the Managoli (Bijāpur) record. See *ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 28, Siṅghana's invasions of Mālava are referred to in a number of epigraphs, *e.g.*, in the Bahāl inscription of 1222 A.C. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 113), and also in a number of literary works.

⁷ Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 146. For the two inscriptions, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 202 f., and *A. R.*, Mysore Arch. Department, 1929, p. 143, respectively.

present inscription ; but in view of the consideration that in his earlier years Rāmachandra was engaged in a struggle with his own brother Āmaṇa,¹ it appears less likely for him to take the offensive in the north in those days. And considering this situation, the allusion to Jayavarman's conflict may possibly be placed a little earlier and thus may be associated with his uncle Mahādēva's invasion of Mālhwā, referred to in his Saṅgūr (Dhārwar) inscription of 1265 A.C. and also in two other records from Dāvāngērē in Mysore;² and if so, the Yādava-Paramāra struggle pointed out by Dr. Sircar on the basis of the Ṭhānā and the Udāri inscriptions seems to have taken place later during the reign of Jayavarman's successor Arjunavarman II, unless they refer to the same struggle as led by Mahādēva and in which Rāmachandra may have taken part as a prince.

Verse 55 of the inscription tells us that Jayavarman "erected temples with sky-kissing golden jars, donated cities, gold and crores of cows to Brāhmaṇas, planted gardens and excavated tanks." The record does not mention any of the particulars in this respect, nor are the temples built by him otherwise known.

Here the description of the members of the royal house ends and that of the donor of the present record begins. Verse 55 introduces the *Sādhanika* Anayasimhadēva, and three of his ancestors are mentioned here. He belonged to the Kshatriya community and was a son of the Chāhamāna Sallakshaṇasimha, grandson of Palhaṇadēvavarman and a great-grandson of the *Rāūtta*, i.e., Rājaputra, of the name of Rāṭa. Two of his ancestors are stated to have rendered distinguished military service to the Imperial house of the Paramāras. His grandfather Palhaṇadēva, as the record informs us, firmly established the royal fortune of his master (v. 58); here the name of the reigning king is not mentioned, but looking to the genealogy of the house, he appears to have been either Arjunavarman's father Subhaṭavarman, or grandfather Vindhya-varman. Sallakshaṇasimha, the father of Anayasimha, is represented in the record to have taken part in the warfare of Arjunadēva, i.e., Arjunavarman (vv. 59-60). An instance of his assistance to his master is explicitly stated by saying that he vanquished the great army of Simhaṇadēva, pulling its leader Sāgararāṇaka down from his horse, and captured the seven *chauries*; and this deed of his valour is stated to have pleased both Simha and Arjuna.³ The reference here is evidently to the well-known invasion of Lāṭa by the Yādava Simhaṇa of Dēvagiri; and the former of the personages mentioned as pleased by the valour of the Chāhamāna general Sallakshaṇasimha appears to have been the homonymous chief of Lāṭa, and the latter, his overlord Arjunavarman, who is known to have gone there to help his vassal. This was probably the time when the Paramāra ruler executed his grant from Broach,⁴ and it is probably the same invasion when Khōllēśvara, the commander-in-chief, led the Yādava army against Gujarāt.⁵ That the house of the kings of Lāṭa had transferred its allegiance from the Chaulukya throne to the Paramāra house in the reign of Subhaṭavarman is well known;⁶ and this may have been the reason why Arjunavarman proceeded to succour his vassal in that region.

The next five verses (62-63) describe the benefactions of Anayasimha at different places. He constructed a temple of Śiva at Dēvapālapura, another, which was lofty and dedicated to Ambikā, at Śākapura, and still another, of Śiva (locally known as Jambūkēśvara) near that of Ōmkārēśvara, at Māndhātā.⁷ He excavated a tank at Maṇḍapa-durga, and at the same place he donated a city,

¹ *Līlācharita* of the Mānbhāva Sect, *Līlā* No. 725. That Rāmachandra's accession was not peaceful is also known from the statement *prasahya tasmād=apahṛitya bhuṅktē* said about him in his Paithaṇ grant dated in 1272 A.C. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff.

² For the saṅgūr record, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 194, ll. 22-23; and for the other two, see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX (Dg.), Nos. 162-63, both of 1265 A.C.

³ The expression used in the verse is *chāmarāṇi*, which Dr. Sircar took in the sense of 'plumes' and added that "they appear to have been fitted with the turban". But it is equally possible that the seven *chauris* adorned the horse, three on either side of his head and one in the middle. This Sāgararāṇaka, as already suggested by Sircar, may have been the same as the cavalry officer Saṅga mentioned in a Yādava inscription of Śaka 1119, or 1197 A.C., and Sallakshaṇa may have been identical with the homonymous general mentioned above, in No. 49.

⁴ No. 48, above.

⁵ Mentioned in the Āmbēi stone inscription of Śaka 1150, or 1228 A.C., for which see *S.M.H.D.*, I, pp. 55 ff., No. 2.

⁶ Vide the Navsārī grant, for which see *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 250.

⁷ This temple is not in existence now.

a Brahmapurī, with the permission of his master, to Brāhmaṇas — a city furnished with the surrounding wall and street (*prākāra* and *pratōṭī*), sixteen temples surmounted with jars of gold and containing several apartments, a guest-house, one temple for gods (*guru-sura-sadana*), and a stepped well (v. 66).

The prose portion that follows (ll. 96-134) deals with the charities made by the *Sādhnika* Anayasimha who is stated to have been endowed with all the regnal titles, and the record also states the conditions of the grant. Here we are told that on the date, which we have seen above, the donor, after taking his bath and having worshipped the *Pārvatī-pati* (Śiva), announced his order to the royal officials and the residents including the Brāhmaṇas, *paṭṭakilas* and the others who were associated with the villages of Kumhaḍāūdā and Vālaudā in the *prati-jāgarāṇaka* of Vardhamānapura, Vaghāḍī in the Saptāśīti, and Nāṭiyā in that of Nāgadaha. Anayasimha, with his four sons whose names are mentioned as Kamalasiṃha, Dhārasimha, Jaitrasimha, and Padmasimha in (ll. 94-95), donated shares of land in the aforementioned four villages in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas hailing from different localities and residing at the *Brahmapurī* (Brāhmaṇa settlement) at the fort of Māndhātā. The record also states that the four villages were divided into sixteen shares, fourteen of which were made over to as many Brāhmaṇas, giving one share to each, and the rest two of the shares were kept by Anayasimha for his own self. The reason for keeping these two shares by the donor for himself is not mentioned in the record; and it is possible, as pointed out by Dr. Sircar, by citing some other examples, that he may have purchased these villages to create a Brahmapurī (rent-free-Brāhmaṇa-settlement) at the locality.¹

In each case the original gives the *gōtra* and *pravaras* of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, his place of origin and the Vēda, or Vedic *Sākhā*. The donees are also distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names. In alphabetical order these epithets are: *ava* (avasathin); *cha* (chaturvēda or -vēdin); *dī* (dīkshita); *dvi* (dvivēda or -din); *paṇ* (paṇḍita, i.e., Paṇḍit); *pā* (pāṭhaka); *śu* (śukla); *tri* (trivēda, or trivēdin); and *upā* (Upādhyāya). The epithet Miśra is given completely in l. 101.

An abstract list of the donees is given below, at the end. From that list it will be seen that their number was 14; and also that ten of them had emigrated from Ṭakārī, two from Ṭēṇī, and one each from Lashanapura and Tōlāpauha. We also find that in the case of four (Nos. 5, 11, 12 and 14), the same epithet is borne by himself, his father, and his grandfather; in three cases (Nos. 3, 8 and 13), the grandfather and father have the same epithet but the donee a different one; in one case (No. 7), that of the father differs; and, in the two remaining cases (Nos. 4 and 9), the epithet of all the persons differs. In one case (No. 6), the epithets of the father and the grandfather are not mentioned.

After giving all these details, the record mentions the conditions of the grant, as to be found in the other plates of the Paramāras. This account is followed by four imprecatory stanzas (verses 68-71), which are not numbered, as stated above. And the next stanza, which is the last of the inscription, states that it was composed by Śrīkaṇṭha, who was a member of the assembly of Jayavarman and Trivēdin by heritage (*kulakram-āyāta*), and appointed by the king himself. In the end, we have a sentence in prose, which mentions that the record was engraved by Kānhāka.²

Most of the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription are well known; and they are only enumerated here. **Rēvā** (ll. 9 and 13) is the Narmadā, and **Kāvērī** is a branch of the same, bifurcating from it just before the mount and again joining it after enclosing it at its end. **Māndhātā**, where the deity Ōmkārēśvara is shrined in a temple and which is also mentioned as a Mount with a rampart (ll. 10, 13, 82 and 86), is the well-known place in the Khaṇḍwā District, as already seen; and **Dhārā** (ll. 23 and 33), **Mālava** (l. 30) and **Vindhya** (l. 70) are known by their old names even to this day. **Maṇḍapa** (l. 83) is Māṇḍū in the Dhār District, **Bhillasvāmi-pura** (l. 63) has been identified with the modern Bhilsā, or Vidishā; and **Dēvapālapura** (l. 80)

¹ For the other examples, see Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

² As suggested by Sircar, he may have been the same as Kānhāḍa who engraved the Māndhātā plates of V. 1317 (our No. 57), but the reading of the second and the third *aksharas* is slightly different in both.

with Dēpālpur, the headquarters of a *tehsil* in the Indore District.¹ **Śākapura** (l. 81, v. 63), as already suggested by Dr. Sircar, is most probably the same as Śākapura, occurring in an earlier inscription (above, No. 47), the vowel of the first letter of the name being made long for metric-al exigencies. It has been identified by D. C. Ganguly, with Shujālpur² (in the modern Śājāpur *tehsil*), without any sound reasons. But to me the place appears to be the same as Sultānpur, lying about 10 kms. south by west of Dhār. Śaka, the first member of the compound of the name may have been used in the record in the sense of Sultān.³ About **Takārī** (ll. 96 ff.), from which as many as ten donees had come, we have already remarked above;⁴ and **Lashaṇapura** (l. 102) may perhaps be the same as Lakhangāon in the Kasrāvād *tehsil* of the West Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh. Regarding the two other places of the donees, *viz.*, **Tōlāpauha** (l. 104) and **Tēṇī** (l. 111), no definite suggestion can be offered in view of the fact that there are a number of places with similar names in the region itself; *e.g.*, for the first of these, we have Ṭulyā and Taulakapurā in the West Nēmāḍ District, Tōlyākhēḍī and Tilāvād in the Ujjain District, and Ṭolā in the Jabalpur District; and for the second, we find Ṭumnī, Ṭumṇī and Tarnōd, all in the Ujjain District. Of the *pratijāgarāṇakas*, **Vardhamānapura** (l. 88) is Badnāvar (Lat. 23° 2' N. and Long 75° 17' E.) a chief town of a *tehsil* in the Dhār District. It possesses some archaeological remains.⁵ **Nāgadaha** (l. 89) has been suggested by Dr. Sircar to be the same as the Railway Station near Ratlām, but in view of the consideration that it was possibly in the same region as of Badnāvar, I am, however, inclined to identify the place with Nāgdā, situated about 25 kms. south of Badnāvar, on Dhār-Ratlām metalled road.⁶ All the four grant villages, which may have formed a compact group, can thus be found in the same region. Following this clue, I find a village of the name of **Bālōdā**, which may represent the same village of the record (ll. 88 and 128). It is about 10 kms. south by west of Kaḍōd, which may have been the same as **Kumhaḍāūda** of the inscription (ll. 88 and 128) and which is about 25 kms. south of Badnāvar. **Vaghāḍī** (ll. 89 and 128) may perhaps be identified with the modern village of Bagaḍī, situated about 6 kms. east of Dhār; and **Nāṭiyā** (ll. 89 and 128) appears to be the modern village of the same name, as suggested by Dr. Sircar, near the Birwāniā Railway Station in Ujjain District, which borders the present Badnāvar *tehsil* of the Dhār District on the east.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF DONEES IN LINES 96-127⁷

No.	Name of donee	Description	gōtra	Vēda or Śākha	Place of origin
1	Padmanābha ⁸	Dīkshita	Gautama	R̥igvēda	Ṭakārī ⁹
2	Mādhava	Chaturvēdin	do	do	do
3	Śrīkaṇṭha	Paṇḍita	Bhāradvāja	do	do
4	Gōvardhana	Dvivēdin	Kāśyapa	do	Lakhaṇapura

¹ This place is associated with the Paramāra king Dēvapāla and possesses some archaeological remains, for which, see *P. R. A. S. I.*, W. C., 1919-20, p. 102. For a copper-plate grant from the same place, see above, No. 13.

² See *H. P. D.*, p. 201.

³ This view seems to be more reasonable than the one adopted above, on p. 163. In this case, the village Piḍiviḍī, suggested as identical with Pārliā on p. 164, seems to be the same as the modern petty hamlet known as Pēḍavī, lying about 30 kms. south by east of Sultānpur.

⁴ See above, p. 179.

⁵ See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XI, p. 166.

⁶ In the region there are some more places bearing this or some similar names, but being nearest to Badnāvar, this place fulfils the requirements most.

⁷ The total number of shares was sixteen. Two of these shares were retained by Anayasimha, the donor himself, and the rest fourteen were distributed among the Brāhmaṇas, each getting one share. And curiously enough, the inscription in l. 127 states "*shōḍaśa-Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*", probably including himself.

⁸ Each of the name in Nos. 1-14 has the word *śarman* attached to it and the word *Brāhmaṇa* is repeated in each case; whereas with the name of the donor we find the word *varman* attached to it and the word *Kshatriya* is repeated in his case.

⁹ It may here be noted that from Ṭakārī there were ten Brāhmaṇas; two from Ṭēṇī and one each from Lakhaṇapura and Tōlāpauha.

No.	Name of donee	Description	gōtra	Vēda or Śākhā	Place of origin
5	Vāmana	Dikshita	Chandrātrēya	Mādhyaandina	Tōlāpauha
6	Ananta	Avasthin	Vasishtha	do	Ṭakārī
7	Hariśarman	Dvivēda	Bhāradvāja	do	do
8	Māidēva	do	Kāśyapa	do	Tēñī
9	Haridēva	do	Kātyāyana	do	Ṭakārī
10	Ananta	do	Bhāradvāja	do	do
11	Yōgēśvara	Pāthaka	Ātrēya	do	do
12	Nārāyaṇa	Trivēdin	Vasishtha	Kauthuma	Ṭakārī
13	Pūrushū ¹	do	Sāvarni	do	do
14	Vāūn ²	do	Śāṇḍilya	do	Tēñī
15	Anayasimha	Sāadhanika	Vatsa	—	—

APPENDIX B: NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES

(alphabetically arranged)

Āladēva, <i>ava.</i> , l. 114	Pradyumna, <i>śu.</i> , l. 109
Atri, <i>pā.</i> , l. 118	Sādharaṇa, —, l. 107 ³
Balabhadra, —, l. 107	Salakhaṇasimha, l. 127
Bhō(ū)pati, <i>ch.</i> , l. 103	Samuddharaṇa, <i>tri.</i> , l. 120
	Sīlū, <i>dvi.</i> , ll. 109-10
Dēva, <i>dī.</i> , l. 105 ; <i>upā.</i> , l. 112	Śrīvatsa, <i>dī.</i> , l. 105
Dharmadhara, <i>miśra</i> , l. 101	Uddharaṇa, <i>pañchapīṭhi-Miśra</i> , l. 101
Gajādhara, <i>dvi.</i> , l. 116	Vaijū, <i>upā.</i> , l. 112
Kamalādhara, <i>cha.</i> , ll. 97 & 99	Vāsudēva, <i>cha.</i> , l. 122
Kṛishṇa, <i>pā.</i> , l. 118	Vidyādhara, <i>avasathin</i> , l. 97 ; <i>ava.</i> , l. 99
Kūlhaṇa, <i>pā.</i> , l. 114	Vidyāpati, <i>paṇ.</i> , l. 103
Lakshmīdhara, <i>cha.</i> , ll. 122-23	Viśvēśvara, <i>tri.</i> , l. 124
Mahēśvara, <i>tri.</i> , l. 124	Vīūn, <i>ava.</i> , l. 116

TEXT⁴

[Metres : Verses 1, 39 *Upajāti* ; vv. 2, 5, 9-10, 22, 29, 31, 38, 45, 47-48, 52, 54-55, 60 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 18-19, 44, 63 *Gīti* ; vv. 4, 13, 16-17, 20A, 23-25, 27 32, 34-35, 37, 40, 42, 46, 49-51, 53, 56-57, 61-62, 68-69, 72 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 6, 8, 26, 58, 64 *Āryā* ; vv. 7, 33, 41, 46, 72 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 11, 36 *Harinī* ; v. 12 *Śikhariṇī* ; vv. 14, 28, 65, 67 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 15, 20-21, 43 *Mālinī* ; v. 30 *Upēndravajrā* ; v. 59 *Upagīti* ; v. 70 *Śālinī* ; v. 71 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

- 1 ॥ ओं⁵ नमः पुरुषार्थचूडामणये धर्म्मयि ।⁶ प्रतिग्रहं यो विरचय्य लक्ष्मीमुदीर्णवर्णो जगदुज्जिहानः ।⁷ आनन्द-
 2 यत्येतदुरुप्रसादः स यज्वनामस्तु पतिः प्रियाय ॥१॥ कृत्वा लेखनिकां कुठारमुदयद्वारं(रे) नियुद्धाश्वरो(रे)⁸ यः
 क्षत्रक्ष-
 3 तजातजातमुमखीं(वीं) मेलदमंभोनिधिम्⁹ । पत्रं दिग्बलयं स्वमक्षरचणं निर्वर्त्तयन्शासनं विप्रेभ्यः पृथिवीमदा-
 4 दुदयिनीं रामाय तस्मै नमः ॥२॥ [अ]श्रान्तस्त्र¹⁰पयोभिलघनवं(वं)धाभिमानजां जलधेः । कृशतां गमयितुमिव यो

¹ Nos. 13 and 15 had five *pravaras* each, whereas all the others had three each. It is also significant to note that Nos. 5-14 are mentioned by the *śākhā* and not by the Vēda as the rest of the Brāhmaṇas. Mādhyaandina is a *śākhā* of the White Yajurveda and Kauthuma of the Sāmaveda.

² This is purely a local name and No. 13 has a Prakrit suffix.

³ The surnames have not been mentioned in the case of the father and grandfather of the donee in l. 107.

⁴ From the original plates and impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Here and in some other cases below, which are not separately pointed out, the punctuation mark is engraved so close to the letter as to appear as a *mātrā*. Here Sircar actually read *dharmmāyā* and corrected it to -ya.

⁷ This *danḍa* was subsequently inserted, and in place of *hā* some other letter was originally engraved.

⁸ These five *aksharas* are damaged by some redundant strokes. The vertical of the *mātrā* attached to the last of these was erased as redundant but the sign is visible on the original.

⁹ Read मेलाब्धु-; it means an ink-pot. See M. William's dictionary.

¹⁰ Here the plate has originally a scar and not the sign of *anusvāra* as read by Sircar.

- 5 रक्षांस्यवधीन्नमामि तं रामं(मम्)¹ ॥३ शरीभूय हरिः कुक्षिनिक्षिप्तभुवनत्रयः । यदंगुलिदले तस्थौ नमस्तस्मै
 6 पुरदुहे² ॥४ भूमि भूतिमयीमपः सुरसरिद्रूपास्तृतीयेक्षणज्वालाभं ज्वलनं भुजस्थभुजगश्वासात्मकं मा-
 7 रुतं(तम्) । खं रंध्रेषु कपालदाम्नि नयनद्वैतच्छलात्पू(त्पू)षणं चंद्रं स्वं यजमानमित्यवतु वः शर्वोष्ट
 वि(वि)भ्रन्त(त्त)नूः ॥³ ५ देवानां
 8 वेदानां त्रयस्य यो जातवेदसां जगतां(ताम्) । लेभे नामादिम इति नमामि देवं तमोकारं(रम्) ॥६ शंभोरंभोभिरस्य
 9 स्तनपनविधिवसा(शा)दप्यहं मूर्द्धनी(नि) द्वे संधाने संविधास्ये ध्रुवमिति विधुरा स्वर्धुनीस्पर्धयेव । रेवा सेवानुषंगदि-
 10 व चरणतलालवि(वि)नी यस्य भाति प्रामादोभ्रलिहृश्रीजं(र्ज)यति पसु(शु)पतेः सोयमोकारनाम्नाः(म्नः)⁴ ॥७ यत्प्रासादाग्र-
 11 [क]लमताडितपूरा मुरापगा मुखरा । रेवानुषंगरोषादिव गंगाधरमुपालभते ॥८ नो गम्यो यमकिंकरैर्न दु⁵-
 12 रितैरासादनीयो न वा दृष्यो(श्यो) मोहमहोम्मभिर्न कलिना चैष प्रवेष्टुं क्षमः । मत्वा कुंडलनामि[वे]ति परितः
 13 संप्रापितो रेवया कावेर्या च पितामहेन सुमहान्मांघातृधात्रीधरः ॥९ मुक्तौ(क्तै)र्यास्यति⁶ कुत्रचिद्वसुमती दंष्ट्राग्र-
 14 संश(स)ग्मिणी कुक्षौ क्षोभमवाप्स्यति त्रिभुवनं रुद्धैरमीभिर्भृशं(शम्) । इत्यस्वल्पविकल्पमीलितमतेः कंठे लुठंतो
 15 मुहुः कोलाकारधरस्य कैटभजितः श्वासोर्मयः पांतु वः ॥१० निगमवदनां वेदांगांगीं पुराणमयेतरस्फुर-
 16 दवयवां वक्तृत्वोक्ति कवित्वतनूरुहां(हाम्) । पदपदवती वाक्यात्मानं प्रमाणमयाशयां तनुमिव नवां वि(वि)भ्रद् भ्रांति
 17 भिनत्तु पितामहः⁷ ॥११ स नाभेः संभूय स्वयमिह मुरारेर्जगदिदं ससर्ज प्राधान्यात्कियदपि ततः स्रष्टु-
 18 मपरं(रम्) । मुनीन्मान्यान्सप्त व्यरचयदयं स्त्रीयमनसो वसिष्ठा(ष्ठो)भूदेषां तपमि कृतनिः(निष्)कंपनियमः ॥१२ स
 यदा [ना]-
 19 करोत्कोपमपि पुत्रशते हते । तदाभ्यषेणयद् द्रष्टुं तपोस्य किल कौशिकः ॥१३ तेनाथ मारय⁸ परानि-
 20 ति जल्पता यत्सृष्टस्तदा मुनिवरेण ऋशानुकुंडात् । धर्मद्रुहां⁹ विशसनादिह योग-
 21 तोपि ख्यातस्ततः स समभूत्परमारनामा ॥१४ सम[ज]नि किल तस्मादेष राजन्य-

Second Plate: First Side

- 22 वंशः सकलधरणिधुर्यप्रांसु(शु)वंशावतंशः(सः) । अवतरति न यस्मिन्जातु विष्णोरनंशः परध-
 23 रणिभुजां वा मानसे यो न हंशः(सः) ॥१५ कमंडलुधरो धाराधीशस्तत्र क्रमा[दभूत्] यशोभिः शोभि-
 24 ते यस्य स्वस्थोभूद्भूतले विधुः ॥१६ ताते तत्र प्रपन्नेथ नाकिनायकवैभवं(वम्) । धूमराजोभवद्राजा प्रतापैस्तन-
 25 प्रभः ॥१७ दहति प्रत्यहमुच्चैः प्रतीपनृपपरंपरामिति यः¹⁰ धूमध्यामैरुदितो गगनचरैर्धूमराज इति
 26 नाम्ना ॥१८ अथ देवसिंहपालस्तस्मादस्मिन्नभूवृषो भुवने । यस्य प्रतापतपनः प्रतिनृपतितमः क्षयं क्षणादन-
 27 यन् ॥१९ स्वरधिवसति धारातीर्थगत्या स्वताते जयति कनकसिंहस्तत्र राज्ये क्रमेण । भवति किल तलेस्य स्वःपिता
 28 मे प्रसंगादिति खलु वि[त]रन्योद्यो¹¹ व्यधात्कल्पवृक्षं(क्षम्) ॥२० श्रीहर्षोभूवृषस्तस्मादथ¹² प्रथितपो(पौ)रुषः [॥] दानवानकरोत्स-

¹ Obeisance to Dharma and the deities, as it appears first in the Māndhātā grant of Dēvapāla (No. 51).

² Here is a reference to the legend which states that Viṣṇu became the arrow with which Śiva killed the demon Tripura. See *Saura-Purāṇa*, 35, 16; and *Śiva-Purāṇa (Jñāna-Saṁhitā)* as pointed out by Dr. Sircar. Also see *Mbh., Drōṇa Parva*, Adhyāya 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitraśālā Press edn.). This idea occurs also in No. 29, v. 3, above, and also in the *Sivamahimnastōtra*, v. 18.

³ This is a beautiful description of *ashṭamūrti-Śiva*, reminding us of the first stanza of Kālidāsa's *Abhi-jñāna-Sākuntala*.

⁴ Sircar corrects this *akshara* to *-mnā*; but as an adjective of *paśupatēh*, it should be in the sixth case. It may also be stated here that *Ōmkāra* is the name of the deity and *Māndhātā* of the place.

⁵ The *akshara ri* which was first engraved here was erased later on as it was repeated by mistake at the beginning of the next line; but the sign of the original is still visible.

⁶ Originally क्तौ was engraved and then corrected, but the vertical which has been erased is still visible. This verse refers to the slaughter of the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha and deliverance of the earth by Viṣṇu. See *Mark. Purāṇa* (Bibliotheca Ind. edn.), Canto LXXXI.

⁷ While composing this verse the poet had in his mind the description of the goddess Sarasvatī as in the *Naishadhiya-Charita* of Śrīharsha, X, 73 ff.

⁸ Originally *va*, later on corrected to *ya*.

⁹ The sign for medial *ā* was first attached to the letter *rmma*, and was subsequently scored off by two horizontal strokes.

¹⁰ This *danḍa* was subsequently engraved just above the line where it is required, and the preceding sign of *visarga* was also inserted later on. Similar cases, which are found below on the plate, are not noted separately.

¹¹ The letter in the brackets was first engraved as *va* and was corrected subsequently.

¹² A redundant र was originally engraved before र्ण and was scored off by two horizontal strokes later on.

- 29 व्वान्सुखिनो वैष्णोपि(वैष्णवोपि) यः ॥२०^{A1} स्वपदविनिमयेन स्वस्तमासज्य राज्ये क्षितितलवि(जिही)र्षकौतुकात्राकिनाथः । अभ-
 30 वदथ जगद्देव² इत्याख्ययोद्यत्करकृतकरवालो मालवक्षोणिखंडे ॥२१ कर्णः कर्णकटुः[*] शिविर्ण(र्ण)³ सि(शि)वदो वै-
 31 रोच[ने रोच]ते⁴ नो चिता(न्ता)[थ] वनीपके विनयते चितां न चितामणिः । स्वल्पः कल्पतरुर्न कामसुरभिः कामप्रपूतये पुरो
 32 यस्मि(न्) मस्मिन्मर्थिपार्थमनमामिच्छाधिकं यच्छति ॥२२ स्थिरधीः स्थिरक(का)योय प्राज्यं राज्यं प्रपन्नव(वा)न् ।
 स्थिरकायो-
 33 स्य⁵ युद्धे(द्धे)ष्विति मार्थकसंज्ञया ॥२३ ततो वोशरिरित्यासीद्व्रा(द्धा)राधिपतिरुद्धतः । येन युद्धे हतैर्वीरः संवा(वा)धा-
 34 द्यौर्ण(र्ण) वामरैः[] ॥२४ वीरसिंहस्तनो वीरसैकरसिकाशयः । पितुर्यो राज्यमामाद्य जिगाय जगतीमिमां(माम्) ॥२५
 35 वाक्पतिराजो राज्ये तस्मिन्नासीन्महीतले महति । यस्य प्राकृतमू[क्ति]⁶भिररज्यत प्राकृतो लोकः ॥२६ चतुरं
 36 चतुरंभोधिपरिधेरधिपं भुवः [1*] सीयानामानमत्राय माम्राज्यश्रीरणिश्रयत् ॥२७ उज्वा(ज्ज्वा)लतेजसि यसो(शो)विशदे-
 37 थ वंशे तस्मिन्महानजनि मुज इति क्षिति⁷ क्षितीशः । स्पर्द्धावसा(शा)दिव मिथः समितौ कृपाणः पाणिश्च दानम-
 38 तनोदधिकं यदीयः ॥२८ गायत्यंतरमंदसंदभराविनां(श्रां)तहर्षाश्रुभिः । पूर्णचतुर्दलो(लो)चनांचलतया ना-
 39 लोक्य कांतं पुरः । मंदारस्तव(व)कावतंश(स)विलसद्रोलंव(व)कोलाहलस्फायन्नादमुदित्वरं मुरवधूः कीर्त्तिं यदीयां
 40 दिवि ॥२९ ततः स्फुरत्संगरसं[ग*]रंगमभंगुरांगं किल सिधुराजं(जम्)[1*] सदोदितं सादरमाससाद प्रभुत्वलक्ष्मीः प्रवलप्रता-
 41 पं(पम्) ॥३० यं सारस्वतमादधानममृतं प्रख्यातरत्नोत्करं सत्यक्षक्षितिभृच्छरण्यमुदितं प्रायः प्रशा(सा)दास्पदं(दम्) । सन्मर्याद-
 42 मगाधमायतपदं व्याप्तक्षमामंडलं सत्यं जल्पति मिधुराजमखिलः प्रोद्य[द्*]द्विजोल्लासितं(तम्) ॥३१⁸ सिधुराजाद-
 43 भूतस्मात्कलानां पावमुद्यतः [1*] भासयन्कुमुदं भोजराजो राजा प्रसादभू[] ॥३२ अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिसार्था(र्थ)स्थित-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 44 करनिकरोपा[त्त]संन्यस्तम[त्त]प्राज्यप्रोद्दामदंतावलव(व)हलगलदानतोयोद्धविष्णुः । यद्वा(द्धा)रि द्वा[*]स्थमुख्यक्षणधृत-
 45 धरणीपालनिस्वा(श्वा)सराशिस्फूर्ज्जंद्वात्याप्रतानैः प्रचुरमपि पुरः(नः) शुष्कतामेति पंकः⁹ ॥३३ शंव(व)रारिशरैः पूर्वै जन्मनी-
 46 ह निजेषुणा । राधां विव्याध यः प्रायः प्रथयन्नच्युतात्मानं(ताम्)¹⁰ ॥३४ यः कुर्वन्मार्गणान्नाज्ञः परान्नाज्ञश्च
 मार्गण(णा)न् । सर्व-
 47 स्वत्यागयोगेन परिवर्तकतां दधौ¹¹ ॥३५ उदयमुदयादित्यः प्राप प्रतापनिधिस्ततो रिपुनृपतमस्तोमानस्तं नय-

¹ Here the number marking the verse is omitted. This verse shows a contradiction, stating that the king who was devoted to Vishnu made the demons happy. The figure is *Virōdhābhāsa*, and the contradiction which is only apparent, disappears by taking the word *dānavān* in nominative singular and as an adjective to the name of the king.

² The splitting up of the name itself into two parts, the first of which ends in the third foot and the second begins in the fourth, is erroneous, making the pause fall in the middle of the name.

³ The sign of *anusvāra* was first engraved on each of the three lingual nasals and then scored off as unnecessary.

⁴ Dr. Sircar who prepared his text from an unsatisfactory impression, observed: "three syllables are omitted here due to the carelessness of the scribe or engraver." But these three syllables, which were originally omitted by the writer, were subsequently written by him and are engraved in smaller size above the line and they are also preceded by an arrow-head, pointing out where they are actually to be supplied. They are put in brackets here. Thus it is neither the fault of the writer nor of the engraver.

⁵ This foot of the verse offends against the metre, and the defect would disappear, as observed by Sircar, by reading प्यसौ in place of स्य.

⁶ This letter is preceded by a redundant त्, which was erased later on. The sign is clear on the plate.

⁷ These two *akshara* were repeated inadvertently.

⁸ By the use of *double entendre* the expressions in this verse are applicable to both — *Sindhurāja* and the sea.

⁹ The word *dantūvala* in the first half of this verse is wrongly broken into two. The last syllable of the verse has an *anusvāra* also and the sign of *visarga* appears to have been scratched off subsequently. The word *prachura* which was first used in neuter has also been left unaltered. The correct reading would be उद्भवविष्णु प्रचुरोपि पंकः ।

¹⁰ Compare राधां विव्याध स्म यः in the second verse of the *Pārijātamanjari*. By changing the consonant of the second letter the name becomes Rādhā and the expression be taken to mean that Bhōja rendered (the country of) Rādhā (Rādhā) bereft of her lord, but this account is not supported by any other evidence. According to some, the word means *Rādhā-yantra*, i.e., the observatory. Here compare the verse of the *P. C. M.* : भोजराज, मया ज्ञातं राधावेधस्य कारणम् । धाराया विपरीतं हि सहते न भवानिति ॥

¹¹ This verse reminds us of *Raghuvamśa*, IV, vv. 29 and 31.

- 48 न्विलसत्करः । उदहरत यो दोर्दृष्टाभ्यां सद्भिर्जितगूर्जरक्षितिपजलधौ मग्नामेतां ¹वराह इवावनि(निम्) ॥३६ नरवर्मा त-
 49 तो राजरत्नं रत्नाकरानृपः । जातः स्वतेजसाकांतसर्वोर्वीभर्तृभूषणं(णम्) ॥३७ उत्खाताः परभूमयः पुनरमूर्तरात्तास्ततो-
 50 भ्युधृ(द्ध)ता द्राञ्जिः(द्राङ् निष्)कटकिता करैः परिचिताश्चक्रे निजे रोपिताः । पात्रार्थं घटिताः स्वसूत्रकलिताः
 स्निग्धीकृता यत्नतो
 51 येनेति प्रकट³ कुलालचरितक्रीडासु न ब्रीडितं(तम्) ॥३८ ततो यशोवर्मा(र्म)नृपो व(व)भूव प्रचंडदोर्दंडलसज्जयश्रीः । मा-
 52 त्यर्द्धमाद्यं न कि(कि)ल त्रिलोक्यां द्वितीयमंगे युधि यस्य नाम्नः⁴ ॥३९ तस्मादजयवर्माभूद्भूत[ले] भूमिवल्लभः । प्रता-
 53 पतपनो यस्य कमलोत्लासतोल्बणः ॥४० प्रभ्रस्य(श्य)न्मुंडमालं सखलितगजमुखं व्यग्रजाग्रच्छिवास्यं व्याकि(की)र्ण[¹]*]स्थिप्रकारं
 54 धुनविधुरमहासेनमुद्भ्रान्तभूतं(तम्) । ध्वस्तोच्चैःकृत्तिखंडं प्रपतितनयनश्रोवमुग्रोप्रभावं यत्ष(त्व)ङ्गेन व्यधायि प्रव[न(ण)]म⁵-
 55 नुदिनं रंगभूभैरवस्य ॥ ४१ विध्यवर्माभवत्तस्मादस्मिन्नुर्वीतलेखिले । यो विध्यगिरिवद्वैरिन्पुपायनदंतिभिः
 56 ॥४२ अजनि मुभटवर्मा संगरे क्रूरकर्मा क्षत्रिपुनृपवर्मा संसदि प्राप्तशर्मा । त्रिदस(श)पतिसधर्माथांगनो-
 57 द्गीतनर्मा रुचितरुचिरवर्मा मार्गणप्राप्तखर्मा ॥४३ अर्जुनदेवस्तस्मादज्जुन इव कर्णजित्वरो दाने । भारतभूषा
 58 भावी कृष्णैकरतिर्व(र्व)भूव भूभर्ता ॥ ४४ मत्प⁶क्षितिभृज्जयव्यसनितां शृत्वास्य नामान्वयान्मैन(ना)कप्रमुखाः प्रकंप-
 59 दधुर्मण्येम्बु(म्बु) भीता ध्रुवं(वम्) । श्रीसोमेस्व(श्व)रपभृवं(द्रुवं)धसमये प्रक्षुत्य(भ्य)नोभोनिधेस्तुल्लोलतयावनौ
 यदभवत्संवर्तको-
 60 लाहलः ॥ ४५ देवपालस्तनः प्राप प्राज्यं राज्यं धराधिपः । मुमनःसंसदि प्रीतः कल्पवृक्षादिमध्यगः ॥ ४६ स्फारै-
 61 रुत्लिखिते तुरंगमधुरैः प्रौढप्रतापानलैरुद्दीप्तैरिवध्रुविलोचनजलैल्लिप्ते गलत्कज्जलैः । यत्काष्ठावि-
 62 जये वृषः खलु कलावेकांलि(घि)णा संचररत्नतत्वाच्चरणैश्चतुर्भिरधुना भूमंडले खेलति⁷ ॥ ४७ धावद्वाजि-
 63 खुराग्रधूतवमुघ्रापृष्ठस्फुरद्बलजध्वांताकांतदिगंतरालविषयव्यर्थीकृताहस्करं(रम्) । भैल्लस्वामिपुरोप-
 64 कंठसमरे म्लेच्छाधिपं दुर्द्धरं यः क्रोधात्तरवारिणैव सहसा द्वेधा व्यधादुद्धतं(तम्) ॥ ४८ तस्माज्जैतुगिदेवोभूत्पा-
 65 थिवः पृथिवीतले । धरामुद्धरता येन श्रीमता श्रीधवायितं[म्*] ॥ ४९ ततः श्रीजयवर्माणं जिश्रि-
 66 ये श्रीः स्फुरद्भू(द्भू)जं(जम्) । श्रीर्दुर्गशो⁸ यमासाद्य तत्याज चपलेत्यलं(लम्) ॥ ५० युगयोगादतिक्षीणं वृष-

Third Plate : First Side

- 67 मेव पुपोष यः । जयसिहस्तृणं चक्रे सर्वस्वं स्वयमेव सः⁹ ॥ ५१ उहंडो ददतां पटुः प्रवदतामु-
 68 ज्जागरो जानतां भावी श्रीजयसिंह इत्यवनिपो धर्मैकव(व)द्धवतः । दौहित्रोत्र कुले विपश्चि-
 69 दुचितः पौत्रोत्र पात्रं श्रिवो(यो) मत्वेत्थं खलु शंभुरिदुमनलं प्रीत्योत्तमांगे दधौ¹⁰ ॥ ५२ पौलस्त्यमस्तकस्य(स)दस्रवि-
 70 स्ना जटाटवी¹¹ । कर्पूरपूरणैरेन पुरारेः सुरभिः कृता ॥ ५३ विद्ययाद्रेर्वलयं विलंध्य परितो दिक्कूलसर्वकखे(षे) सै-

¹ Originally engraved as *vā* and later on the *mātrā* erased as redundant, by two horizontal strokes which are faintly but clearly visible on the plate.

² The sign for the medial *u* attached to this letter was first engraved short and then made long.

³ In the sense of प्रकटीकृतं which would not suit the metre. Read यस्येति प्रकटं . . .

⁴ That is, his fame (यशस्) which is the first half of his name, overwhelms the three worlds and his armour (वर्मन्) which is the latter half of his name, falls short of his body.

⁵ Originally म, subsequently changed to न.

⁶ Originally त्व, changed to त्प. Here both the words पक्ष and क्षितिभूत are used in a double sense. It is well known that the Maināka Mt. saved its wings by going under the ocean when all the other mountains had to suffer. The allusion in the second hemistich is not known to me.

⁷ The *mātrā* on the first of these letters was at first marked and subsequently scored off, but it is clear on the plate. The pun here refers to the well-known saying that *vrisha* meaning *dharma* stands only on one of its legs in *kaliyuga*, and this king enabled it to run on all the four legs as a bull, a poetic way of saying that he re-established *dharma* firmly.

⁸ The repetition of the word श्री could have been avoided here by using a pronoun.

⁹ The name of Jayasimha appears to be abruptly introduced in this stanza, apparently to show that Jayavarman was also so called. It is not known if the writer has left here some portion from the original.

¹⁰ There is a play here on the expressions which are intended to be construed with Jayasimha on the one hand and with the moon on the other. This stanza poetically suggests that Śiva placed over his head the moon (in the form of this ruler), and also fire, from which would spring a family (*agni-kula*), in which Jayasimha would take birth.

¹¹ Dr. Sircar read the first of these letters as *bhra*, but it is clearly as taken here. He also noted that the expression here has reference to Rāvaṇa cutting off and offering his heads to Śiva, out of devotion, for which see *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Aranya-Kāṇḍa*, XXXII, v, 18. This verse occurs also in a Chandēlla inscription (No. 136, v. 10).

- 71 न्ये श्रीजयवर्मणः क्षितिपतेर्यस्यालमास्कंदति । कांताभिः खलु दाक्षिणात्यनृपतेः कोपादगस्त्यं प्रति क्षि-
 72 प्ताः प्रक्षि(स्थित)कांदिशीकपतिभिः क्रूराः कटाक्षच्छटाः¹ ॥५४ सु(शु)भ्राभ्रलिहहेमकुंभशिरसो देवा²लयान्कारयन्विप्रे-
 73 भ्यो वितरन्पुराणि कनकं धेनूः सु(शु)भाः कोटिशः । आरामानिह रोपयन्सरसयं(यन्) उच्चैस्तडागोत्तमैः क्षोणीमंडल-
 74 मुज्व(ज्व)लं स्थिरमतिर्योद्यापि न श्राम्यति ॥ ५५ इत्थं पृथ्वीमवत्यस्मिन्ज(ञ्ज)यवर्मणि भूपतौ [1*]
 व्यापारानं(न)प(पि) मुद्रादीन्यरिपं-
 75 थयति³ स्वयं(यम्) ॥ ५६ चाहमानकुले राटो राउतः क्रमतोभवत् । चंडदोईड्योर्यस्य जयश्रीः स्थिरतामगात् ॥ ५७
 76 पल्हणदेवस्तस्मादभवद्भुजदंडमंडलीचंडः । यः स्वामिनि जयश्रियमात्मनि यश एव चाधत्त । ५८ सलष(ख)णसि-
 77 हस्तस्मात्तनयो नयभूरभूत्सुभुजः⁴ । अर्जुनदेवस्याजिषु यसो(शो)र्ज्जने स खलु मह कृत्वा ॥ ५९ जित्वा सिंहणदेवदु-
 78 ढंरमहासैन्यं चमूनायकं माध्यात्सागयराणकं⁵ स्वयमिहाधः पातयित्वा हयात् । तस्मात्पट्टमयानि मप्त समरे
 79 यश्चामराण्यग्रहीन्मूर्द्धनौ परिधूनयन्सरसवसा(शा)त्सिहाज्जु(र्ज्जु)नक्षमाभुजोः ॥६० तस्मादनयसिहोभूत्कलावानिव
 80 वारिधेः । य एकः कल्पवृक्षादिमध्ये गणनयान्वितः⁶ ॥६१ देवपालपुरे येन प्रामादे कारिते शिवः । स्नातः(श्रान्तः?) कुं-
 81 डजलव्याजात्सिद्धमिधुं दधौ पुरः ॥ ६२ शाकपुरै(रे)भ्रलिहशिष(ख)रं सुरसदनमवि(वि)काधिगतं(तम्) । योची⁷करदिवदा[तुं]
 82 विस्नां(श्रां)ति खे द्विजस्य मंत्र(भ्र)मतः⁸ ॥ ६३ ओंकारप्रासादं⁹ समया निरमापयत्तरां तुंगं(गम्) । जंबू(बू)केशवरत्नान्मः
 सं(शं)भोर्यः सदन-
 83 मनुप[म*]मिति ॥६४ यत्कारिते सरसि मंडपदुर्गमध्ये कुंभोद्भवः प्रतिनिसं(शं) प्रतिविब्य(विम्ब्य)मानः । ज्ये[1*]-
 तिर्मयो लवणवा-
 84 रिधिवारिपानदुःस्वाददुःखमिव माण्टि पिवन्नपोतः ॥ ६५ प्राकारेण प्रतोल्या षडधिकदस(श)भिर्मदिरैः स्व-
 85 ण्णकुंभैरुतुंगैर्भूरिकक्षैर्गुरुसदनेनांबु(बु)कुंडेन युक्तां(क्ताम्) । यो दुर्गो मंडपाखे(ख्ये) व्यतरदिह पुरी ब्रा(बा)ह्मणे-
 86 भ्यो नृपाज्ञां लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा) मांघातुर्दुर्गेप्यनुपमरचनं(नां) तद्वदेव व्यधत्त ॥ ६६ स एष पूर्वोक्तराजावलीविराजमानेन भ-
 87 क्त्यादिभिः प्रसादिनेन श्रीमज्जयवर्मणा धाराधिपेनानुज्ञातः साधनिकोजन्यसिहदेवो धर्म्मधिर्म्मव(ब)द्धवु(बु)-
 88 द्धिर्वजयी वद्धेनापुरप्रतिजागरणके कुंभडाउदग्रामे तथा तत्रैव बालौदग्रामे तथा सप्तासी(शी)[ति]प्रति-
 89 जागरणके वधाडीग्रामे तथा नागदहप्रतिजागरणके नाटियाग्रामे समस्तराजपु[रुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)]-

Third Plate : Second Side

- 90 ह्यणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च वो(वो)धयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा । मंडपदुर्गावस्थितै¹⁰-
 91 रस्माभिरेकत्रिंशदधिकतयोदशतसंख्यान्विते प्रमाथिनाम्नि संवत्सरे भाद्रपदे मासि शुक्लपक्षे
 92 सप्तम्यां तिथौ शुक्रदिने मैत्रे¹¹ नक्षत्रे स्नात्वा भगवंतं पार्वतीपति समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा व(त)था
 93 हि [1*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि(वि)दुसमा नराणां
 94 धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥६७*॥ इति सर्व्व विमृस्या(श्या)दृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य च स्वपुत्रैः कमलामिह-धारसिंह-जैत्र

¹ Here the reference is to the autumn season when the star Agastya becomes visible and which is the proper time for a king for marching against his enemies. Hence the idea is that those women who get no information about their husbands (*kāndiśka*) naturally curse the star, who is also the master of the south.

² This *akshara* which was originally omitted, is written in a smaller form just above the place where it is to be supplied.

³ Dr. Sircar observed that this word means the same thing as *sanivyaavaharati* of other inscriptions, although this meaning of the verb is not found in the lexicons.

⁴ Originally *tsū*, with the *mātrā* corrected.

⁵ Read माद्यत्. The first letter of the name has a crescent above, probably intended for an *anusvāra* as it is visible in the impression; and in that case we can take this person to be evidently identical with the military officer Saṅga for which see *n.* in the article above.

⁶ As in some other cases, this *akshara* has also the sign of *anusvāra* above; it was later on scratched but is still faintly visible.

⁷ Probably घी was originally engraved. The first foot of this verse offends against the metre.

⁸ The particle showing the *utprekshā* is wrongly placed. Read दानुमिव, which, however, would not suit the metre.

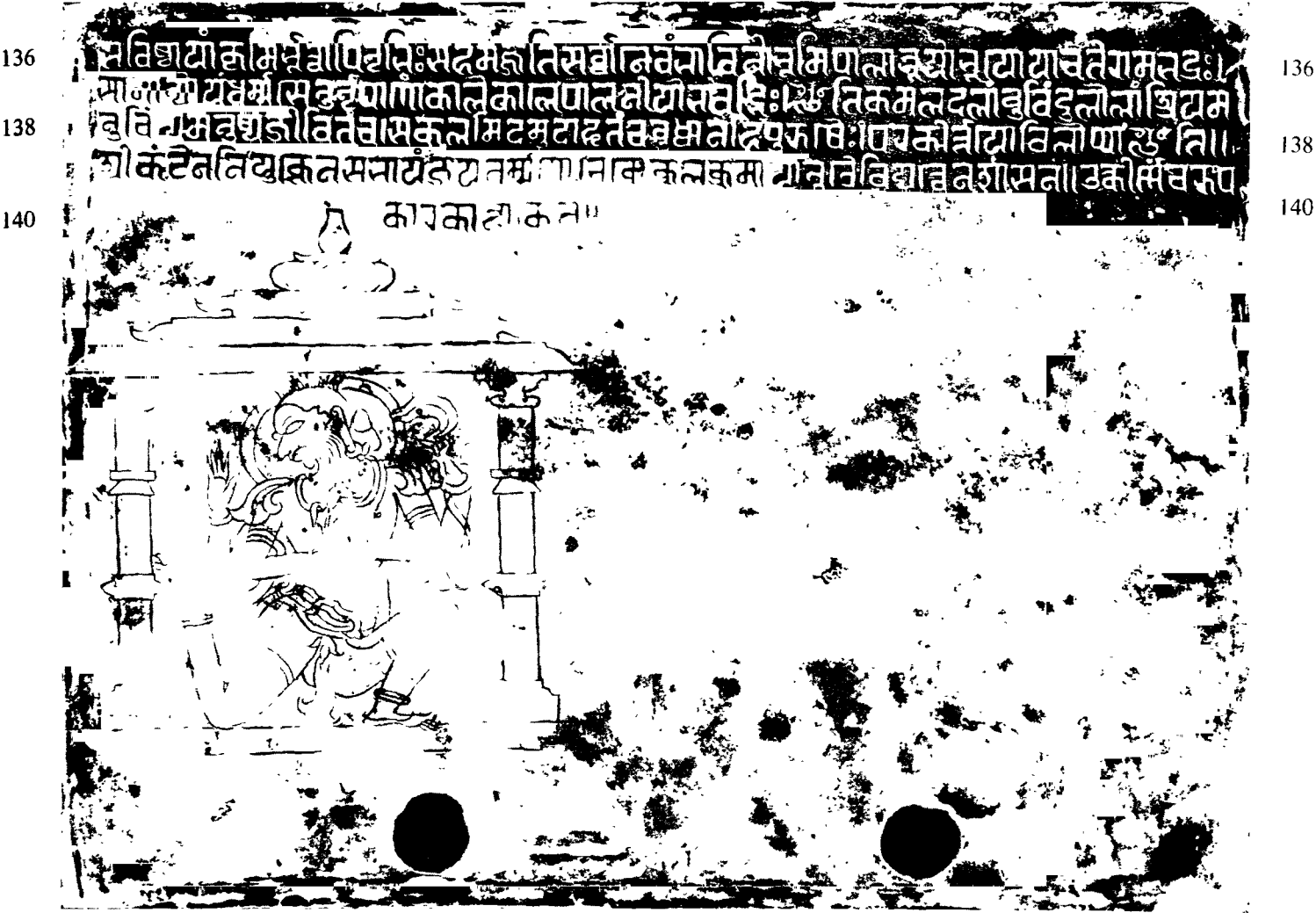
⁹ The first letter of this verse is written as the symbol in the beginning. समया means near; it governs the accusative.

¹⁰ A blank space for one *akshara* was left at the end of this line obviously to avoid writing on the crack here.

¹¹ I.e., *Anurādhā*. The *ga* in *bhagavanītan* that follows was originally engraved as *ma* and later on corrected.

MĀNDHĀTĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME
OF JAYAVARMAṆ: (VĪKRAMA) YEAR 1331

iv (b)



Scale: Two-fifths

- 95 मिह-पञ्चसिह(हा) इत्येतैः महिनैः[*] नानागोत्रेभ्यो नानानामभ्यो मांधातृत्र(ब्र)ह्मपुरीवास्तव्येभ्यो त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः य-
 96 था टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय गौतमसगोत्राय आंगिरसौव(त)थ्य¹[गौ]तमेतिप्रवराय ऋग्वेदशाखाध्या-
 97 यिने च² कमलाधरशर्मणः पौत्राय अवसथिविद्याधरशर्मणः पुत्राय दी³ पद्मनाभशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय
 98 पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय गौतमसगोत्राय आंगिरसौतथ्यगौतमेतिप्रवराय ऋग्वेद-
 99 शाखाध्यायिने च० कमलाधरशर्मणः पौत्राय अव⁴ विद्याधरशर्मणः पुत्राय च० माधवशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा-
 100 य पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय भारद्वाजगोत्राय आंगिरसवा(वा)हंस्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवर-
 101 राय ऋग्वेदशाखाप्रवर्द्धमानाय मिश्रधरशर्मणः पौत्राय पंचवीटि⁵मिश्रउद्धरणशर्मणः पुत्राय पं⁶
 102 श्रीकण्ठशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ लष(ख)णपुरविनिर्गताय काश्यपगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारनैधु-
 103 वेतिप्रवराय च० भो(भू)पतिशर्मणः पौत्राय पं० विद्यापतिशर्मणः पुत्राय ऋग्वेदशाखाप्रवर्द्धमानाय द्वि⁷
 104 गोवर्द्धनशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ तोलापौहस्थानविनिर्गताय चंद्रात्रेयसगोत्राय आत्रेयगावि-
 105 ष्ठिरपूर्वातिथेतिप्रवराय दी० श्रीवत्सशर्मणः पौत्राय दी० देवशर्मणशर्मणः⁸ पुत्राय माध्यंदिनशा-
 106 खाध्यायिने दी० वामनशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय वशिष्ठगोत्रा-
 107 य वाशिष्ठशाक्य(क्त्य)पाराशर्येतिप्रवराय⁹ व(ब)लभद्रशर्मणः पौत्राय माधारणशर्मणः पुत्राय माध्यंदि-
 108 नशाखाध्यायिने अवस्थी(स्थि)अनंतशर्मणं त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय भार-
 109 द्वाजगोत्राय आंगिरसवा(वा)हंस्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवराय शुक्लप्रद्युम्नशर्मणः पौत्राय द्वि० सी-
 110 लूशर्मणः पुत्राय माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने द्वि० हरिशर्मणशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १
 111 टेणीस्थानविनिर्गताय काश्यपसगोत्राय काश्यपावत्सारनैधुवेतिप्रवराय उपा¹⁰
 112 देवशर्मणः पुत्राय उपा० वैजूशर्मणः पुत्राय माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने द्वि० मा-

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 113 इदेवशर्मणे¹¹ त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय कात्यायनसगोत्राय विश्वा-
 114 मित्रकात्यकीलेतिप्रवराय पा¹² कूल्हणशर्मणः पौत्राय अव० आलदेवशर्मणः पुत्राय
 115 माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने द्वि० हरिदेवशर्मणे¹³ त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय भारद्वाज-
 116 सगोत्राय आंगिरसवा(वा)हंस्यभारद्वाजेतिप्रवराय द्वि० गजाधरशर्मणः पौत्राय अव० वीरुदेवशर्मणः
 117 पुत्राय माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने द्वि० अनंतशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय आ-
 118 त्रेयसगोत्राय आत्रेयगाविष्ठिरपूर्वातिथेतिप्रवराय पा० कृष्णशर्मणः पौत्राय पा० अतिशर्मणः पुत्रा-
 119 य माध्यंदिनशाखाध्यायिने पा० योगेश्वरशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय वशि-
 120 ष्ठसगोत्राय वाशिष्ठभरद्वास्विद्रप्रमदेति प्रवराय त्रि०¹⁴ समुद्धरणशर्मणः पौत्राय त्रि० दामोदरशर्मणः पु-
 121 त्राय कौयुमशाखाध्यायिने त्रि० नारायणशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ टकारीस्थानविनिर्गताय साव-
 122 णिसगोत्राय भार्गवच्यवनप्राप्तवानश्रौर्व्या(जा)मदन्येति पंचप्रवराय च० वामुदेवशर्मणः पौत्राय च० लक्ष्मी-
 123 ध[र]शर्मणः पुत्राय कौयुमशाखाध्यायिने त्रि० पुरुषूशर्मणे त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय प[द]मेकम्¹⁵ ॥ १ टेणीस्थानविनिर्गता-

¹ Sandhis have not been observed in most of the following cases, while giving the details about the donees. It is not pointed out or corrected every time.

² Read *chāturvēda-* or *chaturvēdi-*, here and below.

³ Read *dīkshita-*, here and below.

⁴ Read *avasathika-*, here and below.

⁵ Sircar observes that *pañchapāṭhin* is probably intended.

⁶ That is, *Pañchapāṭhin*, *Paṇḍita*, or *Pañchōṭi-*.

⁷ That is, *dvivēda-* or *dvivēdi-*, here and below.

⁸ The suffix *śarman* appears twice with this name and so also in l. 110, below.

⁹ Here all the three *pravaras* are shown with the first of the letters in its form of *vṛiddhi*.

¹⁰ Dr. Sircar observed that this is probably a contraction of *upāsani*, but *upādhyāya* is also possible.

¹¹ Sircar read the second letter of the name as *hā* but it is a clear *i*, in the impression and on the plate also.

¹² Read *pāṭhaka-*, here and below. The *akshara* was first engraved before this letter and later on उ erased but the sign is still visible.

¹³ The curve of the medial *i* of रि was either cut by the hole on the plate or was not engraved as it comes precisely at that spot.

¹⁴ That is, *Trivēda-* and *Trivēdi-*, here and elsewhere.

¹⁵ Originally पा was engraved and the sign for the medial ā was later on erased but it is still visible.

- 124 य शांडिल्यसगोत्राय शांडिल्याशि(सि)तदैवलेतिप्रवराय त्रि० विश्वेश्वरशर्मणः पौत्राय त्रि० महेश्वरशर्मणः
 125 पुत्राय कौथुमशाखाध्यायिने त्रि० वाऊंशर्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय पदमेकम् ॥ १ वत्ससगोत्राय भार्गवच्यवनप्राप्त-
 126 वानप्रौर्व्वजामदग्ने(ग्ने)तिपंचप्रवराय चाहमानकुले^१ प्रवर्द्धमानाय सा० पल्हदेववर्मणः पौत्राय सा० सल-
 127 षं(ख)णसीहवर्मणः^२ पुत्राय साधनिकग्रनयसिंहवर्मणे क्षत्रियाय पदद्वयम् ॥२ इति षोडस(श)ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः
 128 कुंभडाउदावालीदावघाडीनाटिया इति ग्रामवतुष्टयं ममग्रं चतुष्कंकटविशु(शु)द्धं सवृक्षमालाकुलं त-
 129 त्संव(ब)द्धगृहगृहस्थानखलखलस्थानखलुतलभेद्यागो^३वाटिकाशाकमुष्टितैलपलिकाकुंभपूरकाका-
 130 शोत्पत्तिपातालनिधिनक्षेपदेवायत[न]ोद्यानतडागवापीकूपादिसहितं सहिरण्यभागभोगसो-
 131 परिकरदंडादिसर्वादायसहितं पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये चंद्रार्काणवक्षितिसमकालं यावत्^४ परया [भ*]क्त्या दे-
 132 वत्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभुक्तिवर्जं शासनेनोदकपूर्वं दत्तं तन्मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभो-
 133 गकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमेतेभ्यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः[ः]^५ समुपनेतव्यं सामान्यं चैतद्धर्म[फ*]लं बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा)
 134 अस्मत्स्वामिवंश(श)जैर्भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मदत्तधर्म^६दायोयमनुमंतव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भु-
 135 क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[६८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
 वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां(राम् ।)

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 136 स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ ६९*] सव्वनिवं भाविनो भूमिपालान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।
 137 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[७०*] इति कमलदलांबुवि(बुबि)दुलोलां श्रियम-
 138 नुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुद्ध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्या[ः]॥७१*] इति ॥^७
 139 श्रीकटे(ठे)न नियुक्तेन सभायां^८ जयवर्मणा । चक्रे कुलक्रमायातृवैविद्यत्वेन शासनं(नम्) ॥[७२*] उत्कीर्णं च रूप-
 140 कारकान्हाकेन ॥^९

^१ This is the local pronunciation of the word.

^२ The Sanskrit form of this name is Sallakshanaśimha. The preceding *sā* here stands for *sādhnika*. Sircar draws attention to its Prākṛit equivalent *Sāhaṇia*, meaning the 'commander of an army, and adds that the *P. C. M.* uses the expression *mahāsādhnika* in the sense of a chieftain or military governor (See Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 142). But the word can more easily be connected with *sādhana* in the sense of "an army" (See *Mudrārākṣha*, V, 10). This shows that he was a military officer.

^३ The word *khalu* is so placed here as to appear a noun but it is not found in the lexicons. *Tala-bhēdya* is also a queer word and Sircar doubted whether it means 'pits'.

^४ Unlike other consonants appearing in this inscription, this consonant is marked *halanta* and not joined to the following letter.

^५ The sign of *visarga* is omitted here and the original shows a very faint dot in its place, subsequently inserted.

^६ As often noted above, this word (with *mā*) is more current in Mālwa even to this day. The reason is not known to me. Possibly, it means धर्मस्य आदाय=आदानम्; i.e., achieving *dharma* by making donations.

^७ The *visarga* is erroneously dropped here in consideration of the following vowel.

^८ The medial *ā*-sign, which was originally omitted here, was inserted subsequently in a short form and so as its lowest extremity just touching the top-stroke.

^९ The first of the *daṇḍas*, though placed near the preceding *akshara*, is quite separate from it and is also endowed with a top-stroke.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF CHANDRĀVATĪ

NO. 61 : PLATE LXIV

VARMĀN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PŪRṆAPĀLA

[Vikrama] Year 1099

THIS inscription, which is edited here for the first time,¹ was discovered by V. S. Sukthankar, Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology, in the village of **Varmān** in the Reodhar *tehsil* of the Sirōhī District of south-western Rājasthān. Sukthankar found it on a pillar in a debris lying near a marble temple dedicated to the Sun-god, which, according to his statement made in 1916-17, "is interesting alike from an archaeological and iconographical point of view, and though in decay, is an imposing structure". His brief notice of the inscription appears in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* of the Department, for 1916-17, page 72.²

The inscription consists of seven lines of writing, covering a space 21 cms. broad by 14·5 cms. high. The pillar on which it is incised was some time subsequently set up in the vestibule of the temple referred to above. The writing is in a fair state of preservation; and with the exception of three letters which have suffered from a scratch in l. 2, and two from an abrasion on the stone in l. 3, it can be made out with some patience, as the engraving was done rather slovenly.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century. The letter *k* is in ligatures; e.g., in *kṛita*, l. 6, and *v* and *dh* exhibit almost similar forms, as in *vudhē*, l. 1. *R*, which is in a transitional stage, shows as many as three forms, viz., with a wedge as in *Sārama* and *sūtradhāra*, in ll. 4 and 6, respectively, with a horizontal stroke attached to a vertical, as in *parihāri*, l. 3, and the advanced form in the same word. *H* has not developed the left limb; cf. *mahā*, l. 2. It is noteworthy that the consonant *t* in *Samvat*, l. 1, is written as *tu*.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is often incorrect; and the influence of the local dialect can be noticed from examples like *yēshṭha* for *jyēshṭha* in l. 1, and *mahārāyya* for *mahārāja*, *Punapāla* for *Pūrṇapāla* and *Dhaṁdhua* for *Dhandhuka*, all in l. 2. The **orthography** does not call for any notice except that *v* is used for *b*, as in *vudha*, l. 1.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the restoration of the temple of the Sun-god, by N(N)ōchaka, the son of Sārama, at Brahmāṇa, obviously at the village Varmān, where the pillar with the inscription was found. The **date**, which is recorded in numerical figures in l. 1, is **Wednesday, the 30th, i.e., the full-moon day of Jyēshṭha of the (Vikrama) Samvat 1099**. The year, taken as expired, corresponds to the **Christian year 1043**.³ As to be seen below, it is also the year of the Vasantagaḍh (next) inscription; and as known from the dates given in both these records, the present inscription would appear as engraved about five weeks earlier,⁴ and thus it would also seem to be the earliest known record of the ruling house of Chandrāvātī and of Pūrṇapāla, who is mentioned here as a *Mahārāja* and the son of Dhaṁdhua, who was no other than Dhandhuka, about whom more will be stated in the following inscription. And though only the name of Pūrṇapāla is given in the present inscription, his title and father's name clearly show that he was no other than the homonymous king ruling at Chandrāvātī. More on all these points will be discussed while dealing with the other inscriptions of the house. However, it may be noted here that the mention of the figure 30 while expressing the date

¹ From a fresh set of impressions supplied by the Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle, and also from my personal examination of the original.

² For the geographical position of the village and for the description of the temple, see *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, for 1916-17, p. 71. It is about 5 kms. south-west of Reodhar, the headquarters of a *tehsil*, on high way leading to Mandār. The inscription is incised on one of the left-side pillars.

³ The details of the date will be discussed below. This is, however, one of the few records mentioning the figure 30 for *Pūrṇimā*.

⁴ These remarks are based only on the details of the dates given in the inscriptions and not on their Christian equivalents, which show that it is really later.

clearly points out that the month recorded in the present inscription has to be taken as *pūrṇimānta* whereas that of the next inscription, as *amānta*, as to be seen in its proper place.

Nothing is recorded about the person who restored the temple. The engraver of the inscription was Dhāna.

The details of the date of this inscription do not work out satisfactorily, as shown by their Christian equivalents, noted below :—

For Chaitrādi V. 1099, *current* = Monday, 18th May, 1041 A.C.

For Chaitrādi V. 1099, *expired* = Sunday, 6th June, 1042 A.C.

For Kārttikādi V. 1099, *expired* = Thursday, 26th May, 1043 A.C.

None of these equivalents is associated with Wednesday, mentioned in the record. However, taking the last of these, we find that *pūrṇimā*, which commenced at 14 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on the preceding day (Wednesday), fully occupied the rest of it, and thus, **25th May, 1043 A.C.** appears to be the intended day. It is also possible that the ceremony actually began on this day and was continued for the next day. In that case, this inscription would be later in time than the one that follows.

Brahmāṇa, where the temple was restored, is the village of Barmān, as seen above.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² ॥ संव[त्] १०६६ ये(ज्येष्ठ) सु(शु)दि ३० वु(वु)धदि³ -
- 2 ने महाराय्यं(ज)श्रीपुन(पूर्ण)पाल-⁴ [श्री]धधु-
- 3 अ(क)सुतः परिहा[रि] - -⁵न्वये श्रीणो(नो ?) -
- 4 चकेन श्रीसारमसुते⁶न श्रीव(व्र)ह्मा-
- 5 णस्वामिदेवस्य⁷ देवगृहं जीर्णोद्धार(द्धा)-
- 6 रं कृतमिति⁸ ॥ सूत्रधारस[रु]कसु-⁹
- 7 तेन धानेन कृतःमिति¹⁰ ॥ ॥

No. 62 ; PLATE LXV

VASANTAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PŪRṆAPĀLA

Vikrama Year 1099

THE stone bearing this inscription is said to have been found by Captain T. S. Burt about 1940. It was then fixed in an old stepped well towards the north-west of a ruined Śaiva temple at **Vasantagaḍh**,¹¹ a fort on a small eminence about eight kilometres to the south of

¹ From personal examination of the original and impressions, as stated above.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ What appears above *dha* is not a *mātrā* but only a fault of the stone.

⁴ On the impressions this *akshara* appears as स्त्र, but on the original stone I found this *akshara* scored off by a horizontal stroke and a sign of *visarga* inserted subsequently, after the preceding letter.

⁵ These two letters appear as abraded and the first of them may doubtfully be read as हा or जा, and the second as न. The reading of the first *akshara* in the expression is also doubtful.

⁶ The sign of *mātrā* attached to this *akshara* is slightly above, touching almost the lower extremity of the letter just above it.

⁷ The first *akshara* in this line was probably engraved as ण्ड, with its subscript lost later on, as known from the traces left. The expression *Brahmāṇḍa-svāmin* denotes the Sun, for which, cf. *Jagat-svāmin* in No. 92, l. 12. The name *Svāmidēva* was also read by me in an inscription on another pillar in the same shrine in my visit to it in 1972. The record consists of 16 lines, 62.5 cms. high by 13 cms. broad, and is dated Chaitra *śudī* Rathasaptamī, (V.), mentioning the donation by one Śōbhaya to the deity. It is unedited.

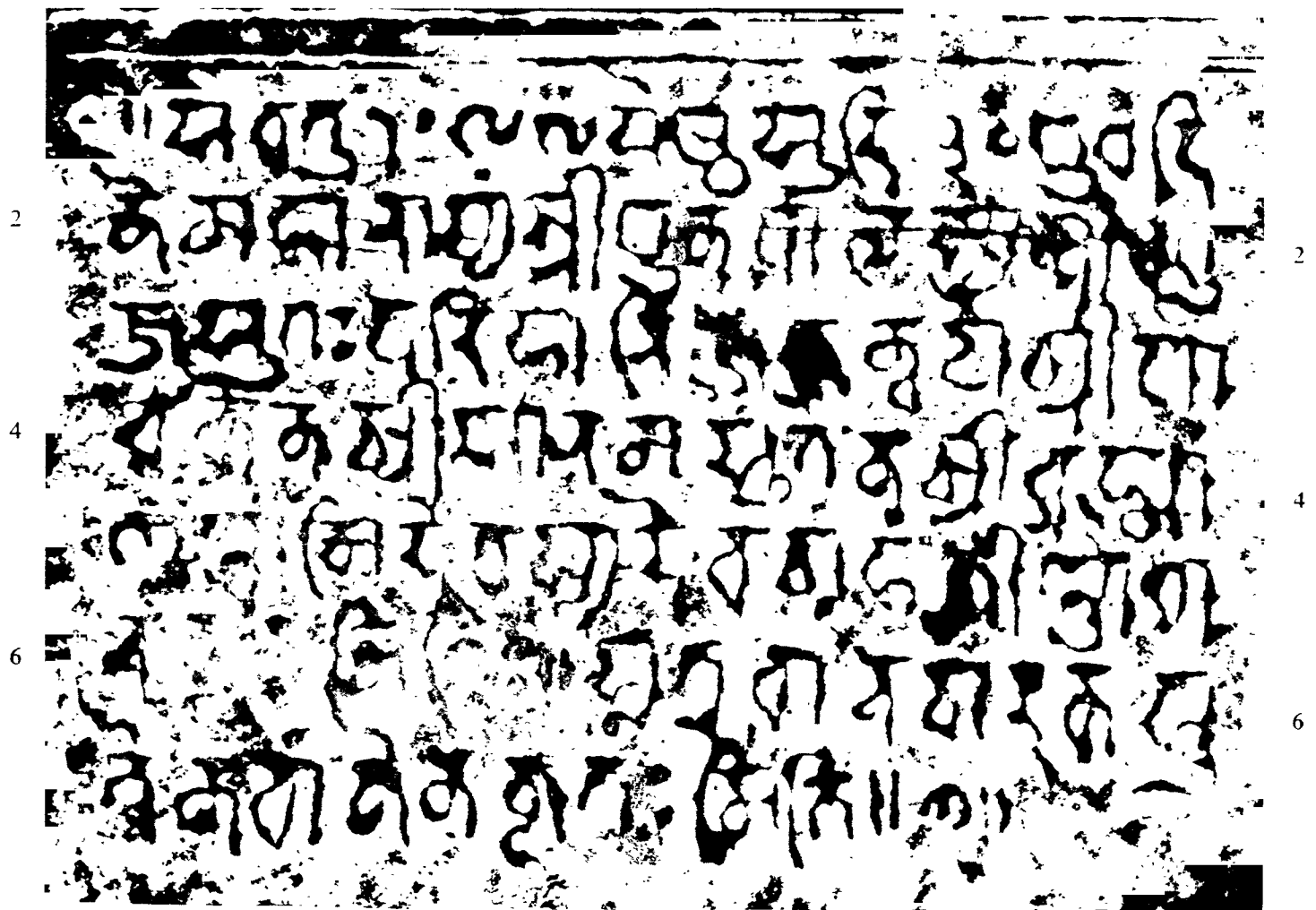
⁸ Read देवगृहस्य जीर्णोद्धारः कृत इति.

⁹ The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful.

¹⁰ Read कृत इति. Between the *daṇḍas* is an ornamental design resembling an arrow.

¹¹ The place, which is locally known by its corrupt name Vāntparāgaḍh, is about 5 kms. due east of Banās, a station about 35 kms. north by east of Ābū Road on the Ahmedabad-Delhi line of the Western Railway. The antiquities found there are described in *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, for 1905-06, pp. 49 ff., with a brief notice of the inscription on p. 53. Sirōhī was formerly a separate State in Rājasthān but now it is the headquarters of the district of the same name.

VARMĀN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME
OF PŪRNAPĀLA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1099



Scale: Four-fifths

Pinḍwāḍā, the chief town of a *tehsil* of the same name in the Sirōhī District of Rājasthān. Burt published the inscription in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume X (for 1841), pages 664 ff., from 'a very unsatisfactory transcript' prepared by Pt. Kamalākānt : and some time after, the stone which had detached itself from its original spot, was thrown by the B'īls of the place in the well. It was re-discovered in about 1904, when the water in the well dried up due to shortage of rains, by Pt. Sukhanandji, who removed it to Sirōhī : and subsequently it was taken to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, where it is now deposited.

The inscription was also noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle*, for 1905-6, pp. 47 and 49 ; and from impressions provided by Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha, it was edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX (for 1907-8), pp. 10 ff., with transcript (pp. 12-15) but without a facsimile. It is edited here from the original stone¹ and an impression supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscription consists of 23 lines of writing which covers a space about 60 cms. broad by 43 cms. high. The last of the lines extends over about three-fourth of the breadth of the other lines. In the proper right corner, a part of the stone is broken away so that a few *aksharas* are lost (from 15 to 21) at the commencement of ll. 1-9. With the exception of this portion, the writing is throughout well preserved : and though there are some small abrasions on the surface of the stone, it is legible. The size of the letters is between .8 and 1 cm. The signs of *mātrās* are often gracefully formed.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century current in Rājasthān and Mālwā, but in their formation they slightly differ from those of the contemporary inscriptions. The letter *ṇ*, which occurs twice in l. 11, has not developed its dot ; the signs of *ch*, *dh* and *v* are the same ; cf., e.g. *kul-ōchchaya* and *vidhrita*, both in l. 10 ; occasionally *th* also shows the same form, as in *tathā*, l. 1 ; and the letter *b* has a sign of its own : see *babhūva*, l. 10. *ḍ* appears as *ṛ*, as in *gaṇḍa*, l. 6 ; and *r* is often engraved in its complete form with its superscript half drawn : cf. *Pramāra*, l. 2 and *prōtphulla*, l. 11. The *aksharas* *kh*, *t*, *l* and *s* have generally not developed the tail of the left limb ; see *mukhūm* and *sita*, both in l. 11 ; and *kila* in l. 3. The difference between the forms of the palatal and the dental sibilant is often marked in that the former of these is engraved with a tail of the left limb, which is missing in the latter : cf. *suśubhā*, l. 22.

The letters are not deeply engraved so that occasionally the impression shows only dots of the loops of *n* and *m*, with the strokes altogether missing : see *nāmā*, l. 4, and *sainya-madhyē*, l. 5. This shallow engraving is responsible for the wrong reading *śrīnātha-ghōshī* for the correct *śrīmān-yath-ōrvvīm*, in l. 4, which had raised a historical problem, as to be seen below.² The medial *ā* is often denoted by a stroke above the top of a letter, as in *nāmā*, l. 22 ; and occasionally the form of a medial *i* (short or long) is only a curve above the top and not taken below, as in *hita*, l. 16, and *nītā*, l. 17.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is often incorrect, particularly from the point of view of grammar, e.g. the use of *jyōti-vidām* for *jyōtir-vidām*, l. 1, of *nāmāṇ* for *nāma*, l. 5 of *vēśmaiḥ*, for *vēśmabhiḥ*, l. 14, and *vēśmaṇ* for *vēśma*, l. 9, *bhūbhujēna* for *bhūbhujā*, l. 8, and *tapaḥ* for *tapah*, l. 13. With the exception of the customary obeisance to Śiva (which may have been at the commencement), and the words *asy-ānvayō-pi* and *nagar-ānvayō-pi* in ll. 8 and 13, respectively, the text is in verse. In all there are 35 verses ; they are not numbered but are separated by a pair of *daṇḍas* which are also put at the end of the first half of a verse and occasionally at the end of the first and the third foot. The composition is poor : and the use of particles like *vai* (ll. 4 and 12), *tu* (ll. 12 and 22) and *su* (l. 14) is often resorted to. We have also instances of use of

¹ In my examination of the stone in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, I found that it measures 72 cms. broad by 63.5 cms. high, including a broad border of 3.5 cms. on all sides. The inscription is completed in about two-third of the portion of the stone, above, and the rest is left blank. It also contains marks of water of the well in which it was thrown and where it remained for a number of years till it was re-discovered by G. H. Ojha, as already stated above; and I also found a number of letters choked with white-wash.

² For the correct reading, see the expression in text, below, l. 4 and *n*. Also see *H. P. D.*, p. 299, where D. C. Ganguly says that 'the name *śrīnāthaghōshī* had totally disappeared from the place where it was supposed to have existed'. But in fact it is only an example of wrong reading and there is no question of its disappearance.

a hiatus, as in *hy-utpala*, l. 3, of shortening or lengthening a medial vowel, as in *āranya*, l. 3, and *Pūrṇā-pāla*, l. 7, and of distorting words for metrical exigencies, e.g. *svapāna* for *sōpāna*, l. 15, and *jyōti-vidāṃ* for *jyōtir-vidāṃ*, l. 1,¹ with the same aim in view, following the adage : 'api māśaṃ māśaṃ kuryāch = chhandō-bhaṅgaṃ na kārayēt'. For the sake of metre, rules of *sandhi* are also often violated, as will be noted below in the text.

With reference to **orthography**, we may note the following points : (i) the reduplication of a consonant preceding or following *r*, as in *puttra*, l. 4, *attra*, l. 7, and *karmma*, l. 14 ; (2) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, e.g. in *sīlēna*, l. 5 ; (3) the general use of *anusvāra*, though wrongly, at the end of a stich and even for *n* ; cf. *utpamna*, l. 5 and *ūdḥavām* = *saḥ*, l. 12 ; and (4) the wrong spellings in *trubhuvana*, l. 16, *siṃgha*, l. 18 and *rishi*, l. 19. The dynastic name, though correctly spelt as *Paramāra* in l. 7, appears as *Pramāra* in l. 2, where we have *pramāratā*, formed on the analogy of *sādhutā*, *janatā*, etc. ; and the name of the queen who restored the temple, as we shall see below, is spelt with the lingual *ṇ*, as *Lāhiṇi*, in ll. 7, 11, 17 and 20, but with the dental nasal in l. 22. The singular example of *visarga* changed to *para-savarṇa* in *himādriś-śikharaiḥ*, l. 18, is interesting.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that *Lāhiṇī*, the younger sister of the *Paramāra* king **Pūrṇapāla** and the dowager queen of **Vigraharāja**, ruling at *Vaṭapura*, renovated, for her own spiritual welfare, an ancient temple of the Sun and also a stepped well, both of which were out of order, at that place. The **date** of the inscription, as given in words (v. 35), is the **ninth day of the dark half of the month of nabha, i.e. Śrāvaṇa**, the moon being in (the *nakshatra*) **Mrigaśiras**, of the year **1099** in the time of *Vikramāditya*. The date regularly corresponds to the **12th of August, 1042 A.C.**, taking the month *amānta* ; and, as *Kielhorn* observed in course of editing the inscription, this is the earliest of the dates of the *Vikrama* era that quotes a *Jovian* year and also that it is the earliest known date in which we find the expression *Vikramāditya-kālē*.²

The inscription may be split up into three sections. The first section (vv. 1-11), after the usual *maṅgala-ślōkas*, gives the names of some of the kings belonging to the *Paramāra* house ruling over the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*. The next section (vv. 12-17) contains an account of the ruling house to which the husband of *Lāhiṇī*, who restored the temple and the stepped well, belonged : and the third or the last section speaks about the writer and the engraver and also mentions the date, besides describing the well, etc.

Beginning with two verses paying homage to *Mahēśvara*, the poet *Vālmīki* and the goddess of Learning, the inscription invokes the blessings of *Hari*. The next verse refers to the myth of the creation by *Vasishṭha* of the hero of the name of **Paramāra** who became the progenitor of a family of that name, as it is found in a number of inscriptions of the house. The first historical prince spoken of in the record is **Utpalarāja**, who was followed by **Aranyarāja** ; and the latter's successor was **Kṛishṇarāja** (v. 4). *Kṛishṇarāja*'s son was **Mahi(i)pāla** from whom was born **Dhandhuka** (vv. 5-6), whose queen was *Amṛitadēvī*. *Dhandhuka* is said to have regained his fortune (kingdom) by his valour. This is evidently a reference to the attack of the *Chaulukya* *Bhīma* I on the Kingdom of *Dhandhuka*, who, as we know from the *Vimala* temple inscription on Mount *Ābū*, fled to *Bhōja* of *Dhārā*, and *Bhīma*, having acquired the *Arbuda-maṇḍala*, appointed *Vimala* of the *Prāgvāta* family to govern the conquered territories.³ The tone of the verse of the present inscription clearly indicates that *Dhandhuka* ultimately succeeded in regaining his kingdom,⁴ probably with the help of *Bhōja* who was an inveterate enemy of the *Chaulukyas*. *Dhandhuka*'s son, as the record further tells us, was **Pūrṇapāla**, who is described in vv. 8-10, in a conventional manner. His younger sister was *Lāhiṇī*, who was married to *Vigraharāja*, 'the best of the kings and an incarnation of *Mādhava* (*Kṛishṇa*) himself'.

¹ In all these examples the readings are absolutely certain.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 12. *Kielhorn* calculated the date only for the *Chaitrādi Śrāvaṇa*, expired, but it works well for the *Kārttikādi Śrāvaṇa* expired also, in which the ninth *tithi* ended 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise when the said *nakshatra* *Mrigaśiras* actually began on 2nd August, 1043 A.C. And if the *sandhi* of the *tithi* and the *nakshatra* was intended, this would be the Christian equivalent, also showing this inscription to be later than the preceding one.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

⁴ As shown by the first half of v. 7. *D. C. Ganguly*, however, gives the credit of regaining the kingdom to *Dhandhuka*'s son *Pūrṇapāla*, for which we have no evidence. See *H. P. D.*, p. 300.

As noted above, vv. 12-19 form the next section, which is devoted to describing the genealogy of Vighararāja ; it is here stated that there existed a twice-born (*dvi-jāti*) person named Yōta, who, by his bravery, acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*) and that in his lineage was born the king Bhavagupta, who repaired the Sun-temple at Vaṭa : and again, in course of time, there was one Saṁgrāmarāja who ruled at Badarī in Vamśāraṭha. Saṁgrāmarāja's son was the king Durlabharāja : from him sprang Chachcha and the latter's son was Vighararāja, who is described as a valorous king, handsome in form, and who is also stated to have raised his family to eminence. This king married Lāhiṇī. In course of time, he died, and Lāhiṇī, when she became a widow, used to reside at Vaṭapura, *i.e.*, Vasantgaḍh, under her brother's protection.

The next section of the inscription is devoted to describe the main object of the record, and also glorify Vaṭa-nagara or Vaṭa-pura in vv. 20-25, which state that it was founded on a river of the name of Sarasvatī, by the sage Vasishṭha, who also established at the place (the images of) the Sun and Bharga (Śiva or Brahmā?) and that Agastya also practised his austerities there. Verses 27-31 state that Lāhiṇī, who was then residing at the place, as seen above, restored the Sun-temple and re-built the step-well, for the use of the public. The next verse is devoted to wishing prosperity to the temple and the well.¹

Verses 33-34 inform us that the inscription was composed by the Brāhmaṇa Mātṛīśarman, the son of Hari ; and it was engraved by Śivapāla, the son of the *sūtradhāra* Dēūka, the grandson of Durga (Durgārka or Durgādiṭya) and the great-grandson of the *sthapati* (architect or carpenter) Nāga. Here the record ends with the date (v. 35), which we have already seen above.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Vamśāraṭha** and **Badarī** (l. 9) cannot be identified, though a suggestion appears plausible here. We find two villages with similarly sounding names in the Sagwādā *tēhsil* of the Dūngarpur District of south Rājasthān : one of them is Vamasa, which appears to be a corrupted form of *Vamśa-* (*raṭha* or *rāshṭra*), about 16 kms. north by east of Sagwādā, and the other is Badarbēḍ, about 22 kms. south-southwest of Vamasa. Both these places lie about 125 kms. south-east of Sirōhī. **Vaṭa-nagara** (ll. 12 and 13), which is also mentioned as **Vaṭa-pura** (l. 15) or **Vaṭa** (l. 19), is evidently the locality lying at the foot of Vasantgaḍh where the inscribed stone was found. The place appears to have been so known on account of its situation amongst a thick jungle of Vaṭa (banian) trees.² **Sarasvatī**, mentioned in l. 20, is undoubtedly the well in which the stone was originally fixed, and also the river **Sarasvatī** (l. 15), which is said to be flowing close by the city. The latter of these is the stream flowing between the fort and the neighbouring hill and by the side of the temple and the well. The well appears to have been so called as it was fed by the waters of the river.³

TEXT⁴

[Metres : Verses 1, 22, 31 and 33 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 10 and 23 *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita* ; vv. 4, 7, 12, 18-21, 26-27, 28 (irregular), 29-30 and 34 *Indravajrā* ; v. 15 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 13-14, *Upajāti* ; vv. 3, 5-6, 8 and 11 *Indravajrā*, *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti* ;⁵ v. 9 *Drutavilambita* ; v. 17 *Āryā* (irregular) ; v. 24 *Vamśastha* ; vv. 25 and 32 *Sragdharā* ; v. 35 *Mālinī*].

1 ⁶ महेश्वर[—(म्)]॥ प्राचेतसं तथा वाणीं प्रशस्तिः सुकृता मया॥[१*] ज्योतिर्ज्योतिर्विदां स वः
सबधियां धिष्यं परं वर्चसां भक्तानां धनदः स्मृतः कलुपहा स-

¹ In his edition Kielhorn throughout used the word 'tank', whereas the inscription has the word *vāpī* which means a well with a flight of steps and probably an irrigation well, as formed from the root *vap*.

² Cf. the expression *nyagrōdha-sakta*, in v. 20 of the text.

³ See *P. R. A. S.*, *W. C.*, for 1905-06, p. 53.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ We cannot be definite about the metres of these verses as the initial letters of their *pādas* are broken away.

⁶ The missing twelve *aksharas* here obviously included the names of some deities about whom we cannot be definite. The reading in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 664, is a mere guess, as also remarked by Kielhorn. Here, as in almost all the verses below, not only the second but also the first and third *pādas* have two *daṇḍas* in the end. In the transcript I have retained them simply to lessen the number of foot-notes, *etc.*

⁷ The correct form is ज्योतिर्विदां, which would not have suited the metre. The meaning of सबधियां is not clear.

- 2 - U - - U - ॥ - - - U[म]संवृतं मतिमतां दाना च सत्कर्मणां(णाम्) ॥ पायाद्वो' वमुमिद्विक्रान्तुस्त्रैलोक्यदीपो
हरिः ॥ [२*] वमिष्ठकोपाज्जनितः कुमारः प्रमारतावाय य-¹
- 3 - U - U ॥ U - U - - U U तोस्य भूम्यां महाबला यत्वं नृपा वभूवः ॥ [३*] अस्यान्वये 'ह्युत्पलराजनामा आरण्यराजोपि
ततो वभूव ॥ तस्माद्(द्व)भूवाद्भुतकृष्णराजो विख्यातकीर्तिः किल वासु-³
- 4 - - [॥४*] U - U - - U U - U - U ; श्रीमान्यथोर्वी[] धृतवान्वराहः⁴ ॥ पुत्रोपि तस्मान्महिपालनामा तस्माद्भूद्धुक⁵
एव भूपः ॥ [५*] अस्यापि कीर्तिः मुरराजलोके प्रगीयते वै मुरकिनरीभिः ॥ वीणानिविष्ट⁶ करजांगुली-
- 5 U, U - U - - U[रलं]कृताभिः ॥ [६*] येनाहता सौ(शौ)र्यवलेन लक्ष्मी[र्]विख्याप्य नाम⁷ परसैन्यमध्ये ॥ अस्यापि
भार्यामृतदेविनाम्नी⁸ रूपेण सी(शी)लेन शुभेन युक्ता ॥ [७*] उत्पन्नमस्यामुवि⁹ पूर्णपालः पूर्णमिमां पालय-
- 6 - U - - ॥ U - U - [रोपि] विजित्य शत्रू¹⁰ शशाम भूमंडलमर्द्धदम्य ॥ [८*] कनककर्णिकभूषितगंडया [स्व]¹¹कुचदेशनिवेशित-
वीणया ॥ विवुधराजकुलेमरकन्यया सदसि यम्य यशः परिगीयते ॥ (९*) हत्वा येन¹² रणे रिपून्सुबहूशः,
- 7 - - U - - U[के] ॥ विक्रान्ता मद[शा]लिनो वरगजा नद्धाः स्वके मंदिरे ॥ पूर्णपाल¹³कुलप्रदीपनपतौ सौ(शौ)र्यव्रते
धार्मिके ॥ अत्र श्रीपरमारवंशतिलके राज्यं स्थिरं शासति ॥ [१०*] अस्यानुजा लाहिणिनाम-¹⁴
- 8 - -, U - [य]था तामरसैर्विहीना ॥ ऊढापि या विग्रहभूभुजेन¹⁵ सत्या यथा पूर्वमधोक्षजेन ॥ [११*]
अस्यान्वयोपि ॥¹⁶ ॥ आसीद्वि(द्वि)जार्तिद्विदितो धरण्यां ख्यातप्रतापो रिपुचक्रमर्दो ॥ योतः¹⁷ स्वसौ(शौ)
र्याज्जितभूपशब्दः क्षोणीश्वरः
- 9 - U (नृ)पप्रधानः ॥ [१२*] तदन्वये ख्यातमतिनृपोभूत्कुलप्रदीपो भवगुप्तनामा ॥ उद्धृत्य वेश्म¹⁸ वटवासिभानोर्वदेषु
राज्यं कृतवान्स वीरः ॥ [१३*] अस्यान्वये सगमराजनामा वंशारठे¹⁹ यो वदरीं शशास ॥ [त]स्माद्भूद्भुल्लभराज-
भूपश्चोपि²⁰ तस्मा-

¹ That is, from whom the Pramāra (Paramāra) family took its origin. The word प्रमारता seems to have been formed on the analogy of वन्धुता, जनता, etc., as Kielhorn observed. Moreover the last two aksharas in the line are alike and their reading is uncertain. The intended reading is perhaps प्रमारतामाप.

² Note the use of ह्रि here. The last letter of the pāda is not combined with the following for metrical exigencies. Also note the separate sign for व in this line.

³ J. A. S. B. has वामुदेवः, but Kielhorn suspects that the original has वामुधायः (wrongly for वमुधायः).

⁴ J. A. S. B. has तस्यात्मजो भूवल्यप्रतिष्ठः श्रीनाथघोषी धृतवान्वराण्यः (for वरेण्यः). But for the form of थ, see तथा in l. 1; and the last letter is more like a ह than ण्य. The first foot of this verse which is completely lost is restored by D. R. Bhandarkar as वभूव तस्माद्भरणीवराहः. See Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 239.

⁵ Here the name might be read वंधुक, but the Bhārūṇḍa inscription of the same king has धंधुक quite clearly. The preceding word महीपाल is changed to महिपाल for the sake of metre; and the प of भूप, that follows is engraved as य.

⁶ The reading is clear but offends against the metre. Kielhorn observed that perhaps we should read वीणानिविष्टा where, as in the case of the first ā of पूर्णपाल in l. 7, the final ā would have been wrongly lengthened; but it is also possible that the composer may have put ष्टः, not knowing that the word अंगुलि is feminine. The preceding वै can be removed by reading निर्जरकिन्नरीभिः which gives the same sense.

⁷ Read नाम, which, however, would not suit the metre. This wrong form is clear in the original, and as required by the metre. J. A. S. B. has भारं.

⁸ J. A. S. B. has धृतदेवि. The first of these letters has come out only as a dot. देवी is changed to देवि for metrical exigencies.

⁹ The reading is certain, to be corrected to उत्पन्न-. The J. A. S. B., instead of it, has तस्मादमृप्यां भुवि. This Pāda may also be restored as उत्पादयामास म पूर्णपालम्.

¹⁰ Read शत्रून्. J. A. S. B. has राष्ट्रम्. The gap at the beginning of the line may be filled in as ति स्म भूमिम् दृढप्रहारोपि-.

¹¹ As also in J. A. S. B. Kielhorn read ककुच which, however, would give no meaning. For the preceding pāda, J. A. S. B. has करपदे मणिभूषितवीणया.

¹² The aksharas न रणे are engraved below the line.

¹³ The mātṛā of the second akshara is lengthened for the sake of metre. The name compounded with the following word is also defective. J. A. S. B. has पूर्णाः पालकुलप्रदीप इव या.

¹⁴ The sandhi is violated here for metrical exigencies. The medial ī of णी in लाहिणी is shortened for the same reason, as in l. 11 also, and again in l. 17. The gap in l. 8 may be filled in by reading -धेयाहंसी यथा (तामरसाद्विहीना).

¹⁵ For भूभुजा for the sake of the metre.

¹⁶ Between the dandas an ornamental pattern is engraved, but it is indistinct.

¹⁷ Kielhorn read यो यः, and the J. A. S. B. has यो दुःस्वशौर्याज्जितभूयशम्यः काशीश्वरः.

¹⁸ As clear in the original (for वेश्म), and as required by the metre. The last two aksharas in the beginning of the line may have been ख्यात or मर्व.

¹⁹ The reading is certain. J. A. S. B. has वल्लभराजभूपश्चरोपि.

²⁰ J. A. S. B. has वन्द्यो नरैर्यो, but the reading as given here is quite certain. The following वरराज suggests it to be a name but the construction would not allow us to take it as such.

[illegible]

- 10 द्वरराजपुत्रः ॥[१४*] बभूव तस्माद् गुणिनां प्रधानो नृपोत्तमो विग्रहराजनामा ॥ प्रदानसौ(शौ)यादिगुणैरुदारैर्यसो(शो)
ययौ यस्य विजित्य लोकात् ॥[१५*] द्विजि[ह्व]रिपुवाहनो ललनकान्तरामान्वितः ॥ कुलोच्चयकृतोवतिविवृतचारुलक्ष्मी-
- 11 वुः ॥ स्वपौत्रपुत्रावनिर्बलनिविष्टचक्रो महान् ॥ बभूव नृवरोत्तमः स नररूपवृद्ध माधवः ॥[१६*] प्रोत्कुलमिनकमलमुखीं
करतलमुकुमारपंकजनिभा[ह्री]म् ॥ श्रियमिव कुलजां राजी लाहिणिमृद-
- 12 वांसः(वान् मः)² ॥[१७*] भार्या स चावाप्य गुणैः समेतां चित्तेप्सिताम्बै(तां वै) वुभुजे च भोगं(गम्) ॥ सापि
प्रियं प्राप्य पतिन्तु रेमे यद्वच्छचीन्द्रेण समं वरेण ॥[१८*] अस्मिन्मृते भर्तरि दैवयोगाद् भ्रातुर्गृहं सापि गता
वियुक्ता ॥ आवामिता वै नगरे वटेस्मिन्दैवात्प्र-
- 13 ह्रीणे वट्टणः क्रमेण ॥[१९*] नगरान्वयोपि³ ॥ तप्तं तपं(पो) वारुणिनापि यत्र न्यग्रो(धसक्ता)श्रममापवस्य⁴ ॥ स्थानेर्वर्कभर्गो
स्वमते(ते)⁵ वमिष्ठो मुक्तिप्रदौ स्थापितवान्वरिष्ठः ॥[२०*] तद्वट्टाख्यं नगरं वनेस्मिन् त्वष्टुः प्रसादात्कृतवां-⁶
- 14 न्वमिष्ठः ॥ प्राकारवप्रोपवनैस्तडागैः प्रासादवेश्मैः⁷ सुधनं मुतुर्गैः ॥ [२१*] श्रुतिमन्त्रोदमक्षोभ्यं षडंगवर्त्तसंकुलं(लम्) ॥ वेदार्णवं
द्विजाः सम्यग्यत्र तीर्त्वाप्यगर्विताः ॥ [२२*] लोकैर्द्धर्मपरैः स्व(क)र्मनिरतैः मद्भिः सदा वामितम् ॥
- 15 वृत्य(त्य)र्थं च समागतैः⁸ प्रतिदिशं नित्यं वणिग्भिवृतम् ॥ [पौ]रालैः पणिका⁹जनैर्व्यसनिकैः सू(ञ्)रैर्ज्जनैः संकुलम् ॥¹⁰
इन्द्रस्थानमिवापरं वटपुरं क्षोणीतले संस्थितम् ॥[२३*] स्वरुद्गता यत्र सरित्सरस्वती स्वपानपंक्तीव¹¹ नृणां
- 16 निमज्जताम् ॥ सुपुण्यपुष्पोदकफेनवाहिनी द्विजाश्रमाणां जननी[व]धिष्ठिता¹² ॥[२४*] ये सर्वं पालयन्ते नगरहितरताः(ता) नीतिमंतः
प्रशांताः देवान्प्रान्यजन्ते कनकधनमहीवस्वरत्नादिदानैः ॥ ख्यातैर्येषां च नित्यं वृ(त्रि)भुवन-
- 17 वनये सद्गुणैरेव नीता¹³ ॥ तेस्मिन्पौराः समस्ताः सकलजनहिता भानवे भक्तिमंतः ॥[२५*] साक्षागता लाहिणिनामराज्ञी भर्तुर्वि-
योगाधिनिपीडितांगी ॥ अस्मिन्पुरे विप्रजनैः समेत्य तृप्ता [च ते]षां वचनात्प्रबुद्धा ॥[२६*] [भा]-
- 18 नोर्गृहं दैववशाद्विभग्नं बासिष्ठपौरैः सुकृतं यदासीत् ॥ विनाशि सर्वं सह जीवितेन ज्ञात्वा गृहं कारितमाशु भानोः¹⁴ ॥[२७*]
¹⁵मुष्मिष्ठसंधि रुचिरं सुपादं शैलेष्टकं च स्थिरसि(ह)कर्ण(णम्) ॥ यद्वद्विमाद्विशिखरैश्च तद्वत्कृत्वा
- 19 निकेतं वटवासिभानोः ॥[२८*] लोकप्रपैषा सुकृता च वापी मुष्मिष्ठसंधी घटितोत्पला¹⁶ च ॥ सोपानपंक्त्या
मुशुभे(भा) मुबद्धा निखे(श्रे)णिभूतेव दिवौकसस्य ॥[२९*] देवैः समस्तैरिषिभिश्च¹⁷ जुष्टा पापापहा व्याप्य
जगत्स्थिता या ॥ जीर्णो-

¹ The latter half of this verse involves a grammatical error, as यज्ञः goes with ययौ whereas विजित्य with the king. In the following verse the *bahuvrīhi* compound requires लक्ष्मीकं.

² This is apparently intended for an *Āryā* verse, but it is quite incorrect. *J. A. S. B.* omits the whole of it. We may recast it as

प्रोत्कुलाम्बुजवदनां किमलयमालानुकारिणीमेनाम् ।
श्रियमिव कुलजां राजी लाहिणिनाम्नीमुद्वदनेषः ॥

³ Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse. *J. A. S. B.* has वमिष्ठराजोपि अत्रासीदतो यं वमिष्ठराजान्वयोपि (जातमात्रेण वारुणिनापि) अत्र न्यग्रोधस्याश्रमः. The inscription has 4 or 5 letters after पि; they are all effaced.

⁴ The intended reading may be माधवस्य; but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend may have been referred to here.

⁵ Kielhorn : read स्वमती, or स्वमतौ, i.e., respected by him.

⁶ The *anusvāra* is redundant; it is certain and not a fault of the stone.

⁷ Wrong for वेष्मभिः, which would not have suited the metre.

⁸ The स has been engraved below the line.

⁹ The reading is certain but it is incorrect, possibly, for गणिना, as suggested in *J. A. S. B.*

¹⁰ For the sake of the metre. म् cannot be combined with the following vowel. Note that this verse, like some others, has the consonant म् and not an *anusvāra*.

¹¹ Wrong for सोपान-पंक्तिरिव which would not have suited the metre. स्वरुद्गता=arising in the heaven. Probably the first word of this verse is intended for मुद्गता in the sense of 'helpful as a friend', though it is a wrong construction.

¹² Kielhorn restored it as निष्ठिता, but I suspect that it may have been intended and the first letter dropped for the sake of the metre. Kielhorn also read जननेव, as the stroke of the *mātrā* for ī is not brought below. But it is throughout common in this inscription, as we have remarked while dealing with its palaeographic peculiarities. Cf. नीता in the following line.

¹³ The adjunct of this word is missing.

¹⁴ The word भानोर्गृहं has been repeated in this verse when a pronoun could have been used.

¹⁵ This verse has a number of technical terms relating to architecture. Possibly शैलेष्टकं is the correct form.

¹⁶ Read -मन्धिर्घटितोत्पला (घटितोत्पल=a dressed stone).

¹⁷ Grammar requires स्तै ऋ-. Kielhorn has स्तैर्ऋ. He also takes जगत्स्थिता a compound word, whereas the first of these words may be taken as an object of the second.

- 20 धृ(द्ध)ता लाहिणिपुण्यहेतोः सारम्बती सैषजनस्य वापी ॥[३०*] निष्पाद्य मुकुतौ कृत्य[१*]¹ अर्थ दत्त्वा पुनः पुनः ॥ वैनाशिकमिदं चान्यज्ज्ञात्वा लोकस्य च(चा)प्पितौ ॥[३१*] यावद् गौल्लोकध[१*]त्री प्रवहति मरुतो² यावदकोन्तरिक्षे ॥ यावद्वीच्यः स-
- 21 मुद्रे पवनविधुनिताः संतताः प्रोच्छलन्ति ॥ यावद्वयोमे³ सुशीघ्रं प्रवहति मिहिरस्यंदनस्यैकचक्रं ॥ वाप्योक्तौ तावदास्तामुडु⁴करसदृशौ श्रेयसे कारकस्य ॥⁵ [३२*] कृतेयं हरिपुत्रेण मातृशर्मद्विजन्मना ॥ शस्तिर्लोकहिता-
- 22 थयि लाहिन्याश्च⁶ हितैषिणा ॥[३३*] आसीच्च नागात्थपतेस्तु दुर्गः ॥ दुर्गविकृतो देउकसूतधारः ॥ अस्यापि सूनुः शिवपालनामा ॥ येनोक्ततेय⁷ मुशुभा प्रशमिः ॥[३४*]⁸ नवनवतिरिहासीद्विक्रमादित्यकाले ॥ जगति
- 23 दशशतानामग्रतो यत्र पूर्णा [१*] प्रभवति नभमामे म्यानके चित्रभानोः ॥ मृगशिरमि शशांके कृष्णपक्षे नवम्यां(म्याम्) ॥[३५*] ॥⁹

No. 63 : PLATE LXVI

BHĀDŪṆḌ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PŪRNAPĀLA

[Vikrama] Year 1102

THE stone on which this record is incised is built in the inner wall of an old stepped well at the tiny hamlet of the name of **Bhādūṇḍ**, also spelt as Bhārūṇḍ, in the Bālī *tehsil* of the District of Pālī in Rājasthān.¹⁰ The inscription was briefly noticed in the *Progress Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending March, 1908, p. 7 (No. 2351) and 50 ; and subsequently it was edited in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume XXIII (1914), pages 75 ff., by Rāmakarṇa, with his own reading of the text, in Nāgarī, on pp. 78-80, but without an illustration. The inscription is edited here from personal examination and fresh estampages supplied to me, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle, Baroda.

The inscription, which is on an oblong slab, consists of fifteen lines of writing, covering a space about 100 cms. broad by 31 cms. high. The stone has vertically broken into two parts of unequal size : and the part of it on the left has slightly swerved from its original position, with the result that the lines of the record do not now run straight as they originally did. This break must have taken place before 1914, when Rāmakarṇa published his article in that year, as he refers to it. But after he wrote, the stone has again suffered severely, in consequence of some peelings on its surface, which are more on the left side, losing a large portion of the writing, so much so that in some three or four instances I had to restore my reading of the text from Rāmakarṇa's transcript.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī **characters** of the eleventh century. The initial *a* begins with an almost vertical stroke joined to the top-stroke, and occasionally the curve below is not engraved, making it appear as the Nāgarī *ma*, e.g., in *achala*, l. 9, which was actually read

¹ *Sandhi* is not made between कृत्यौ and अर्थ for the sake of the metre. The reading of द्य is doubtful. Both these words are in neuter gender, but they are put here in the masculine.

² There is no doubt about the reading. Kielhorn read : [प]रु(पर)तो.

³ Wrong for व्योम्नि or व्योमनि for the metre. यावद् व्योम्नि म्यदेन would give the same sense and also suit the metre.

⁴ Wrong for आमानाम्. The reading एतां म्येष्टां भवेनाम् would remove the error.

⁵ After the punctuation marks, is engraved a figure resembling conch-shell.

⁶ The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) *n*.

⁷ Wrong for उक्तीर्णा

⁸ An ornamental pattern appears here.

⁹ The figure of a conch-shell appears at the end. Delete the *daṇḍas* after the third foot.

¹⁰ Bhādūṇḍ, which is now known as Bhandāra, is situated about 2 kilometres north of Nāpā, which is a station on the Ajmer-Ahmedabad line of the Western Railway. Formerly it was in the Sirōhī State but now it is included in the district of Pālī, as mentioned here. It is a corrupt form of Bhuṇḍipadra, as to be seen below, while identifying the places mentioned in it. In my visit to the place I found the inscribed slab imbedded in the middle of the left-side wall of the stepped well there.

machala by Pt. Rāmakarṇa. The letter *kh* is formed of two verticals, each ending in a loop and suspended by a horizontal stroke, as in *sukha*, l. 2. *Ch*, *dh* and *v* have almost the same form, with the only distinction that *dh* is devoid of its top-stroke; and the verticals of *dhā* are joined by a horizontal stroke; cf. *Mādhava*, *dharmmē* and *achala*, all in l. 9 and *samvōdhā* in l. 2. The rare *ñ* which appears only once in its subscript form in *vijñāpayanti*, l. 13, resembles the subscript form of the lingual *ṇ* which is laid flat, as in *Pūrṇapāla*, l. 3. *T* resembles a curve suspended from a vertical stroke; e.g., in *tatra*, l. 4, and *th* is engraved as *v*, with its top-stroke serpentine; cf. *prathama*, l. 4. *R* is in a transitional stage, sometimes appearing as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its left as in *Rāmāya*, l. 1, but in some other instances it shows an advanced form with a curvature, as in *samvatsara*, l. 2. Occasionally when a subscript, it appears in its full form with the preceding letter half drawn, cf. *prasūta*, l. 4. The dental sibilant which too is in a transitional stage, shows its old form as in *samasta*, ll. 2 and 13, and its advanced form devoid of the tail of the left limb, e.g., in *māsa*, l. 2. The *mātrās* are often ornamentally treated.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, which is often corrupt and incorrect, occasionally using local words; and the composition is in prose, excepting three verses in the beginning and five in ll. 10-12, which are all in the *anushtubh* metre, and full of grammatical and other inaccuracies which will be pointed out in the text below.

The **orthographical** peculiarities of the record are almost the same as to be found in the contemporary inscriptions, for example: (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* also, cf. *Aṁvāditya*, l. 12; (2) the reduplication of a consonant following and occasionally preceding *r*, e.g., in *durgga*, l. 4, and *gōttra*, l. 12; (3) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *Kāsyapa*, l. 12; (4) putting the *mātrās* for medial diphthongs generally above the line; (5) unnecessary insertions of the sign for *visarga*, as in *vāpīh*, l. 4 and *vāpih*, ll. 12 and 14, and of the punctuation marks,¹ (6) the wrong spellings of words, like *atru* (for *Atri*) l. 4, *rishi*, l. 7 and *kshatruya*, l. 9; (7) influence of local elements e.g. in *jasō* for *yaśō* and *vṛiddhaē* for *vṛiddhayē*, both in l. 4, *aṁśu* for *aṁśa* and *vīmśa* for *vimśa* in ll. 4 and below. It is interesting to note that the word *sajjana* in l. 4 is written with a single *j*, with the figure of 2 below it, to indicate that the *akshara* is *jj*, a feature which I have not so far found elsewhere. Rules of *sandhi* are often violated, sometimes even when necessary.

The **subject** of the inscription is to record the construction of a stepped well (evidently the one in which the stone was found), by certain Brāhmaṇas, including one Kshatriya. The **date** of the record, as mentioned both in numerical figures and words, in l. 2, is the **fifth of the dark half of Kārttika of the year 1102**, which is evidently to be referred to the Vikrama era, and the year, if Chaitrādi expired, would correspond to the Christian year 1045.²

The inscription opens with the word *svasti*; and then we have two verses, the first of which pays homage to Nārāyaṇa, Varuṇa, Sarasvatī, Gaṇēśa, *gau* (cow) and the Brāhmaṇas. The second verse adores Rāmachandra, described as born in the family of Raghu and the destroyer of the Rākshasas and who is also mentioned here as the donor of the village of Bhūṇḍipadra, i.e., Bhāḍuṇḍa (to the Brāhmaṇas). That the cow and the Brāhmaṇas are mentioned here as venerable as gods is worth noting; and it is possible that the mention of Varuṇa may be due to his being the lord of waters and the name of Nārāyaṇa is included probably as he is known to enjoy his rest in the ocean. Verse 3 speaks about writing the *praśati*³ and specifies the names of the *gōshthikas*, i.e., the members of a society. Then follows a passage in prose mentioning the date and the purpose of the record, as seen above, along with some other details which are historically important. It tells us that the well was constructed during the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Pūrṇapāla**, the son of the illustrious Dhandhuka of the **Pramāra** (Paramāra) lineage, by certain Brāhmaṇas, perceiving the vanity of life (ll. 3-4). Thereafter are

¹ See n. on the first line in the text below.

² The date, for the Chaitrādi V. Year, would correspond to Sunday, 14th October (pūrṇimānta), and Monday, 12th November (amānta) falling in 1044 A.C.; and for the expired Chaitrādi, to Thursday, 3rd October (pūrṇimānta), and Saturday, 2nd November, respectively, both of 1045 A.C. For the expired Kārttikādi, it would correspond to 23rd September and 22nd October, 1046, respectively for the pūrṇimānta and amānta month. But it cannot be verified.

³ The word *praśasti* means a 'laudatory account'; but what we find here is only a list of names of the Brāhmaṇas who constructed the well.

enumerated the names of the contributors, along with those of their fathers and their *gōtras*, with the specifications of the shares of their donations for the work, both in numerical figures and words (as per table in the end). It may be noted here that in four instances (Nos. 1-2, 5-6, 13-14 and 16-17) we have two brothers in each case, and the name of one of the donees is mentioned with those of his (more than one) sons (ll. 5-9). Lines 10-12 give four verses (4-7) extolling this work of public utility and also showing some admonitions.

Verses 8-9 tell us that the record was composed by Amv(b)āditya Vyāsa, the son of the Upādhyāya Mādhava of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, through the grace of Sarasvatī.¹ Line 14 records that the well was placed at the disposal of (made over to) the public and that nobody should worry about any break happening in it, as it was constructed with dressed stones. And here the inscription closes, with the mention of the names of four persons who engraved it (also possibly excavated the well). These names are Dhārēśvara, Dēūa, Dēvaū and Lahaṁpa.

Pūrṇapāla, during whose reign the well is stated to have been constructed, is spoken of here as holding his sway over the Arbuda-*maṇḍala*, i.e., the territory round about Ābū, as he is also mentioned in the Vasantagaḍh inscription which is edited here just above. In that record too he is stated to have been the son of Dhandhuka. The findspots of both these inscriptions are in the same locality and quite close to Ābū; and therefore we may safely conclude that Pūrṇapāla mentioned in both these records is one and the same ruler. But the years mentioned in both of them are very close to each other, that of the Vasantagaḍh inscription being (V.) S. 1099 and that of the present inscription being (V.) S. 1102, indicating a difference of only about three years. Thus the records are not helpful for determining the period of the reign of the king; and it may also be observed that there is no other evidence to throw light on the problem. But there is a clue to help us here. From an inscription at Ābū, dated in 1031 A.C., we know that Pūrṇapāla's father Dhandhuka was deprived of his kingdom by the Chaulukya Bhīma some time before that year and that he was helped by his overlord Bhōjadēva in regaining his throne.² In view of this evidence Pūrṇapāla appears to have been old enough by the time of the present inscription, and if so, he may be taken to have closed his reign not long before 1064 A.C., about one hundred years before the earliest known date of his fourth lineal descendent Dhāravarsha.³ Thus, taking Dhandhuka's reign period ending some time about 1040 A.C., it may be suggested that Pūrṇapāla may have occupied the throne from c. 1040 to 1060 A.C. But this view is not final, as it is not corroborated by any evidence.

The present inscription calls Pūrṇapāla a *Mahārājādhirāja*. This epithet leads us to assume that he was ruling over the Arbuda territory of Gujarāt, as an Imperial ruler, or, possibly, that Bhōjadēva, who was constantly being employed in his protracted warfare with the Chaulukyas, may have given him an opportunity to throw off the Imperial yoke and declare independence. His position, however, was a very pitiable one; for during the days of the protracted warfare between the Paramāras of Mālwa and the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, whatever course he might adopt he was sure to offend one of his two powerful neighbours. Whether in his last days he was compelled to change his allegiance to the Chaulukya king is not known. But here we have also to bear in mind that the record endowing him with the Imperial title is, after all, sectarian and not a royal document.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are **Bhūṇḍipadra** (ll. 1 and 3) and **Arbuda** (l. 3). The first of these is Bhāḍūṇḍ, as seen above, and the second is the Mount Ābū, after which the region under the sway of this feudatory house of the Paramāra rulers was known as Arbuda-*maṇḍala*.

¹ It is interesting to note that in the vicinity of the well there is a temple dedicated to Sarasvatī.

² See the preceding inscription. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 148.

³ No. 67, below.

List of donors mentioned in lines 4-9:

No.	Name of donor	gōtra	father's name	share
1	Sōḍhaka	Ātrēya	Durgasvāmin	10
2	peeled off ¹	"	"	peeled off
3	Padmanābha	peeled off	peeled off	20
4	Madhusūdana	Ātrēya	Rudrasvāmin	20
5	Pradyumna	"	Madhusūdana	40
6	peeled off ²	"	"	20
7	" "	peeled off	peeled off	peeled off
8	Dāmōdara	Kāśyapa	Rishi	30
9	Sarvadēva ³	Ātrēya	Sādhāraṇa	20
10	peeled off	Śāṇḍilya	peeled off	peeled off
11	Rishi	peeled off	" "	20
12	Śrīdēva ⁴	Śāṇḍilya	Durgāṭa	20
13	Gōvinda	"	Sarvadēva	20
14	peeled off ⁵	"	["]	peeled off
15	[Dā]ūa	peeled off	Saṅgarudra	40
16	Uddharaṇa	" "	Dāūa	40
17	Mādhava ⁶	" "	"	40
18	Sarvadēva	Ātrēya	Mahasvāmin	peeled off
19	peeled off	peeled off	peeled off	" "
20	Vihia	peeled off	Dharma	2
21	Śivānanda	" "	Vihia ⁷	4
22	Sarvadēva ⁸	" "	Mādhava	30

TEXT⁹

[Metre: Verses 1-7 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 स्वस्ति । ओं¹⁰ नमः श्रीनारायणाय (1) [नमः श्री]वरुणा[य च । स]रस्वत्यै गणेशाय (1) नमो गोब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय च [11*] रघुवंशप्रसूतस्तु यातुधानांतक[ः] प्रभुः । भृङ्गिपद्रप्रदातारं (1)¹¹ तस्मै रामाय वै न[मः॥] [२*] U U रथस्फुटैर्णामैः¹² गोष्ठिकानां महात्मनां(नाम्) ।
- 2 सर्वस्य सुखसंको(बो)धा (1) प्रश[स्ति]लिख्य[ते] U - ¹³ ॥ [३*] संवत्सरशतेषु दशसु दुरोत्तरशताधिकेषु¹⁴ । अंकतोपि संवत्से(त्सरे) ११०२ कार्तिक वदि पंचम्यां ५ अस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदिवसपूर्वायां तिथौ (१)(1) समस्तवृ(बृ)हद्राजावलीपूर्वं (1) महारा[जो*]धि¹⁵राजः (1) प्र(पर)-

¹ Brother of No. 1.

² Brother of No. 5.

³ His son Durgāditya is also mentioned.

⁴ According to *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, he is Śrīdhara.

⁵ He is brother of No. 13.

⁶ He is brother of No. 16.

⁷ Probably the same as No. 20.

⁸ Of all the donors he alone is a kshatriya and all the other are Brāhmanas. His sons are also mentioned, of whom only one, Sajjana, is named in the record.

⁹ From impressions.

¹⁰ Denoted by the Nāgarī letter *u*, with *anusvāra* above.

¹¹ In the whole of this inscription the punctuation mark is very often used, sometimes even at the end of the first and the third foot of a verse and also to separate names. All these marks, when redundant, are here put in brackets, only to lessen the number of foot-notes and corrections. Here read प्रदाताय (or प्रदात्ते च) तस्मै. The first foot of this verse offends against the metre, as in some other instances also. The sign of *visarga* that precedes it is smaller and appears to have been inserted subsequently.

¹² Read - टैनमभिः. The first two letters which are now lost may have been मव्वं-. The *visarga* is not changed to *r* here.

¹³ Read प्रशस्ति- . The last two *aksharas* of this verse may have been मया or -ऽधुना.

¹⁴ Read द्व्युत्तर-.

¹⁵ Some other letter appears to have been originally engraved here.

- 3 मारान्वयप्रसूतः श्रीधंधुकसुतः (1) न्विसित(?) (1) न णा रातिवर्गः¹ (1) श्रीपूर्णपालः श्रीम[द*]र्वु(र्वु)दमंडलं प्रशासति² ह्येतस्मिन् काले प्रवर्तमाने (1) श्रीभु(भु)डिपद्रस्थाने (1) कतिपयव्रा(व्रा)ह्मणः³ असार(रं) संसारं बुध्वा(बुद्ध्वा) ॥
- 4 आत्मश्रेय[ज]शोपवृद्धए⁴। सुश्लिष्ट .. घटि[ता] या (1) साधुसज्जनहृदयानंदकरी (1) श्रीमंत⁵ शोभना वापीः(पी) कारापिताः(ता)। तत्र वाप्यां प्रथमः गोष्ठिकः⁶ अतृ(त्रि)गोत्र(1)प्रसूतः सोढकः दुर्गस्वामिसुतः (1) दशांसि(शि)कः [1*] अंशु(शाः) १०[11*]
- 5 तथा तस्यैव दुर्गस्वामि[नः*] सुतः (1) आत्रेयः वनु पद्मनाभाः (1) अंशु(शाः) २० [11*] तथात्रेयः मधुसूदन रुद्रशर्म्मसुतः (1) वीं(वि)शांसि(शि)कः अं⁷ २०[11*] तस्यैव मधुसूदन[स्य*] सुतः[*] प्रद्युम्नः (1) चत्वारिं(रि)शांसि(शि)कः। अं ४० [11*]तस्यैव [म]धुसूदन[स्य*]
- 6 [सुतः] वीं(वि)शांसि(शि)कः। [अं २०] [11*] [काश्य]परि(ऋ)षिसुतः⁸ दामौ(मो)दर[ः*] तृं(त्रि)शांसि(शि)क [ः1*] अंशु(शाः)३०[11*] तथात्रेयसाधारणसुतः सर्वदेवः दुर्गादित्यः सुतसमेतस्य⁹ सर्वदेवस्य वाप्यां भागः वींशतिमः(विंशतितमः) [1*] अंकतोपि २० [11*] तथा [शांडि]-
- 7 [ल्य]गोत्रप्रसूतः सुत (1) रि(ऋ)षिः वीं(वि)शांसि(शि)कः [1*] अं २०[11*] तथा तस्यैव दुर्गट[स्य*] सुतः शांडिल्यगोत्रोत्पन्नः(न्नः) श्रीदेवः¹⁰ (1) वीं(वि)शांसि(शि)कः [1*] अं २० [11*] तथा शांडिल्यगोत्र(त्रीयः) गोवीं(वि)दः सर्वदेवसुतः वीं(वि)शांसि(शि)कः [1*] अं २० [11*] तथा तस्यैव¹¹
- 8 देव[स्य]सुतः[*] (1) त्या(?) [दा]¹²उअ[ः*] संगरुद्रसुतः चत्वारिं(रि)शांसि(शि)कः [1*] अंकतो(तः) ४०[11*] तस्यैव दाउअ[स्य*] सुत उद्धरण[ः*] (1) अंशु(शाः) ४० [11*] तथा तस्यैव दाउअ[स्य*] सुतः माधवः अंशु(शाः) ४०[11*] तथात्रेयमह¹³स्वामिसुतः (1) सर्वदेव[ः*] (1)
- 9 दामो[दरः] (क)र्मरतः¹⁴ विहिअसुतः वाप्यां द्वयंशांसि(शि)कः [11*] तस्यैव विहिअ[स्य*] सुतः[*] सि(शि)वानं[द] तु मध्ये चतुर्थांसि(शि)कः। अं ४ [11*] तथा सर्वदेव[ः*] (1) अतृ(त्रि)यमाधवसुतः सज्जनादिसुतै[ः*] सह¹⁵ धर्म्मो अचलवु(बु)द्धिः¹⁶ अंशु(शाः)
- 10 ... म यांतु शुभा(भां) गतीं(गतिम्) [11४*] व। तिष्ठति [सस्यरहिता] मासं मासाद्धमेव च।(1) अहोरात्रं न तिष्ठति या[वत्सलिलवज्जिताः*] ॥५* अन्यजन्मेषु(न्मसु) ये पाशी माहे - U श्यपी तथा¹⁷ ।(1) द्वरं ।
- 11 कभूताव प्ताः मर्व्वे [चंड] सी [11६*] यस्य कू[पे?] तु वितृष्णैः (1) षट्कर्मो रोहिणी वु(उ)भौ।(1) [स मप्त]कुलजैः सार्द्धं (1) सुनासीर (1) पुरं व्रजेत् ॥७* दूषयति
- 12 चचद (?) रहिता तस्माद्वाप अत्र स्थाने रियं¹⁸ वापिः(पी) [मुप्र]तिष्ठा (1) श्रियान्विता। मरस्वति(ती)प्रमादेन अवा(बा)दित्येन शोभनाः(ना) ॥१८* तथा लिखितमिदं मया कास्य(श्य)पगोत्रप्रसू[त]-

¹ The intended reading may have been दलितारातिवर्गः

² Read प्रशासति. With प्रशामति the following expression is redundant.

³ This *visarga* is changed to *r* in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, but *sandhi* is optional here. The *danḍas* in the 1. are redundant.

⁴ Read श्रेयोयशोवृद्धये. The following two letters which are missing may have been सन्धि.

⁵ Read श्रीमती. The *danḍa* after ताः appears to have been scored off.

⁶ *Gōshṭhika* means a member of the managing Committee. See *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 21, n. 3.

⁷ This is a contraction of अंश. What appears as the sign of *anusvāra* above द्र is a fault of the stone.

⁸ Read काश्यपि. From सुतः up to this letter the text is restored from *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, as this part of the stone is now broken and lost.

⁹ Perhaps we have to read दुर्गादित्यसुतसमेतस्य. The construction is not clear.

¹⁰ *J.B.B.R.A.S.* has श्रीधरः, but I am certain about my reading of the name.

¹¹ The *akshara* is now lost and has been restored from the reading in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*

¹² This and the preceding letter are now lost. They are restored from the reading in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*

¹³ The second letter of the name may also be read as दृ.

¹⁴ *J.B.B.R.A.S.* has [ध]र्मरतः, but to me the intended reading seems to be [षट्क]र्मरतः.

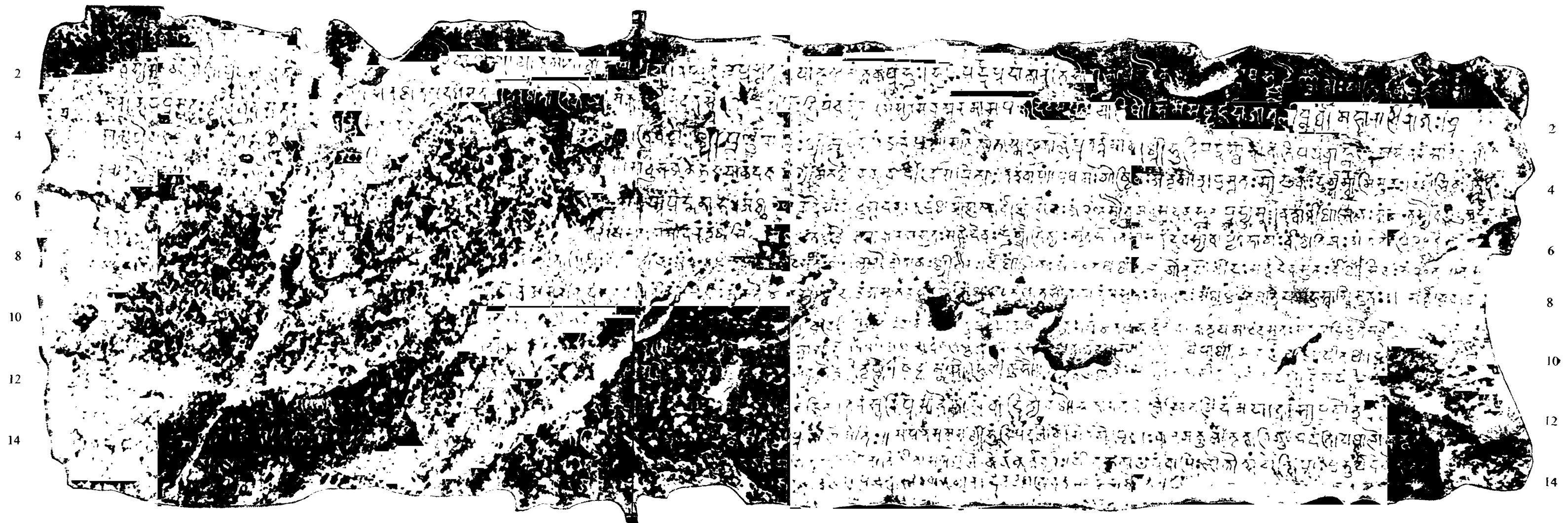
¹⁵ The *akshara* ह is engraved below the line.

¹⁶ *J.B.B.R.A.S.* has -र्मलवुद्धिः, which is evidently wrong.

¹⁷ Read जन्मसु. Here the sense is not clear.

¹⁸ Read द्यं, but it would not suit in the metre after the *sandhi*. From the beginning of this line up to छा the portion of the stone is lost and the reading is restored from *J.B.B.R.A.S.*

BHĀDŪND STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PŪRNAPĀLA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1102



Scale: Two-fifths

- 13 उपाध्यायमाधवसुतेन (1) अवा(वा)दित्यव्या[सेन।] मया लिखितं तत्सर्वमार्यैः क्षमितव्यः¹ प्रमाणमितिः(ति) ॥
अपरं समस्तश्रीभुंडिपद्रलोकं (1) सर्वे गोष्ठिकाः करमकुली(मुकुलं) कृत्वा विज्ञापयन्ति। यथा लोककृते[-]-
- 14 लोकमाहात्म(त्म्य)वर्द्धिता गोष्ठिका येन दैवदह² (दैवात् भ)ग्नः खसि(चि?)तपाषाणे ताति चीता(चिन्ता)
समस्तलोकैर्न कर्त्तव्याः(व्या)³ कीं(किं) व(ब)हुना [1*] इयं वापिः(पी) लोकोत्सर्गे क्षिप्ताः(प्ता) [1*]
प्रभुयंदेवेछ(च्छ)ति त
- 15 । अत्र सूत्रधारापि(रा अपि) चत्वारिः(रः) धारेश्वर(रः) । देउअ(अः) । देवउ(उः) ।
लहंप[श्चे]ति ॥

No. 64 ; PLATE LXVII

AJHĀRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF YAŚŌDHAVALA

[Vikrama] Year 1202

THE slab on which this record is engraved was discovered in 1910 by the late Pt. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, at the village Ajhārī,⁴ situated about 5 kms. south of Piṇḍwādā, the principal town of a *tehsil* in the Sirōhī District of Rājasthān, and is stated to have been acquired for the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, on 31-3-1910. The inscription was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India*, for 1910-11, on p. 38; and was subsequently edited, without a lithograph, by R. R. Halder, in his article entitled *Yaśōdhavala Paramāra and his Inscriptions*, published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI (1927), pp. 10-12. It is edited here from my own transcript prepared from an impression kindly supplied by the Curator of the Museum and a set of impressions furnished by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.⁵

The inscription was very carelessly written, and is also highly worn. It has suffered from 3-4 small abrasions damaging one or two letters here and there and thus it cannot be fully deciphered. The inscribed portion measures 27·5 cms. high by 22 cms. broad,⁶ and consists of fourteen lines of writing. The last of the lines shows only three letters almost in its middle; and from the traces left, it is possible that some letters which may have been engraved in its initial portion have now disappeared. The average height of the letters ranges between 1·2 and 1·5 cms.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, containing several mistakes; and it is all in prose. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, e.g., in *vrāhmaṇa*, l. 10; of that of the dental sibilant for the palatal, as in *-Yasō-* and *-vaṁsa-*, both in l. 3, and of the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā*.

The inscription refers itself to the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Yaśōdhavala*, and records that his Chief queen Saubhāgyadēvī, born in the Chaulukya family, made a grant of *yava* grain from her own *jāgīr* (*bhōga*)⁷ at Ajahārī, obviously the village of Ajhārī where the inscribed stone was found. The **date** of the record, as given in figures in l. 1, is **the fourteenth day of the bright half of**

¹ Read क्षन्तव्यम्. The following five *aksharas* cannot be connected with this.

² These four *aksharas* are again restored from *J. B. B. R. A. S.*

³ The intended sense appears to be that 'as the well has been constructed with dressed stones, there should be no anxiety about any break in it'. ताति may have been wrongly engraved for ताम्रि; which again is to be corrected to तस्मान्.

⁴ The name of this place is differently spelt as Ajahārī, Ajaharī, Ajhārī, etc. Its antiquities are described in the *A. S. I. R., W. C.* for 1905-6, p. 49, where the inscription is not noticed; and this shows that it was found subsequently.

⁵ His No. C-2652 of 1968-69.

⁶ Shri O. P. Sharma, Curator of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, informed me that the dimensions of the stone are entered in the Museum Register as 2'8" high by 9¼" broad (i.e., 69·85 by 23·5 cms.). The height recorded here indicates that the inscription is on a pillar which shows these dimensions.

⁷ This portion has now totally disappeared and is as read by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *A. S. I. R., W. C.*, 1911, p. 38.

Māgha of the (Vikrama) year 1202, on Monday. It regularly corresponds to **28th January, 1146 A.C.**¹

The family to which the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Yaśōdhavala belonged is not known from the extant portion of the record, and none of his predecessors too is mentioned in it. The reading of the name of the *maṇḍala* as Chandrāvātī in l. 2 is also conjectural. But on the basis of the find-spot of the slab in the region of Sirōhī, which was under the sway of the Paramāra house of Ābū in the eleventh century to which the record belongs, the prince mentioned in it may safely be taken as the homonymous Paramāra king ruling over the Arbuda territory and the father of the celebrated Dhārāvarsha whose earliest known year is Vikrama Saṁvat 1220 or 1163 A.C.²

The inscription commences with the date which we have seen above; and the next three lines mention a *maṇḍala*, the name of which is lost. This is followed by the mention of its king Yaśōdhavala with the title of a Chief Feudatory (*Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) and his chief queen Saubhāgyadēvī of the Chaulukya family. Lines 5-6 record the grant, and then, is the imprecation on those who may appropriate the grant in future.

The next two lines mention the name of the engraver as Chāḍadēva and the word *surabhi* in the end, which means a cow and perhaps the earth, as remarked by Halder, to denote the sanctity of the grant. The word *talāra*, meaning *talaraksha*, which seems to denote an official title,³ is also mentioned in the last line.

The chief historical value of the inscription lies in its date which is the earliest known date for Yaśōdhavala; and the title of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* attached to his name is also equally interesting. The only known records of the house before this date are the Vasantgaḍh and Bhāḍūṇḍ inscriptions of the time of Pūrṇapāla, a brother of Yaśōdhavala's great-grandfather, dated respectively in V.S. 1099 (1042 A.C.) and 1102 (1045 A.C.), both of which were put up exactly a century before the present inscription; and the absence of any epigraphical record for these hundred years probably goes to indicate that the political situation for all this long time was uncertain in this region, as we can also know by a scrutiny of these records. The Vasantgaḍh inscription makes a bold claim on behalf of Pūrṇapāla that he vanquished many of his enemies,⁴ and this praise, though conventional, appears to have been based on a historical truth. While dealing with that inscription, we have seen how Pūrṇapāla's father Dhandhuka had succeeded in regaining his kingdom which had been annexed by the Chaulukya ruler Bhīma I⁵ (1022-64 A.C.), and it is possible to suggest that following his father's example, Pūrṇapāla too may have made a successful attempt to relieve his kingdom from the yoke of the Chaulukyas. This presumption receives confirmation from the Bhāḍūṇḍ inscription which was dated three years later in Vikrama Saṁvat 1102 or 1044 A.C. and which mentions him with the usual Imperial title *Mahārājā-dhirāja* (lord paramount). But before 1062 A.C. he was again subdued by the Chaulukya ruler Bhīma I (1022-64 A.C.) who allowed him to rule as his feudatory.⁶ And during the reign of Kumārapāla II (1143-71 A.C.) a similar attempt to declare independence appears to have been made also by Vikramasimha, a grandson of Pūrṇapāla's brother Kṛishṇa II, but, as we are told by Jinamaṇḍana in his *Kumārapālacharita*, the revolter was subdued by Kumārapāla, who cast this subordinate of his into a prison for his treachery and established in his place his nephew (i.e. his brother Rāmadēva's son Yaśōdhavala on the throne of Ābū.⁷ This seems to have taken place some time between 1143 A.C., the first regnal year of Kumārapāla, and January, 1146, the time of the present inscription.

The only **geographical name** figuring in the inscription is **Ājāhari**, which is the modern village of Ajhārī, as already seen.

¹ As calculated by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions*, No. 265. He mentions the date as 18, which, from my own calculation appears to be a misprint.

² His Kāyadrā inscription, for which, see below, No. 67.

³ See Halder's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, p. 12.

⁴ See above, No. 62., vv. 8 and 10.

⁵ Above, p. 228.

⁶ See the Vimala temple inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 148.

⁷ P. 42. Also see Jinamaṇḍanōpādhyāya, *Kumārapālaprabandha*, p. 42, and *B.G.*, Vol. I, pt. i, pp. 188-89.

TEXT¹

- 1 ओं² स्वस्ति[1*] संवत् १२[०]२ वर्षे माघमु(शु)दि [१]४ [1] सो-
 2 मे . . . मंडले³ महामंडलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीय-
 3 सो(शो)धवलदेवराज्ये चौलुक्यवंसो(शो)द्व-
 4 पट(ट्ट)राज्ञीश्रीसौभाग्यदेव्या आजाहरीमुग्रा-
 5 मे स्यार्थे ⁴
 6 या भ[य]व[द्रो?]ण⁵ . . प्रद[त्ता(त्त:)] [1*] य[:] कोपि [ह*]रि-
 7 प्यति स मप्तपुरुषसहितो कुंभीपाति[क?]न-
 8 कें(रके) यास्यति⁶ [1*] [लोक] . . . [राज्यसहस्रे]
 9 . . . तस्य . . [तिष्ठति]⁷ . . . तानि कलिकाल . . सह
 10 ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण . . .
 11 ————— चत्वारि मरिपति[महा] . .
 12 तलारमहितेन सूत्रधारचाडदेवेन⁸
 13 ————दी. सहि[ता] सुरभी(भि:) प्रतिष्ठिता⁹
 14 इति ॥ श्री[:] ॥¹⁰

No. 65 ; PLATE LXVIII

ACHALAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF YASŌDHAVALA

[Vikrama] Year 1207

THIS inscription has been referred to by F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 149, as No. 1951 of Cousen's List prepared in the cold season of 1900-01. It was thereafter included by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions* of N. India (No. 280), and subsequently, also by the Government (now Chief) Epigraphist in his *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1961-62. But it remained unedited so far. It is edited here for the first time from an inked impression kindly placed at my disposal by the Chief Epigraphist.¹¹

The record is incised on a stone in the temple of **Achalēśvara**, about 5-6 kms. north by east of Mount Ābū. It contains 16 lines of writing which covers a space between 22 and 22.5 cms. broad by 43 cms. high, but of which only the first five lines extend over the full breadth of the

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol, which is damaged.

³ Originally *vē*, later on corrected to *lē*, without scrapping off the original. The traces indicate that the name of the *maṇḍala* was *Arvv(bb)uda*.

⁴ In the first of the gaps in this line the object may have been shown, and in the second, the name of the donee.

⁵ The reading is from the traces left.

⁶ The upper curve of the medial *i* is not engraved and what follows is a *daṇḍa*.

⁷ In this and the preceding line the reading is mostly from the traces left.

⁸ The reading of the second *akshara* of the name is not certain.

⁹ This refers to the local custom of marking boundary by stone images of cow. Cf. No. 68, 11. 12-13, below.

¹⁰ These letters are in a separate line and not in continuation, as read by Halder. It begins at about the middle of the other lines.

¹¹ It is his No. B-178 of 1961-62. Subsequently, I had an opportunity to compare my reading from the original stone which I found set up on a platform to our left as we enter the *puranā darvāzā* of the Śiva temple at the place. Below the inscription the stone shows the figure of a donkey (about 25 by 20 cms.) facing left.

space; the next five lines are 20 cms. long, and the rest of the lines about 17 cms. long. The **writing** is well preserved, except in l. 15, and now it has also lost the latter half of its last line where only parts of two initial *aksharas* are seen on the impression before me. The first three lines are slightly damaged but the letters in them are legible. The mechanic has done his work so carelessly in forming the shape of letters that it is difficult to be certain about the reading of some of them. The size of the letters is between 1.5 and 2 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. The *akshara dh* in *-dhavala* in l. 6 resembles *v* without the top-stroke, and the slightly different forms of *r* can be noticed in *purē*, l. 3, and *rājyē*, l. 7. The **language** is Sanskrit which is occasionally incorrect; and the record is all in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark except the use of the *prishṭha-mātrās*, some of which are detached from the letter to which it belongs, as in *dēva-*, l. 4, and also occasionally crisped into the letter itself, as in *likhyatē*, l. 8.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign of the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Yaśōdhavaladēva*, ruling at Chandrāvātī; and its **object** is to record some donations made by the *talāra*, named below. The **date**, as expressed in figures only, is the *amāvāsyā* of **Māgha** of the (Vikrama) year **1207**, which for the Kārttikādi V. year, expired, corresponds to **18th February, 1151 A.C.** when there was a solar eclipse. The week-day was **Sunday** and the month was *amānta*.

Commencing with the date which we have seen above, the inscription mentions the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious Yaśōdhavaladēva ruling at Chandrāvātī. The name of the family of this king does not appear in the record, but from the title of a feudatory and also from the provenance of the inscription, he is doubtless the same king who is named in the preceding record which was incised only five years before. This ruler is known to us as a zealous feudatory of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla, as we are informed by an inscription at Mount Ābū.¹

The inscription is a royal charter, as indicated by the expression *śāsanam = abhiliḥhyatē* in ll. 7-8; but its real purpose is not definitely known. It probably appears to state the appointment by the king of one Kābhuka, the son of the Guhila Rājyapāla who was a *talāra*,² or the confirmation by the king of some donation made by this person.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Achalapura**, as stated above, is the place of the same name where the remains of a fort of the name still exist. The deity here is still known as Achalēśvaradēva. **Another place** is mentioned in l. 10; its name consists of two syllables, the second one of which is illegible, and it cannot be identified. It may be suggested, however, that there are three places in the locality bearing a somewhat similar name; *e.g.*, Wasra, 25 kms. south-west, Sakora, 15 kms. south-west, and Denvāv, 10 kms. south of Achalagaḍh. It is not known if any of these names is intended. And, last of all, **Arbuda** is Ābū, and **Chandrāvātī** (l. 4) was the capital of the Paramāra house and its location has already been seen above.

TEXT³

- | | | | | |
|---|------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|------|
| 1 | मिद्धम् ⁴ ॥ | [स्वस्ति] ⁵ | संवत् | १२०७ |
| 2 | [मा]घ ⁶ | वृदि | अमावा[से] ⁷ | सु- |
| 3 | यंग्रहणे | स्त्री(श्री)वरपु[रे] ⁸ | अ- | |

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 210-11, text, v. 35.

² According to D. R. Bhandarkar, *talāra* was an officer in charge of the suburb of a town (*tala*), and Trivikrama and Hēmachandra take the word to denote a *purādhyaksha* or *nagarādhyaksha*. Also see *n.* in the preceeding inscription and also *E. C. D.*, p. 205, *n.* 86.

³ From an impression, subsequently also comparing the reading from the original.

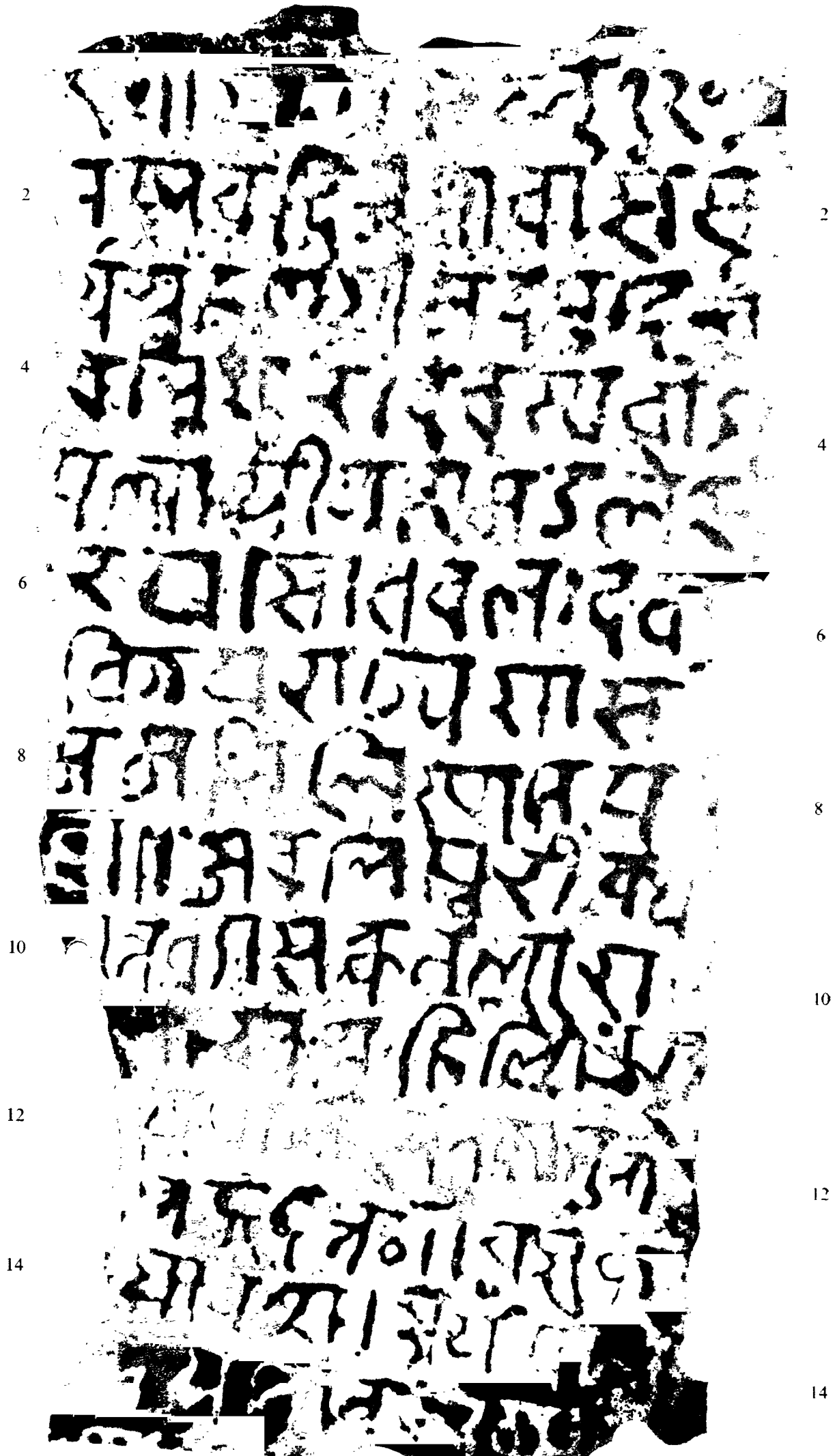
⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Both these *aksharas* are damaged but the consonant of the first of them is definitely *s*. The reading is as may be expected here.

⁶ The first letter of the name of the month has not distinctly come out in the impression and the reading has been adopted from the *Annual Rep. on Ind. Ep.*, No. B-718 of 1961-62, where the date has been calculated.

⁷ Read अमावास्याम्.

⁸ Probably अचलपुरे is intended.

ACHALAGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF VAŚŌDHAVALA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1207

- 4 चलेश्वरदेवस्य चां[द्रा]-
 5 प[त्यां]¹ श्रीमहामंडलेस्व(श्व)².
 6 रयसो(शो)धवलदेव-
 7 विजयराज्ये सा(शा)स-
 8 नमभिलिख्यते य-
 9 था ॥ अ[च]लेस्व(श्व)रक्षे-³
 10 त्रे ध[डा]⁴स्तकतलारा-
 11 भा[व्यः]⁵ गुहिलोत्ररा-
 12 [ज्य]पालमुतकाभुके-
 13 न [प्र]दत्तः⁶ ॥ [चरा]क-
 14 यावरो⁷ । अयं [यो] लो-
 15 पयति ।⁸ तस्य मा ⁹
 16 [गर्दं] [॥*]

No. 66 : PLATE LXIX

BĀGH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF YAŚŌDHAVALA

[Vikrama] Year 1210

THIS inscription is recorded on the pedestal of a stone image of Brahmā, which was found by the late M. B. Garde, the Superintendent of Archaeology in the former Gwālīor State, on 'a crude platform' in the town of **Bāgh**¹⁰, situated about twenty kilometres north of Kukshī, the chief town of a *parganā* of the same name in the Dhār District in Madhya Pradesh. Garde announced the discovery of the image in the *Annual Administrative Report* of the Department, for V.S. 1983 (1926-27 A.C.), page 8. But the transcript of the inscription has not so far been published. The record is important, as we shall see below; and it is edited here **for the first time**, from an impression prepared by myself, from the image which now exists in the Archaeological Museum at Gwālīor.

The inscription is on two facets of the pedestal of the image; and for the sake of convenience, we shall refer to the portion on the right as **A** and that on the left as **B**. Part **A** consists of four lines of writing, covering a space about 15 cms. broad by 7 cms. high, and part **B** shows only two lines of writing, the first of which is 7 cms. broad and the second about 8.5 broad, showing a height of 4 cms. The letters, though not very carefully formed, are

¹ Read चंद्राव्याम्. These two letters and some of those in the preceding line are misformed but the reading appears to be certain.

² Here the sibilant, as occasionally elsewhere, appears as a combination of the palatal and the dental.

³ The *prishṭha-mātrā* of this *akshara* is engraved as the sign of the secondary *i* and is attached to the preceding letter.

⁴ The consonant following घ्र is so carelessly formed as to make one indefinite about its reading; but the *mātrā* of ā attached to it is certain.

⁵ The sign of *visarga* was inserted subsequently, though it is certain.

⁶ The writing here too is very careless and one would be tempted to read the name *Angadatta*, but it would not be construed and the sense would in that case remain incomplete.

⁷ The meaning of the six syllables ending with this letter is not clear.

⁸ The *danḍa* is redundant.

⁹ The rest of the *aksharas* in this line and almost all in the following line are lost. The usual ass-imprecation appears to have been engraved here.

¹⁰ It is an ancient place, better known by the Caves existing there. It was formerly included in the Gwālīor State, and thus the inscribed image was shifted to the Museum at Gwālīor. For the history of Bāgh and the antiquities found there, see *I. G. I.*, Vol. VI, p. 183; *A. S. I. R. W. C.*, 1914-15, p. 5; *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXI, p. 79, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 234. Also see *Vikrama-smṛitigrantha* (Hindi), p. 649.

throughout legible, perhaps with the exception of a name which appears in l. 3 of section A. The lines are not in proper alignment. The approximate height of the letters is between 1 and 1.2 cms., excluding the *mātrās* above.

The **script** of the inscription is Nāgarī of the eleventh century. *Dh* and *v* are similar in forms, as in *-dhavala*, l. 2; and *bh* is somewhat like *t*, as in *prabhōḥ*, in A, l. 4. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is almost correct; and the record is all in prose. With reference to **orthography**, we may note that excepting in the first line of each of the sections, as we generally find in several other records of the time, the medial diphthongs are denoted by the *ṛishṭha-mātrā*.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of the lord Brahmā by Bhābhini,¹ a sister of the *Maṇḍalīka* Yaśōdhavala, on **Thursday, the thirteenth of the bright half of Jyēshṭha in the (Vikrama) year 1210**. The date regularly corresponds to 27th of May, 1154 A.C., for the Southern Vikrama year, *expired*.

Commencing with the date, as shown above, the record mentions the name of **Yaśōdhavala's** sister, in section A, also telling us that she installed the image. Section B is meant to state the name of the sculptor Dēū; and the record ends with the customary expression *praṇamati nityam(n)*.

The family to which Yaśōdhavala belonged is not mentioned in the inscription, which is silent about his lineage also. The findspot of the inscription, *i.e.* the town of Bāgh, lies about 60 kms. straight south-west of Dhār which was then the capital of the Imperial Paramāra house, and obviously the region around it must have been included in the kingdom of the Imperial Paramāra house of Dhārā. But the name Yaśōdhavala does not appear in the family ruling at Dhārā. However, from the title of *Maṇḍalīka* that he is given in the record, he appears to be no other than the homonymous king, the father of the celebrated Dhāravarsha of the junior branch of the Paramāra house holding sway over Chandrāvātī, who is known from two records of V.S. 1202 and 1207.² From the Ujjain stone inscription of the Chaulukya Jayasimha of V.S. 1195 or 1138 A.C., we know that this king (Jayasimha) claims to be *Avanti-nātha*, which shows that he had conquered and annexed the whole of the Paramāra kingdom to the Chaulukya empire.³ This incident took place about fifteen years earlier than the time when the image bearing the present inscription was set up; and during the reign of Jayasimha's successor Kumārapāla (c. 1143-1172 A.C.) there was practically no change in the situation. From Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapālaprabandha* we know that Yaśōdhavala obtained the throne of Chandrāvātī through the favour of Kumārapāla,⁴ to whom he remained faithful, and as such, he killed Ballāla of unknown lineage who had, during the period of confusion that followed Jayasimha's capture of Mālwa, usurped some parts thereof, proclaiming himself as the king of that region. Thus Ballāla was an inveterate enemy of Kumārapāla, and Yaśōdhavala who was a devoted feudatory of the Chaulukya throne, had a fine opportunity to show his devotedness to his overlord by killing Ballāla.⁵ In view of all this, it appears most probable that Yaśōdhavala of the Paramāra branch of Ābū, who was a devoted feudatory of Kumārapāla, was also in some way or other concerned with the administration of the region around Bāgh, which is only about 200 miles or 322 kms. straight south-east of the Mālava capital. Or, he may have at least visited that place in course of his tour, when the image in question was set up by his sister. The date of the present inscription is also not far off from those of two known inscriptions of his reign, which are V.S. 1202 and 1207, as seen above. And the present inscription would show that this ruler was on the throne at least up to 1152 A.C. All these suggestions are merely conjectural and cannot be finally accepted unless they are corroborated by any other evidence.

No **place-name** figures in the inscription.

¹ For the reading of the name, see text below.

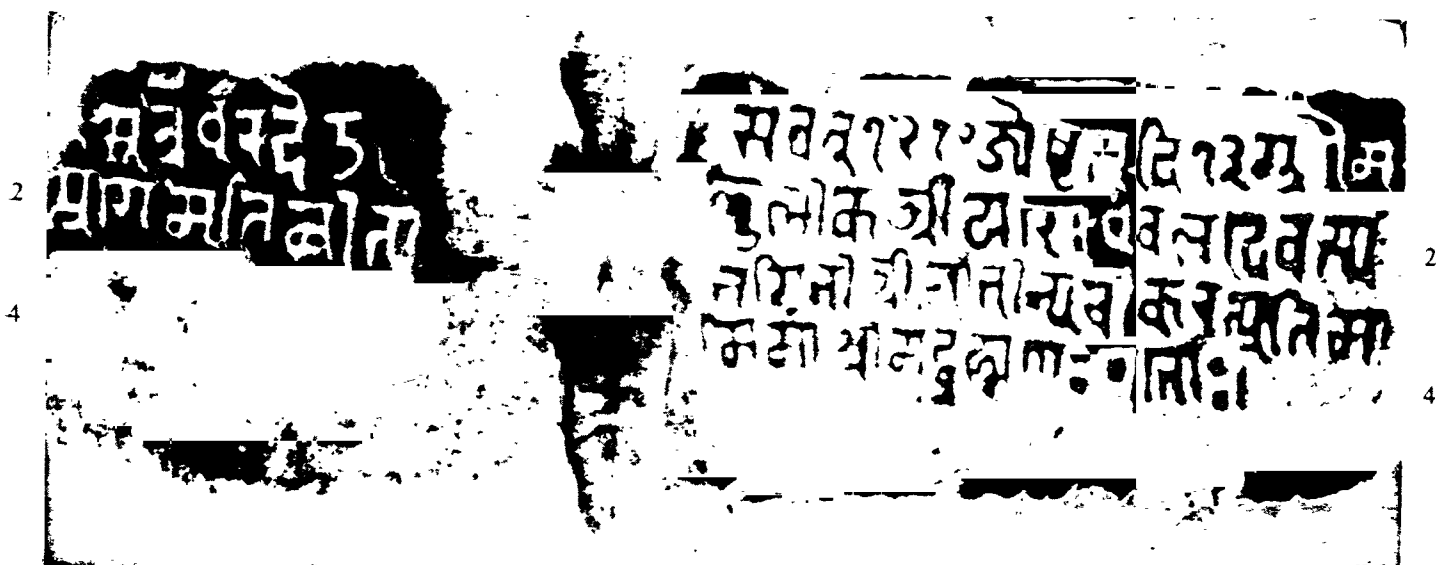
² Nos. 64 and 65, above.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 258; *I. N. I.*, No. 240. Also see *H. P. D.*, pp. 166 ff.

⁴ P. 42.

⁵ Mt. Ābū inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 35. Literary and epigraphical sources give the credit of slaying Ballāla to Kumārapāla himself (*e.g.*, see Vaḍnagar *praśasti*, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 293; *Dvyāśraya-kāvya*, XVI, v. 8, p. 269); and *Vasanta-vilāsa*, III, v. 29. But in view of the reference stated first, this was a sort of service actually performed by the feudatory for his overlord, to whom it is attributed in these sources. Also see No. 76, v. 8; and *I. N. I.*, No. 488.

BĀGH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
YASŌDHAVALA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1210



From Photograph

TEXT¹

- [A] 1 मिद्धम्² [1*] संवत् १२१० ज्येष्ठ(ष्ठ) सु(शु) दि १३ गुरौ म-
 2 ण्डलीक-श्रीय[शो]धवलदेवस्य
 3 भगिनी श्रीभाभीन्य³चीकरत्प्रतिमा-
 4 मिमां श्रीमद्(द्र)हणः प्रभोः ।
 [B] 1 सिद्धम्² [1*] सूत्रध[1*]र देऊ
 2 प्रणमति नीड्यं(नित्यम्) [1*]

No. 67 ; PLATE LXX

KĀYADRĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1220

THIS inscription is engraved on a slab of stone which is said to have been found lying detached in 1907, in a brickshed used as *dharmasālā* in the ruins of a temple in the village of **Kāyadrā** in the former State of Sirōhī which is now the headquarters of a district in Rājasthān.⁴ The record was briefly noticed in the *Prog. Rep. of the Western Circle* of the Archaeological Survey of India, ending 1907, page 24, and again in *ibid*, ending 1911, p. 39 (No. 2533 on p. 18), in which year the slab was removed to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. Subsequently the record was edited by R. R. Halder, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume LVI, pp. 47 ff., with its transcription and a facsimile: and from the same facsimile it is edited here.

The inscription contains fourteen lines of writing. The surface of the stone bearing it is broken at some places, and consequently, some of the letters are damaged and some others lost, particularly in ll. 7 and 14. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century: and the **language** is a mixture of Sanskrit and the Rājasthānī dialect. The record is all in prose, with the exception of one verse towards the end, and contains a number of errors. The **orthography** calls for no remarks except that occasionally the dental sibilant is put for the palatal, e.g., in *dēvēśvara*, l. 5; the consonant *v* in *parva*, in l. 2, is doubled as it is preceded by *r*; the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* also, in *Frahma*, l. 12; and local influence is to be seen in the use of *jō* for *yah* in l. 10 and in the spelling of *Śivasimha* where the last letter is written as *ga* in l. 13.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant (*śāsana*) made by *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, the illustrious **Dhārāvarsha**, probably for the remission of taxes on Phulahalī (a village) belonging to *bhaṭṭāraka* Dēvēśvara, of the temple of Kāśēśvara (Kāśīśvara), by the prince Pālhaṇadēva (Prahādāna), as stated in ll. 2-6. The date of the inscription, as given in figures only, is **Saturday, the fifteenth day of the bright half of Jyēshṭha of the (Vikrama) year 1220, which regularly corresponds to 6th June 1164 A.C.**, on the full-moon day⁵ (ll. 1-2).

Besides the grant referred to above, we have some other grants mentioned in the inscription, e.g., ll. 6-7 continue to record that something else was also granted by Bāla Kēlhaṇa, but these lines are broken and nothing can be made out of them. Ll. 8-9 mention the names of witnesses, who were: Vajayarā (Vijayarāja), son of Vāhaḍa, and Dēdā, son of Dējaā. Then follows a customary imprecatory verse, in *Anuṣṭubh*. Lines 13-14 state that a field was granted by the *amātya* Śivasimha, an inhabitant of the village of Vāsaṇa. The record is silent about the

¹ From the original and an estampage.

² Denoted by a symbol, which is partly visible before *Sain*.

³ There is no doubt about the reading, but it appears to be an unusual name. Can it be restored to भगिनी ?

⁴ Kāyadrā is about 30 kms. south-west of Rōhērā, a station on the Delhi-Ahmedabad line of the Western Railway. For an inscription from Rōhērā, see below, No. 76. The present inscription is the same as No. 2 mentioned in the *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 915, about which H.C. Ray is rather suspicious. See his note on the same page.

⁵ See *I. N. I.*, No. 317. The word used here is *sōma-parvvē*, which is incorrect for *-parvaṇi*. It means only a full-moon day and not an eclipse. Here also see above, No. 51, Text, ll. 19-20.

location of the field and also regarding the name of the person to whom it was donated; but we may presume that this grant was made probably to *bhaṭṭāraka* Dēvēśvara, as in the previous case above and also possibly the one mentioned in ll. 6-7.

Dhārāvarsha referred to in the inscription was the well-known king of the name and a son of Yaśōdhavala, the Paramāra ruler of Chandrāvātī. The inscription is important, as it is the first known record of the king, indicating that he succeeded his father Yaśōdhavala some time before 1164 A.C., the year of the record, but certainly after 1150 A.C. which is the last known record of his father.¹ Like his father, he was a zealous feudatory of the Chaulukya throne and was a contemporary of Kumārapāla (1144-1172 A.C.), Ajayapāla (1172-1176 A.C.), Mūlarāja II (1176-1178 A.C.) and Bhīma II (1179-1241 A.C.). None of his political relations or his warfare is disclosed by the present record; but we may take it for granted that before it was issued he may have participated in the warfares of Kumārapāla and may have helped his minister Āmbaḍa in vanquishing Mallikārjuna, the Śilāhāra king of Northern Kōṅkaṇa, as mentioned in one of the Mount Ābū inscriptions.² Mallikārjuna's known dates are 1157 and 1160 A.C.;³ and it is possible that he may have sustained a defeat at the hands of Āmbaḍa in which Dhārāvarsha took an active part, before the date of the present inscription.⁴

The combination of the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, applied to Dhārāvarsha in the present inscription, appears rather curious, though it is not unknown in ancient Indian inscriptions. In the Imperial Paramāra family itself, we have the instance of Sīyaka, to whom both these titles are applied in the Harsolā inscriptions, as seen above. The use of both these titles in the present case probably indicates the high status enjoyed by Dhārāvarsha,⁵ or it may be that he tried to assert independence and was subdued by his overlord Bhīma, which is not supported by an independent evidence.

As for the **localities** named in the present grant, **Kāsēśvara** (Kāśīśvara), l. 4, is undoubtedly Kāyadrā itself where the inscribed stone was found, as stated above. The place is locally known as Kyārā and is about 12 kms. due north of Ābū Road in the Sirōhī District. The other places mentioned respectively in lines 5 and 13 of the record, *viz.* **Phulahali** and **Vāsaṇa**, have not so far been identified. The first of them appears to be the same as the modern village Phulēr, which lies about 25 kms. north-east of Kāyadrā, and the second, the village Wāsā, about half this distance and situated to the east of Kāyadrā. All these places are situated close to each other, and this supports our identification of them.

TEXT⁶

- 1 ओं ॥ स्वमि श्री संवत् १२२० जे(ज्येष्ठ) सु(शु)दि
- 2 १५ जनिदिने सोमपर्व⁷ महाराजाधि-
- 3 राजमहामंडलेस्व(स्व)रश्रीधारावर्षदेवे-
- 4 न शासनं प्रदत्तं(त्तं) श्रीकामेस्व(स्व)रदेवीयभ-
- 5 ट्टारकदेवेस्व(स्व)रस्य फुलहलीसत्क(त्को)
- 6 मोचनीयः श्रीकुम्हर⁸पाल्हणदेवेन ॥ वा-
- 7 लकेल्हणेन प्रदत्तं(त्तम्) ॥

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 149. Also see above, No. 65.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 211.

³ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 19.

⁴ This view is based on the reigning period of Mallikārjuna, who is taken by Dr. D. C. Ganguly to have occupied the throne from 1156 to 1160 A.C. On the other hand, Dr. A. S. Altekar, whose calculations too are equally conjectural, takes this king to be on the throne from c. 1155 to 1170 A. C., and in view of this, we cannot be definite on the point. See *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, pp. 415-16.

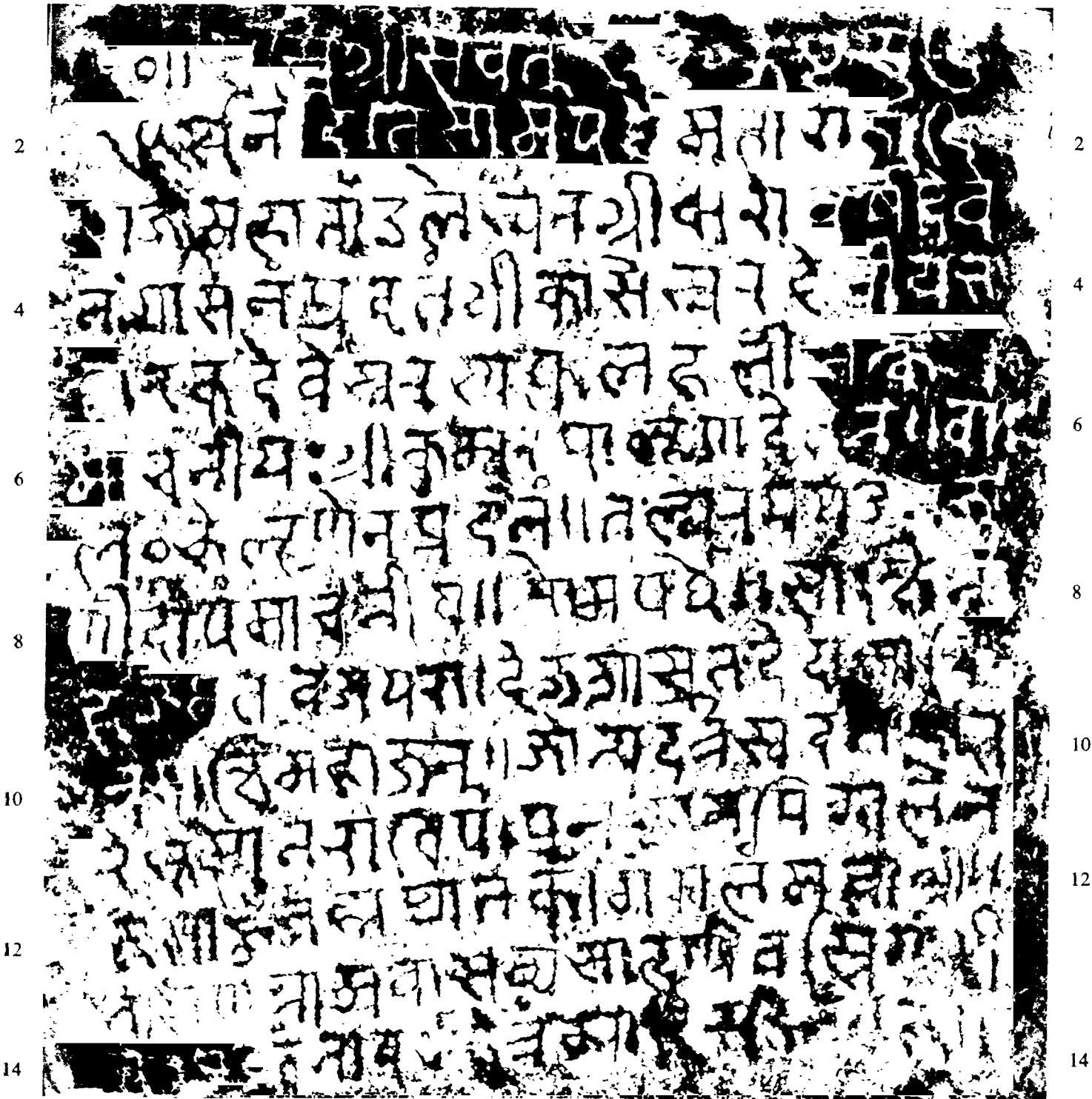
⁵ It cannot be ascertained whether both the titles are indeed intended or only the latter, *i.e.*, of the subordinate one. The *shasṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound, in the sense of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (Dhārāvarsha) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* (Kumārapāla) is equally possible here.

⁶ From facsimile facing p. 50 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI.

⁷ Read सोमपर्वणि.

⁸ Read कुमार—.

KĀYADRA STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1220



From Facsimile

- 8 - णीदायं मोक्षनीयं(यम्) ॥ भोम¹ पछे ॥ साक्षि वा(चा?)-
 9 हडमुत्तवजयरा । देजभ्रासुतदेदा साक्षि ३-
 10 — साक्षिमहाजन ॥ जो(यः) प्रदत्त(परदत्तां) स्वदत्त(त्तां) वा ह-
 11 रे[त*] भूमीं(मि) नराधिप(पः?) । पुनः -मपि कालेन ॥²
 12 तमाहुर्व्र(त्रं)ह्यघातकं(कम्) [॥१॥*] मंगल(लं) महाश्री[:] ॥
 13 वामणग्रामवास्तव्य(व्या)मात्यशिवमिग(हेन) श्री-
 14 क्षेत्रं प्रदत्तं(त्तम्) [॥*]

No. 68 : NO PLATE

HĀTHAL COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1237

THE plates bearing this inscription are stated to have been found at **Hāthal** or **Hathāra**, a village situated about ten kilometres north-east of Reodhar, the chief town of a *Tehsīl* in the former Sirōhī State (which is now a district-place) in south-west Rājasthān. They were discovered by Pt. Gauri-Shankar Ojha of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, and from ink-impressions supplied by him, the record was edited by the late Pt. Vishweshwar Nath Shastri in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XLIII (for 1914), page 193 f., giving his own reading of the text but without a facsimile. Nothing about the owner of the plates is mentioned by him or in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, for 1916-17, p. 69, where a reference to the plates is made : and all my efforts to trace their whereabouts also failed. And as even a set of impressions is now not forthcoming, I give below a copy of Shastri's transcript of the record, adding to it my own notes.

The plates are of copper and **two** in number. Each of them is inscribed on one side only, and each measures, as recorded in Shastri's article referred to above, about 6·5" (16·5 cms.) broad by 5·5" (14·0 cms.) high. They are stated to contain a ring-hole but the rings were lost.³ The first plate contains ten lines of writing and the second eleven lines, of which the last line seems to be a post script.⁴ With the exception of about two or three letters in l. 11, the record is fairly legible.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century; and the **language** is Sanskrit, which is incorrect at a number of places. The engraver too has committed a number of errors. The record is in prose, with the exception of three imprecatory verses in the end. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the use of *v* for *b*, as in *vahu* for *bahu*, l. 15, that of the *prishṭha-mātrās* and of putting *sh* in *Śaiva*, l. 10 and also in *sahashra* (the latter *s*) in l. 18.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Dhārāvarsha**, who is introduced as a lord of Arbuda or the modern mountain Ābū, and a sun for (causing to bloom) the family of **Dhūmarāja** (ll. 2-3), intending to say that he belonged to the lineage of the **Paramāras** holding sway over the Chandrāvātī region. In l. 4 he is styled *māṇḍalik-āsura-śambhu*, i.e. *māṇḍalik-ēśvara-śambhu*, which evidently shows that he occupied a very high rank among all the feudatories of his overlord, whose name is not mentioned in the record but who was no other than the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II (1179-1241 A.C.) when the present record was inscribed, as we shall presently see.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the royal gift (*śāsana-āksharāṇi*) by Kāvīda, or Kōvīda, the Keeper of the seals and thus a high administrative officer, to the effect that Bhaṭṭāraka Viśala Udagradamaka, the supreme *āchārya* of Śaivism, was permitted to graze his cattle

¹ This and the following line are in vernacular.

² The *daṇḍas* are redundant. The preceding verse is corrupt.

³ As stated by Shastri in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 193.

⁴ In *ibid.*, Shastri observed that "the letters in this line differ widely from the others."

on the pasture grounds, free of charge, in the village of Sāhilavādā (ll. 10-11). Before this, some other grant is mentioned in l. 11, but its nature is not known as the letters mentioning it are lost. In addition to these two grants, a piece of land in the village of Kumbhāranulī, up to the boundary of *surabhi*, (?), and also a piece of land which can be tilled with two ploughs in a day¹ (ll. 10-14) were donated. The names of the *dūtakas* are mentioned as Kōvida (or Kāvīda)² and *śrēshṭhi* Jālhana (ll. 14-15).

The **date** of the inscription, as mentioned in figures in l. 1 and repeated in l. 8, is **Thursday, the eleventh of the bright half of Kārttika of the (Vikrama) year 1237**. The date regularly corresponds to 30th October, 1180 A.C.

Beginning with the auspicious symbol for *Om*, the inscription gives the date and the genealogy of Dhārāvarsha with his titles, as seen above, and this account is followed by the grant portion. Thereafter the record has three imprecatory stanzas, in ll. 15-20, and then the expression *śubhaṁ bhavatu*, denoting blessings, followed by the sign resembling the Nāgarī *akshara chha*. And with a repetition of the names of the villages of *Māgavādī* and *Hāthaḍalī*, where pastures were made free, as already stated, the record comes to a close.

The known dates of Dhārāvarsha range from V.S. 1220 (1163 A.C.) to V.S. 1276 (1219 A.C.), respectively from the inscriptions found at Kāyadrā and Makāval;³ and thus the present inscription offers only an intermediate date. It is also known that this king, like his father, Yaśodhavalā, was a zealous feudatory of the Chaulukya throne of Gujarāt: but the feudatory epithet attached to his name in the present record which bears the date V.S. 1237 has some significance, being issued about a time when there was a change in the government in Gujarāt and also in some of the adjacent regions. Mūlarāja II died in 1178 A.C. and was succeeded by his younger brother Bhīma II, who was obviously a minor: and with this succession the kingdom of Gujarāt was troubled by internal disorders and foreign invasions. Prithvīrāja III, who succeeded his father Sōmēśvara on the Chāhamāna throne of Ajmer almost about the same time (in 1178 A.C.), led an expedition against Bhīma:⁴ the Paramāra Subhaṭavarman, whose father Vindhya-varman had relieved Mālwa from the clutches of Gujarāt, overran a part of the country; and almost about the same time the Yādava Bhīllama V from the south⁵ and the Muslims from the north under Muhammand of Ghōr, also invaded Gujarāt.⁶ All these troubles arose almost about the time when the present inscription was issued; and it is significant to note that the feudatory title attach to the name of Dhārāvarsha in it shows that he was all the while faithful to the throne of Gujarāt.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Hāthaḍalī-grāma** (l. 21) is evidently the modern village of Hāthar, or Hathāl, or Hāthal (30),⁷ where the plates are said to have been found. It is, as stated above, about 10 kms. north-east of Reodhar, the principal town of a *tehsil* forming the south-western part of the Sirōhī District adjoining to Gujarāt on its south-west. **Sāhilavādā-grāma** seems to be identical with the modern Sēlwādā (32), about 5 kms. north by east of Reodhar and almost equidistant south-west of Hāthal: and **Māgavādī-grāma** may have been the village Māgiwādā (72), situated about 10 kms. south-west of Reodhar and almost double this distance due south by west of Hāthal. I am unable to trace any village in the Sirōhī District exactly corresponding to **Kumbhāranulī** mentioned in l. 12: it may perhaps be represented by Cooma (52) lying about 20 kms. west-southwest of Sirōhī and almost 15 kms. north-east of Hāthal, and thus situated in the same locality. It will thus be seen that all these villages lie in the vicinity of the find-spot of the plates.

¹ Whether this land is different or the same in the village of Kumbhāranulī, which is mentioned immediately before, is not clear from the construction.

² See n. 4 in the text below.

³ See Nos. 67 and 197, respectively.

⁴ See *Pārthaparākramavyāyoga* (G. O. S. No. 4), p. 3, stating that Dhārāvarsha offered strong resistance.

⁵ See Bhīllama's Mutgi (Bijāpur) inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 34 f., text, vv. 9 ff. For details also see *Introd.* to Jahlaṇa's *Sūkt.*, quoted in *E. H. D.*, p. 185, n. 4.

⁶ See Briggs, *Firishta*, Vol. I, p. 170, and Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 294.

⁷ The location of all these places is based on *C. I. R. A.* and the number in brackets following each place-name is that of the village mentioned in the respective *tehsil* of Reodher.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 उं² संवत् १२३७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुदि ११ गुरौ वद्ये(गुरावद्ये)-
- 2 ह चाज्ञापलं(नम्) ॥ समस्तराजावलीसमलंकृत]श्रीमदर्वु(र्वु)दा-
- 3 धिपतिश्रीधु(धू)मराजदेवकुलकमलषो(द्यो)तनमात्त(त्त)ड³-
- 4 मा[-]डलिके(का)सुरशंभुश्रीधारावर्षदेवकल्याणविज-
- 5 यराज्ये तत्पादपद्मोपजीविन(जीव्य)हं श्रीका(को)विदे(दः)⁴ म-
- 6 मस्तमुद्राव्यापारान(न्) य(प)रिपथयतीत्येव(पन्थयामीत्येवं) काले प्रवर्त्त-
- 7 माने श[1]सनाक्षराणि लिख्य[न्*]ते⁵ यथा । अद्य संजा-
- 8 तदेवोष्ठनीए(त्थान्ये)कादश्यां महापव्वीण(व्वणि) नलिनीदल-
- 9 गतजललवतरलतरं जीवितव्वासिद(व्यमिदं) विधा(जा)य
- 10 परमपै(पै)वाचार्यभट्टारकवीसलउदग्रदमके-

Second Plate

[Metre : Verses 1-3 Anushṭubh]

- 11 स्प(दमकाय) साहिलवाडाग्रामे . . . मुक्ति[:] ॥ तथा एतदीयध-
- 12 णेः(धेनवो) गोचरे च(चा)रणीया[:*] तथा कुंभारनुलिग्रामे मुरभिम-
- 13 र्यादापर्यत(ता)⁶ भूमी दत्त(भूमिर्दत्ता) हल २ हलद्वयी भूमी(मिः) शासने-
- 14 नोदकपूर्व[-] प्रदत्ताः(त्ता) ॥ द्यूतेज्जमहं(द्वुतकोज्जाहं) श्रीकोविद(दः) से-
- 15 ठि⁷शाह्लणौ ॥ मत्तै ॥ श्रीः ॥ व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता रा-
- 16 जभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी(मिस्) तस्य तस्य त-
- 17 दा फल[- (लम्)] ॥१॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेद्व(त व)सुंधरां(राम्) । पण्डि(ण्डि)-
- 18 र्व्वर्षमहृष्टा(स्त्रा)णि वल्माया[-](विष्ठायां) जायते कृमि[:] ॥२॥ मम वंश-
- 19 क्षये क्षीणे(जाते) अन्योह⁸ नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं करल-
- 20 ग्नोमि(स्मि) मम दत्तं न लोपयेन्(त्) ॥३॥ शुभं भवतु(तु) ॥ छ ॥
- 21 मागवाडीग्रामग्रामभूमी दत्ता(भूमिर्दत्ता) हानडलीग्रामग्रामभूमी दत्त[1] [1*]

No. 69 ; PLATE LXXI

NĀNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 123[7]

THE village Nānā is situated in the Bālī *tehsil* of the Pālī District in the southwestern region of Rājasthān and is about 3 kms. from the railway station of the same name on the Ahmedabad-Ajmer line of the Western Railway. The record dealt with here is inscribed on a door-jamb of the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādēva temple at that place. The inscription has neither

¹ From Shastri's transcript in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 194.

² Denoted by a symbol.

³ The intended reading appears to be -कमलोद्योतन-. Udyōtana = The Sun.

⁴ In his transcript Shastri corrected का to को. But in his *List of Inscrs. of N. Ind.*, D. R. Bhandarkar retains the name काविद whereas D. C. Ganguly takes the name to be Kōvidāsa (see *H. P. D.*, p. 305). We have no means to ascertain the reading.

⁵ It is possible that the sign of *anusvāra* may not have been engraved deeply or may not have come out in the impression with Shastri. There are similar other examples also.

⁶ For placing stone images of the cow by way of marking land or a field, cf. *above*, No. 64, l. 13 and *n*.

⁷ Read श्रेष्ठि-.

⁸ Read अन्योत्र. The letter ह tempts one to suggest the reading अन्य इह but it would not suit the metre.

been edited nor noticed or referred to before in connection with the history of the Paramāras. D. R. Bhandarkar, who visited Nāṇā in 1907-08, discovered another inscription in the temple but missed the present one, which appears to have been found in 1968-69, by the Technical Assistant of the office of the Chief Epigraphist, in course of his visit to that place; and from impressions prepared by him and kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist,¹ the record is edited here.

The inscription consists of nine lines of writing, measuring 14 cms. broad by 24.5 cms. high. The last of the lines contains only two letters. The average size of the *aksharas* is 2 cms., but in the first line they are slightly bigger and their size is about 2.5 cms. The **characters** are Nāgarī. The form of *bh* in l. 8 is antique. The letters are legible, but I could not correctly make out the last two of them in l. 4 so as to give an intelligible sense.

The **language** is Sanskrit, with a few errors of spelling and also with some Prakrit elements creeping in. The record is all in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any remark except about the use of the word *Pramāra* for Paramāra, as in some of the records of the house.²

The **object** of the inscription appears most probably to mark a plot of land belonging to the Brāhmaṇas at the place; and in view of this, the stone bearing the record does not appear to have been originally belonged to this temple where it was found but brought here from a place in its vicinity where the plot may have then actually existed.

The document begins with the **date** which is given only in figures. It is **1237**. The unit figure is partly lost, but its tail which is sharply curled to the left shows it to be 7. No further particulars of the year are given; and taking it to be an expired year of the Vikrama era, the equivalent Christian year would be **1180 A.C.**

Following the figures for the year, the **Paramāra** family is introduced and the prince (*rāja-putra*) of the name of **Rājasimha** appears in ll. 5-6, with his title *sāhaṇī* (*sāadhanika*). The last two letters in l. 4, along with the three in the next line, read somewhat like *sāṇasāhaṇī*, which means an emperor; and if the reading is correct, the use of this title by a Hindu prince may be taken to indicate the practice then current in this part of the land, probably due to the growing Muslim influence.

The name of the *Mahārājaputra* Rājasimha, a member of the Paramāra family, is otherwise unknown, and the present inscription, which is of course a business document, is altogether silent as to his relationship with any of the known members of the house. However, if the word *dāvaḍā*, as it appears in l. 2 of the inscription, is taken to be a corrupt form of the word *Dēvarāja*, or wrongly engraved in it, he may have been a member of the Bhinmāl Paramāra branch, founded by *Dēvarāja*.³ This view receives a strong corroboration from the fact that the provenance of the inscription is only about 60 kms. due north-east of Bhinmāl, the capital of the house of *Dēvarāja*.

It is, however, difficult to ascertain Rājasimha's position in the house. The *Kirāḍū* inscription we know to have been dated in 1218 V.S., during the reign of the Paramāra *Sōmēśvara* who was succeeded by the *Mahārājaputra* Jagatsimha whom we know from the Bhinmāl stone inscription of V.S. 1239 or 1182 A.C.:⁴ and the date of the present inscription is 19 years later than that of the first of these records and 2 years earlier than that of the second. Following this clue, it is possible to suggest that Rājasimha of the present inscription may have been a son or nephew of *Sōmēśvara* and probably an elder brother of Jagatsimha of the Bhinmāl inscription. This assumption, however, cannot be verified under the present state of our knowledge. But he appears to have been a contemporary of *Dhārāvarsha* of the *Śirōhī* branch of the Paramāras holding sway in the neighbourhood.

No **geographical name** appears in the inscription.

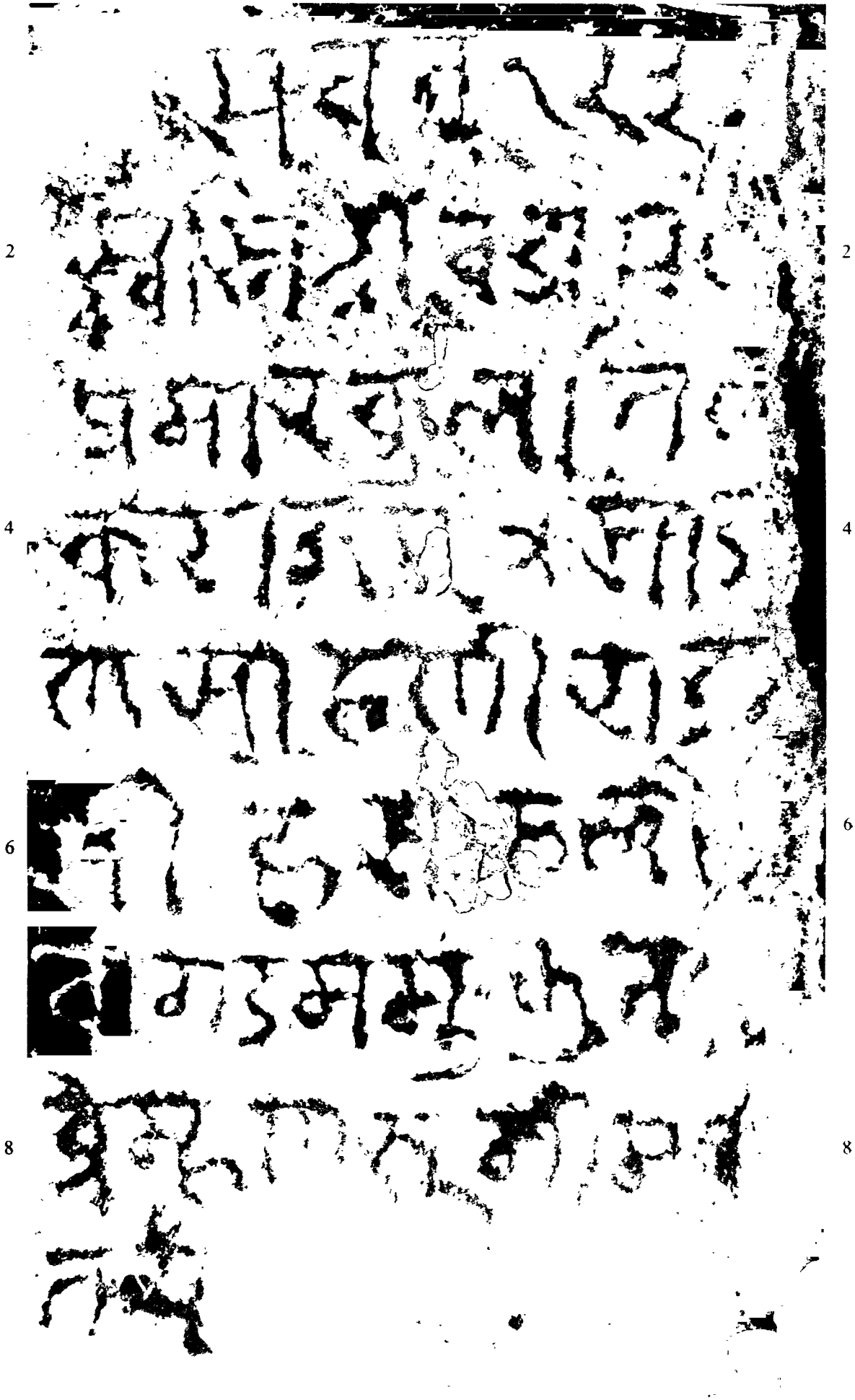
¹ It is No. C-2815 of 1968-69 of the *A. R. E.* The temple where the inscription is said to have been found, stands on an extremity of the village. In my visit to it on 13-9-1972, however, I could not succeed in locating the inscription, though I found the other one edited below.

² See above, No. 62, l. 2; No. 63, ll. 2-3, etc.

³ As in the example of *Luṇṭhigadēva*, for which see *S. E.*, p. 89. It has, however, to be admitted here that we have no other example from the Bhinmāl Paramāra branch itself.

⁴ Below, Nos. 94 and 95, respectively.

NĀNA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
RĀJASĪMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1237



Scale: Same Size

TEXT¹

- 1 सवत् १२३[७]
- 2 स्वस्ति [।*] [दा]²वडामह[।]-
- 3 प्रमारकुलतिल-
- 4 कराजपू(पु)व[माइ]³-
- 5 णसाहणी⁴-राज
- 6 सी[+](मि)हमाह[णी?]
- 7 वागडम(झु)कु(कृ)त⁵-
- 8 वेम्ह(ब्राह्म)णभूमी(मि:) म-
- 9 तव्यं⁶ (।।*)

No. 70 : PLATE LXXII

AJHĀRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1240

THE stone bearing this inscription was found, in 1910-11, at **Ajhāri** a village about 5 kms. south of Piṇḍwādā, the headquarters of a *tehsil* in the Sirohī District of Rājasthān, by Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha, who removed it to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. The record was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Western Circle* of the Archaeological Survey of India, for the same year, on p. 38. A transcript of it also appeared in the Gaekwad Oriental Series Publication No. 4.⁷ It is edited here from an impression kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the Curator of the Rājputānā Museum.

The inscription consists of eleven lines of writing and covers a space measuring 24 cms. high by 31 cms. broad. Letters in the last of the lines have totally disappeared, leaving a few traces here and there, and in the penultimate three lines they are partly visible, giving no coherent sense. In the rest of the lines also a number of them have been rubbed off or mutilated. The average size of the letters is about 1 cm.

The **script** belongs to the twelfth century A.C. The vowel *i* retains its old form, as in *Aichāi* in l. 4, and the loop of the consonant *ch* is triangular, as in the same word. The **language** is Sanskrit, with some words in their Prakrit form, e.g. *samēi* in l. 7, *rāṇi* (for *rājñi*) in l. 3, and the name of the queen is spelt as *Sīṅgārādēvī* in the same line. *Vaiśākha* is spelt as *Vaiśāsha* in l. 1.

The inscription commences with the date **Samvat 1240 Vaiśākha śu di 3, Sōmē**, which corresponds to **Monday, the 28th of March, 1183 A.C.** The month of this date was inter-

¹ From impressions.

² This *akshara* appears also as दी, but the curve at the top is not clearly marked.

³ The reading of the consonant of the first *akshara* is not certain; it also appears somewhat like *j*; and the second *akshara* may also have been *ḍa* or *da*, or even *ha* without the curve on the left of the lower part thereof.

⁴ The significance of this *akshara* cannot be ascertained. If the word is a corrupt form of *sādhānika* in the sense of a military officer, for which see above No. 60, text l. 87 and *n.* on it in the edition of the inscription, the letters *sāṇa* would be left without any meaning. Should it be read as साजण?

⁵ The text is corrupt here and full of local words. *Majhu* is probably a corruption of *madhyē*, i.e. in the midst of; and *vāgaḍa* means a line of demarcation, quite distinct from the word *Vāgaḍa* which denoted the region of Bāṇswādā in those times. Both these words are still prevalent in this sense in Rājasthān; and the practice current even to-day in that region is to mark the separate plots of land by a fallow land on which small stone figures of a cow are set. The land for the Brāhmaṇas in this particular instance may have been marked by such devices from that to be used by the people of some other castes. cf. *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 31, l. 56.

⁶ Read मन्तव्या.

⁷ *Pārthaparākrama*, appx. II, p. 27.

calary. The *tithi* which was *akshaya-tritīyā* is mentioned auspicious in the *Sāstras* for making endowments. The inscription further refers to the victorious reign of Dhārāvarsha at Chandrāvātī; he was the homonymous king of Ābū, as seen so often. Further we learn that during his victorious reign an *arahaṭṭa* (machine-well)¹ was donated by the prince (*kumāra*) Pālhaṇadēva, i.e. Prahlādanadēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, and the crowned queen (*paṭṭa-rāṇī*) Śiṅgārādēvī, who is no doubt the same as mentioned in the Jhālōḍī inscription as the queen of Dhārāvarsha, and the daughter of the Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇa, donated a lamp (*samēi*). In the concluding lines the inscription also records some other donations, which cannot be made out, as this part is mutilated. The donor's name is given as *Rā* (i.e., Rāūta) Jagaddēva, without any further details.

Ājāhari, mentioned in the inscription in l. 4, is evidently the same place where the stone was found. This name is spelt differently as Ajahārī, Ajhārī and Ajārī, besides as mentioned in the present inscription.

TEXT²

- 1 ओं ॥ मं १२८०³ वैशाख(ख)सु(शु)दि ३ सोमे अद्ये-
- 2 ह चन्द्रावल्यां(त्यां) श्रीधारा⁴वर्षदेवविजयराज्ये
- 3 श्रीपाल्लवणदेवकुमार पटराणी श्रीसींगारदेवि⁵-
- 4 — महं . [वां]वडि⁶ आजाहरीग्रामवास्तव्य अइचाउ⁷श्री
- 5 — अरहट्ट रा . जगदेव महं . आमल तला . मो-
- 6 — हण भांभीय माहिल⁸ सकल आभाव्यं [कूरि?]⁹
- 7 — काः भुक्तीः ॥ दीपया(पा?)वाभाव्यं ममेड पुली-
- 8 — कावली
- 9 चा गा
- 10 — रोध्र जू कोई पुजारड वारड वा डन¹⁰
- 11

No. 71 ; PLATE LXXIII - A

MUṄGTHALĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1245

THE stone bearing this inscription is set up on the proper right side of the outer wall of the temple dedicated to Madhusūdana, which is about two kilometres north-west of the village of **Muṅgthalā**, in the Sirōhī District of West Rājasthān.¹¹ The inscription was noticed in the *Prog. Rep. of the Western Circle of the Arch. Surv. of Ind.*, ending 1906-7, p. 26 (No 2277 on

¹ D. C. Ganguly (*H. P. D.*, p. 306) and following him, Pratipal Bhatia (*P. B. P.*, p. 173, n. 4, iv) write that the donation was made to *Arhat* Jagaddēva. But this statement cannot be supported in view of the fact that the reading in l. 5 is clearly *arahaṭṭa* and not *arahata* or *arhat*. The language on this point is somewhat obscure, but the sense is clear, as I have shown and as also taken by D. R. Bhandarkar, for which see remarks in *A. S. I. R.* (W.C.), p. 38 and also in his *List of Inscriptions*, No. 399. Further on, Ganguly and Bhatia also hold that the donation was made by the wife of the prince Prahlādanadēva. But this is not warranted by the reading which mentions the *paṭṭa-rāṇī Śiṅgārādēvī* in l. 3, who was the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha.

² From an impression, which is not very distinct.

³ The unit figure is mutilated and it is ascertained from Bhandarkar's reading the same.

⁴ A scratch above the letter makes it appear as री.

⁵ Read शृङ्गारदेवी—. In this and the rest of the lines the names are all without case-suffixes.

⁶ Probably a local word, meaning a stepped well.

⁷ The reading is certain but the meaning is not known to me.

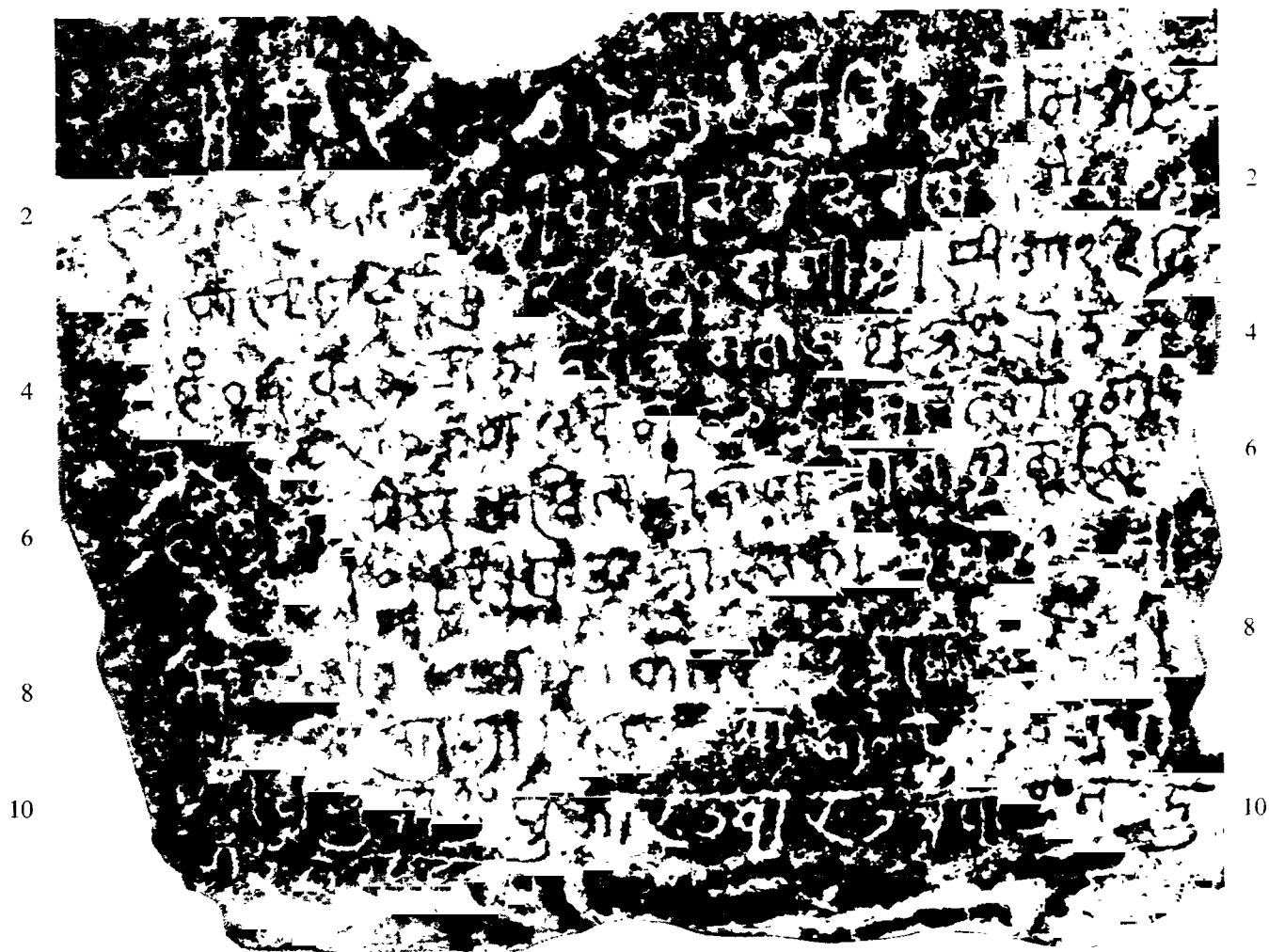
⁸ This appears to be a name, without the case-suffix.

⁹ The reading is not certain as the letters are mutilated.

¹⁰ The line is totally lost and has been restored from the reading given in *G. O. S.*, IV, mentioned above.

¹¹ As often stated, Sirōhī was the capital of a State of that name, but now it is the headquarters of a district of that name. Muṅgthalā, the find-spot of the inscription, is situated about 8 kms. west of Kharāḍī or Ābū Road, a station on the Ahmedabad-Delhi line of the Western Railway. It is the ancient *Muṇḍasthala*, which is mentioned as a *mahātīrtha* in an inscription at Ābū and two other inscriptions, both of (Vikrama) Samvat 1426. See *A. S. I. R.*, W.C., for 1906-7, p. 26.

AJHĀRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
DHĀRĀVARSHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1240



Scale: One-half

p. 7 of *ibid.*); but has not so far been transcribed or edited. It is edited here from my own reading of the text from the original stone and a set of fresh inked impressions prepared and supplied to me by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle of the Survey.

The inscription consists of eleven lines of writing, covering a space 29·5 cms. broad by 21 cms. high, but the length of the last line is 25·5 cms. The average size of the letters varies from 1 to 1·5 cms. in height. The writing is in a fair state of preservation, with the exception of two or three letters which are rather indistinct in two instances, as to be seen from the notes appended to the text below. There are also instances indicating slovenliness in the writing, some of which may be ascribed to the writer himself and others to the engraver, *e.g.*, the *danḍa* is occasionally put so close to a letter as to make it appear as the sign for the medial *ā* as after *chāmpaka*, *phaṇasa* and *aśōka*, all in ll. 6-7, where each of the words is unnecessarily separated by a *danḍa*. Some of the letters too are misformed, as will be known from notes 5 and 11 appended to the text; and in one instance *viz.* in ll. 4 and 10, the reading *bhaṭṭaputra* or *bhad-vaputra* is doubtful and the sense is not clear. From the context I take this word presumably to denote a servant in general. It may be a local word.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** characters of the eleventh century. The initial long *ī* appears only once in *īdraśa* (for *īdriśa*) in l. 9, where it is formed by a serpentine curve above two hollow circles, subscribed by a sign resembling the *mātrā* of short *u*. The letter *dh* has developed a horn on its left limb, and the verticals of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a horizontal stroke; cf. *Dhārāvarsha*, l. 2. The left limb of *bh*, which is in its older form, is sometimes tailed so as to make it appear as *t*, as in *bhavati*, l. 4; and *r* is engraved both ways, *viz.* as showing a wedge and also in its developed form; cf. *rāṇaka*-, l. 10 and *mātarāya*, in l. 5.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is often incorrect, or corrupt; and a number of local words, *e.g.*, *dhāndhala* and *nāraṅgī* (l. 7) are used. The record is entirely in prose.

With reference to **orthography**, we may note that (i) *b* is denoted by the sign for *v*, as in *vudhē*, l. 1; (ii) *prishṭha-mātrās* are generally used and (iii) the word *īdriśa* is spelt as *īdraśa* in l. 9. The *danḍa*, which is often redundantly used, is occasionally placed so close to the preceding *akshara* as to appear as a *mātrā*, as already seen above.

The **object** of the inscription is to record an order of the feudatory king, the illustrious **Dhārāvarshadēva**, to grow an orchard in the village of Phīlīṇi in the temple in connection with Vasishṭhāśrama.¹ The date of the record is **Wednesday, the first day of the bright half of Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1245, which regularly corresponds to 24th August, 1188 A.C.**²

The inscription begins with the date; and it is followed by the royal order in ll. 3 ff. Vasishṭhāśrama was on the Mount Ābū, as we learn from the Girviḍ inscription of Pratāpa-simha;³ and the distance between both these places, *i.e.* the find-spot of the present inscription and Girviḍ is not more than 6 kms. The royal order also mentions some trees to be grown in the orchard.

The earliest and the latest known inscriptions of the Paramāra Dhārāvarsha are dated respectively in 1164 and 1219 A.C.⁴ indicating that he enjoyed a long reign of at least about 55 years; and the present record, which supplies an intermediate date, does not report any historical information. During this long period, as we have seen above while editing his Kāyadrā inscription of 1164 A.C., he was a contemporary of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla (1145-1172 A.C.), Ajayapāla (1172-1176 A.C.), Mūlarāja II (1176-1178 A.C.) and Bhīma II (1179-1239 A.C.), and was one of the most devoted feudatories of the Chaulukya throne, excepting during the reign of the last of these kings, when he is known to have revolted against the Gujarāt sovereignly and was suppressed by Arṇōrāja, son of Dhavala, the ruler of Bhīmapallī, as we are informed by the *Sukṛita-kīrtti-kallōlinī* of Jayasimha.⁵ We have also seen how actively Dhārāvarsha participated in Kumārapāla's struggle against the Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna of Northern Kōṅkaṇa; and his wars with the Chāhamānas of Ajmer and the Guhilas of Mēwad, the second of which at least appears

¹ The word used here is *maḥa*, which means 'a temple' and also 'a monastery'. Which of these meanings is intended here is not known.

² As calculated by D. R. Bhandarkar. See his *List of Inscriptions of N. India*, No. 417. The first *tithi* began 3 h. after mean sunrise, on Wednesday, and ended 30 m. after mean sunrise on the next day.

³ No. 82, below.

⁴ See Nos. 67 and 197, respectively.

⁵ Verse 75.

to have been fought before the time of the present inscription, will be related in their proper places. His participation in all these battles goes to indicate that Dhārāvarsha was a very brave and powerful ruler.

With reference to **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription, **Chandrāvati** (ll. 1-2) is known to have been the capital of the Paramāra family to which Dhārāvarsha belonged. The place which is now in ruins is on the bank of the Banās and is situated south-east of Sirōhī. The village **Philiṇi** (ll. 3 and 4) cannot be identified; but it appears to have been in the vicinity of the Mount Ābū where the hermitage of Vasishṭha is said to have been situated.¹

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम्³ ॥ मं[व]त् १२४५ भाद्रपद म्(शु)दि १ वु(वु)धे ॥ अद्येह चंद्रा-
- 2 वत्यां मां[डि]लकसुरशंभुः⁴ श्रीधारावर्षदेवः [क्षेत्रप]कु⁵-
- 3 त्यमक्षराणि⁶ लिखापयति यथा । श्रीवसिष्ठाश्रमे फीलि-
- 4 णिग्रामे⁷ मठे च यः कोपि भट्ट(ट्ट)पुत्रो भवति तेन श्रीवशि- ॥⁸
- 5 ष्टा(ष्ठा)श्रमे फीलिणिग्रामवाटिकायां वसन्ति[षु] मानराय ।⁹
- 6 चंपक । फणम । चाराकर[म्ब]रा¹⁰ प्रदत्ता(त्ता) गां(गाम्) अशोक । व(व)कुल ।
- 7 नारंगी । धांधल [।] प्रिया-शतपत्रिकाप्रभृतिदृक्वा(वृक्षा)णां¹¹ वी(वी)जा- ॥
- 8 नि कृष्णगंडुकानि वृक्षाणां जात(रु?)धिञ्च¹² प्रतिवर्ष[] वावाप- ।
- 9 नीया(नि) वर्द्ध(रोपी)यानि¹³ च । ईद्र(दृ)शं न कु[र्व]ति¹⁴ तदा भट्ट(ट्ट?)¹⁵ ।
- 10 पुत्राः [स्या(श्वा)]नं¹⁶(न)गर्दभचांड[र*]लवत् राणकैः निग्रहणीया[:*] ॥
- 11 दंडनीयाश्च ॥ तस्य माता गर्दभोय द्रष्टव्यः ॥¹⁷

¹ See the Girvaḍ inscription of Pratāpasimha, below, No. 82. In fact, no place bearing a corresponding name exists at present in the *tehsil* of Ābū in which the find-spot of the inscription lies. However, in my visit to the temple, which is in the jungle and about 2 kms. from Muṅghthalā, I noticed some vestiges of a deserted village just in front of it, only separated by a metalled road; and viewing the whole situation, I am tempted to suggest that this may have been the spot of the village mentioned here.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ To be restored to माण्डलिकेश्वरशंभुः.

⁵ The reading of the bracketed letters is doubtful. The first of these looks more like सि and the third like य.

⁶ Probably -त्ये अक्षराणि. The second of these letters is damaged. The sign of the *mātrā* of *khā* that follows seems to have been engraved subsequently.

⁷ The *mātrā* of the first letter of the name is partly visible.

⁸ The punctuation marks are redundant.

⁹ The punctuation mark, here and in some lines below, is redundant and the language used here is corrupt. The *akshara* in the brackets also appears as *shva*; it is damaged.

¹⁰ The reading of the first two *aksharas* here is uncertain and they also appear as चायं; and that of the letter in the brackets is also equally uncertain. The punctuation marks in this and the following lines too are superfluous. *Phaṇasa*, wrongly written for *panasa*, is a bread-fruit tree or jack tree, for which see *I. E. G.*, p. 402.

¹¹ Of the trees mentioned here, the first is local, thriving in Rājasthān, the second is a kind of jasmine and the third is probably a lotus.

¹² Probably to be restored to -गंड(ध?)कादि-. The meaning of these four *aksharas* is not known to me and they seem to be restored to जानि वर्द्धि च. The bracketed letter that follows is damaged and may also be read as र्.

¹³ Corrupt. The preceding *ni* was at first engraved as *mi* and corrected subsequently.

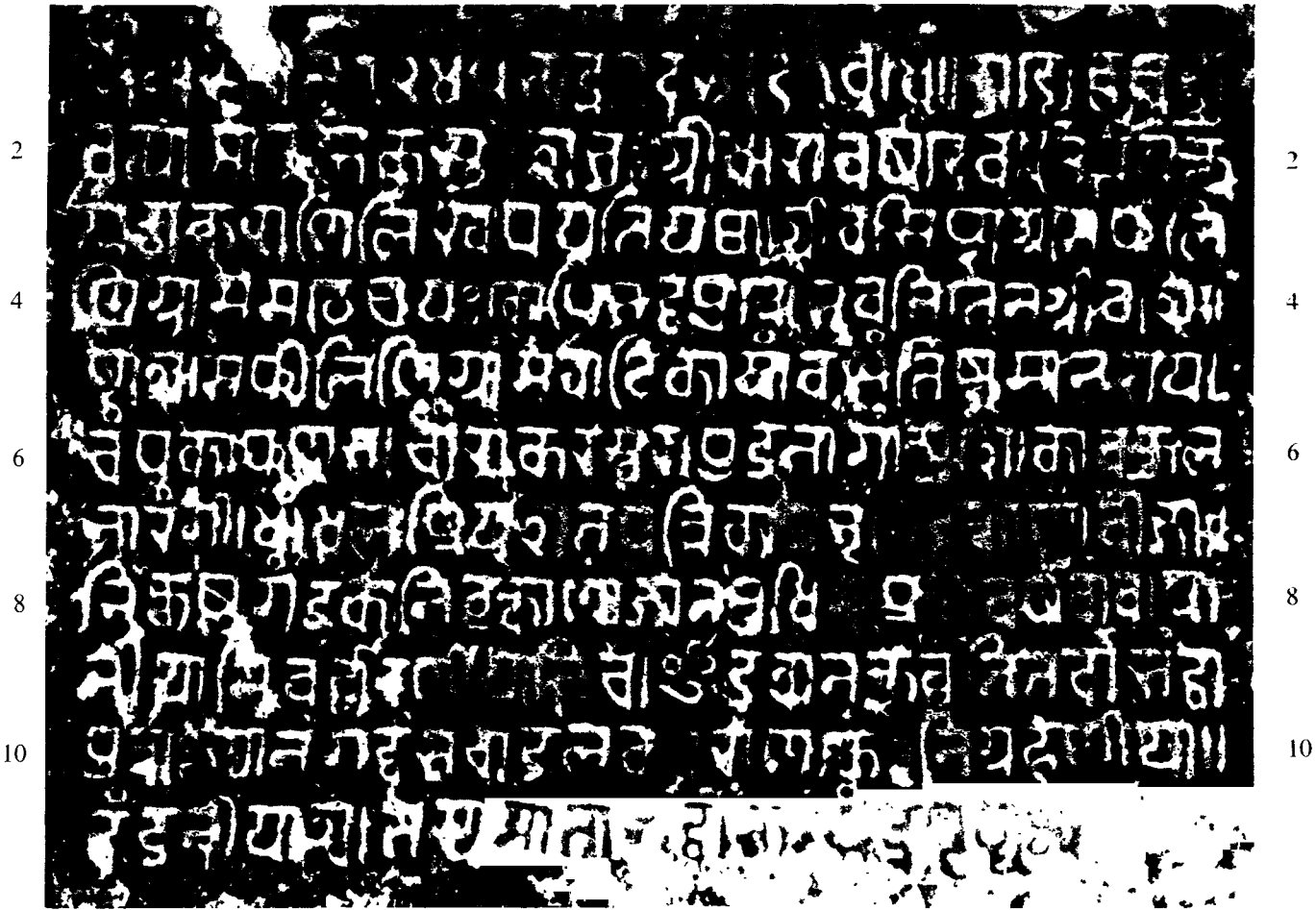
¹⁴ The sign of *rēpha* is faintly visible on the stone.

¹⁵ I am not certain about the reading of the conjunct consonant of this *akshara* which appears to have been subsequently corrected and has also the sign of the secondary *ā* attached to it, probably intended for a *daṇḍa*. *Bhaṇḍa* means a master, a Brāhmaṇa or a bard. In the *Tilakamañjarī* this word is used to denote a messenger (p. 112), i.e., a general type of servant, and following this, we may take the word to denote a gardener. This word is mentioned in the *Lēkhapaddhati*, (15. 20) apparently in the sense of a soldier, and also in *I. N. I.*, No. 361, to denote a royal officer (*rāja-purusha*).

¹⁶ The sign of *anusvāra* is lightly rubbed off on the stone so as to leave its mark. Also of *gardabha-chāṇḍālaryāyēna* in the *Lēkhapaddhati*, *G. O. S.*, No. XXI, Glossary.

¹⁷ Below the inscription is the ass-motif.

A MUNGTHALĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1245



Scale: One-half

B BĀMANVĀRJĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
DHĀRĀVARSHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1249



Scale: One-half

No. 72 ; PLATE LXXIII - B

BĀMANWĀRJĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 124[9]

THIS inscription was discovered in 1917, by V. S. Sukthankar, the Assistant Superintendent in the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. He found the record engraved in the south-west corner of the enclosure of a Śiva temple at **Bāmanwārjī**, a tiny hamlet lying about 15 kms. south-east of Sirōhī, the principal town of a *tehsīl* and district in south-west Rājasthān. The village is situated at the foot of a small hillock which lies along the main road from Sirōhī to Piṇḍwādā, and with some Jaina temples standing there, it is a Jaina *tīrtha*.

The inscription was very briefly noticed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Western Circle*, ending March, 1917, on p. 63. At my request, the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle, very kindly prepared for me a set of impressions, and from the same the record is edited here. I have also compared the text in my visit to the place, subsequently.

The inscription contains five lines. The writing covers a space 34·5 cms. broad and 18 cms. high. The size of the individual letters is between 2 and 2·5 cms. They are sparsely written. The technical execution is crude and the inscription has suffered not only from the effects of weather but also from a rough handling. The stone appears to have been clipped at the edges, probably to give it a suitable size for setting; and as Sukthankar has already remarked, "in places the hollows have been filled in with cement." Some of the letters are no doubt distinct here and there, but they do not make a coherent sense.

The language is **Sanskrit**, teeming with local elements; and nothing is worth noting from the point of view of **palaeography** or **orthography**. The record is all in prose. The **year** of the inscription, as given in numerical figures only and without recording any further details, is **1249**. The unit figure, which is rather indistinct and also mutilated, has been adopted here from Sukthankar's reading, in whose time the record and particularly this figure may have been better preserved. Taking the year as *expired* of the Vikrama era, the corresponding Christian year is **1192 A.C.** Fortunately the letters *Śrī-Dhārāvarsha-samrājē*, along with some others, are distinct, though faintly, from which we can know that the record refers itself to the reign of **Dhārāvarsha**; and from the provenance of the inscription it is evident that he is the same king who flourished in the junior branch of the **Paramāra** house of Ābū, whose known dates range from V.S. 1220 to 1276,¹ i.e., from 1163 to 1219 A.C. The present record thus supplies an intermediate date.

The **purpose** of the inscription cannot be clearly made out; however, from the expression *bhūm=īha maṇṭavyā* in ll. 3-4, it appears to have recorded some gift to the temple in the wall of which the inscribed slab was found, or to some other temple in its vicinity from where it was possibly brought and set here, as does not appear to have been altogether impossible.

Bāmbhanavāḍa-grāma mentioned in ll. 1-2 is evidently the village of Bāmanwārjī where the inscription was found.

Only the first and a part of line 2 can be read with certainty. It is as follows: (along with some other letters)—

TEXT

- 1 स्वस्ति² संवत् १२४[९] वर्षे श्रीधारा[व*]षम[रा]जे [वां(वां)]भ-
- 2 णवाडग्रामे मङ्ग[च्छ]ति ————— सकलविद्रमदमकले (?)
- 3 जंक[र*?]सी(मि)ह [भू]मीह [मं?]त[व्या*]
- 4
- 5 गुलमगुहित(?) प्रती(ति)मद्रा(?) मगल महाश्री[:]³ [॥*]

¹ See Nos. 67 and 197 respectively.

² Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

³ The reading of most of the *aksharas* is only conjectural, but up to the name of the place in l. 2 it is certain.

No. 73; PLATE LXXIV

JHĀLŌDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1255

THIS inscription was found on a slab of stone built in a wall of the antechamber of a Jaina temple in the village **Jhālōdī**, also known as Jhāḍōlī, situated about 3 kms. north by west of Piṇḍwāḍā, the chief town of a *tehsīl* of the same name in the Sirōhī District of Rājasthān.¹ The record was briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1905-06, p. 48, and again in *ibid.* 1910-11, p. 38; and some fifteen years subsequently, the transcript of its text was published by Muni Jinavijaya in his *Prāchīna-jaina-Lēkha-Saṁgraha*, Pt. II, p. 262 f.² But the inscription remained unedited so far. At my request, the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle, very kindly supplied me with a set of impressions, from which it is edited here.

The inscription consists of five long lines, covering a space 120·5 cms. long by 10·5 cms. high. The average height of the letters is 1 cm., excluding the *mātrās* above. The record has considerably suffered due to exposure, particularly in the middle of the lines, and from the impression it is also clear that the stone was not thoroughly cleaned before the record was incised on it. The **characters** belong to the twelfth century. Noteworthy is the form of the vowel *i* in *Indu-*, l. 3, appearing as two dots below a horizontal curve, the first of which shows a sharp tail. The letter *k* often loses its loop when it is a superscript of a conjunct or when the *mātrā* of *u* is attached to it, e.g. in *sākshāt*, l. 5, and *kunda-*, l. 3, respectively. The different forms of the palatal *ś* may be noticed in *-śārādē-* and *śrīmat-*, both in l. 1.

The **language** is Sanskrit, almost correct; and, excepting a portion of the last line giving the name of the poet and the date, the entire record is metrically composed. It contains nine verses, all of which are numbered. *Prishṭha-mātrās* are used and the *anusvāra* does the duty of a nasal also, even wrongly used at the end of a verse. The *daṇḍa* is occasionally placed so close to a syllable as to appear as the sign of *mātrā*, e.g., after *-harshē* in l. 1.

The inscription refers itself to the illustrious ruler **Dhārāvarsha**; and though he is not endowed in it with any title, from the family name *Pramāra* (*Paramāra*) and also from the mention of *Chandrāvatī* eighteen hundred (v. 2), he is doubtless identical with the homonymous ruler who was the son of Yaśōdhavala and whose dates range from V. 1220 (1164 A.C.) to V. 1276 (1219 A.C.).³ The **object** of the inscription is to record the restoration of the *maṇḍapa* of a temple by the *gōshṭhikas* (members of an assembly), and the donation of a piece of land for a garden by Śrīṅgārādēvī, the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha. The inscription is **dated** in v. 5, the year being expressed by numerical words as cupid's arrows, twice (*i.e.* 55) and the suns (*i.e.* 12), and again in the last line, in decimal figures, with details, as **Wednesday, the 7th of the bright half of Āsōya**, *i.e.*, Āśvina, of the year **1255**. The year is to be taken as of the Vikrama era, and the Christian equivalent day is the **9th September, 1198 A.C.**⁴

It is a sectarian record. Opening with a verse invoking the blessings of Mahāvīra, the second verse introduces Dhārāvarsha who was reigning at *Chandrāvatī*, as we have seen above. The next verse mentions his chief queen Śrīṅgārādēvī, as also recorded in the Ajaharī stone inscription of the time of the same king, dated V.S. 1240 (1183 A.C.). Her name appears also in the Dhāntā inscription of V.S. 1277. But the present record goes to furnish an additional information that she was the daughter of Kēlhaṇa, who was the lord of a *maṇḍala*. This ruler appears to be no other than the Chāhamāna king of Nāḍōl for whom we have dates ranging between V. 1221-1250, or 1164-1193 A.C.⁵

¹ The village, which is also known as Jhāḍōlī, lies on the metalled road from Sirōhī to Piṇḍwāḍā about 22 kms. from the former place, and 4 kms. north-west of the latter.

² It is his No. 426; for remarks, see *ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

³ Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*, Nos. 317 and 473 respectively, which are our Nos. 67 and 197.

⁴ See *A. S. I. R., W.C.*, 1905-06, p. 48.

⁵ His earliest inscription is from Saṇḍērāv (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 52) and the latest from Pāl. *I.N.I.*, Nos., 320 and 428, respectively.

Verse 5 of the inscription mentions an officer, appointed by Dhārāvarsha, to look after the administration of the village. He was Nāgaṭa and is stated to have been adept in all arts. From his designation *sachiva*, he appears to have exercised great administrative power. The following verse states the object as seen above, *viz.*, the restoration of the *mandapa* of the temple, consisting of six platforms, evidently the temple where the inscription was found.¹ The verse that follows wishes the pious deed to continue as long as the Sun and the moon. The next verse states that the queen Śrīṅgārādēvī, whose identity we have seen above, donated a piece of land for a flower-garden for the worship of Mahāvīra; and the still next, which is the last one, records that the witness was *dāṇika*, *i.e.* the collector of land-tax,² himself, under whose skilful considerations the whole work was performed, and also that the mason (*sūtradhāra*) in charge of the whole work was Nīraḍa Varmā, about whom nothing else is said.

In the end, we have a portion in prose, which states that the inscription was composed by the most revered, the illustrious, Tilakaprabhasūri. And with the date in figures, which we have already discussed above, the inscription comes to a close.

There is only one **place-name** mentioned here, *viz.*, **Dundubhi**, which appears to have been the old name of Jhālōdī where the inscription was found. The reading of the first letter of the name, as seen below, is not, however, certain, and if we take the name as Undubhi, it seems to be identical with the modern village Undra, which is in the close neighbourhood of Jhālōdī and situated just to its north-west.³

TEXT⁴

[Metres: Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 2-5 *Āryā*; vv. 6-7 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 8-9 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 श्रीं⁵ ॥ श्रीवर्द्धमानविभुरद्भुतशारदेदुर्दोषानृषंम(ग)विमुखः सुभगः शुभाभिः । आद्यं भविष्णुमलाभिरमौ कलाभिः संतापमर्त्यनु
कौमुदमा(मा)ननोतु ॥१ श्रीमति धारावर्षे विक्रमनर्षे प्रमारकुलहर्षे । अष्टादशशतदेशोत्तमे चंद्रावनीहर्षे ॥२ श्रीमन्केल्ह-
- 2 शमंडलपतितनयायां नयैकजालिन्यां(न्याम्) । तत्पट्टप्रणयिन्यां शृंगारपदोपपददेव्यां(व्याम्) ॥३ एतद्ग्रामप्राभववैभवभृति तत्प्रदत्तसाचिव्ये ।
सकलकलाकुशले गृहमेध्रिनि नाग[टे]⁶ सचिवे ॥४ [द्विः]स्मरशरदिनकरमितवर्षे शुचिशस्यसंपदुत्कर्षे । [दु]दुभिनामनि⁷ धामनि
- 3 विटपपल्लवितव्रध्रिधियां(याम्) ॥५ एतत्पट्टकचतुष्किकाविरचितश्री[मं]डपोद्धारतः पुण्यं पण्य[मगण्य]माकलयति श्रीवीरगोष्ठीजनः ।
मन्ये किं तु(नु?) चतुष्किकाद्वयमिदं दत्ता(त्वा?)भिमृद्यम्यनिस्थेयस्तत्कलिमोहभूपयुगली जित्वातपत्रद्वयी(यीम्)⁸ ॥६ इंदुः कुंदमितै-
करैः पुलकयन्त्याका-
- 4 [जलक्ष्मीं मृ]दृ⁹यवद्भानुर्मौ ननोति परिनोप्याशा. प्रकाशो(शो)ज्व(ज्व)लाः । नावद्भामिकधर्मकर्म¹⁰रभमप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)कल्याणिकस्तो-
वाद्यच्छवगीतवाद्यविधिभिः जीवेत्त्रिकं सर्वतः ॥७ राजा शृंगारदेव्यात्र वाटिकाभूमिरद्भुता । दत्ता श्रीवीरपूजार्थं शास्व(श्व)तः [श्रेयमः]¹¹
श्रिये ॥८ साक्षि(को) [दा]¹²-
- 5 णिकः (मा)क्षात्प्रेक्षा(क्षो?) दाक्ष्यवृ(वृ)हस्पतिः । अत्राभून्नीरडो वर्मा मौवधारे[षु] कर्मसु ॥९ ॥ छ ॥ पूज्यपरमाराध्यतमश्रीतिलक-
प्रभसूरीणां कृतिरियं(यम्) ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १२५५ आमोय(ज) सुदि ७ वृ(वृ)ध्वारे सकलगोष्ठिकलोकः विकोद्धार स्वश्रेयमे कारित
वानिति ॥ छ ॥

¹ The temple is now dedicated to Śāntinātha, but as already noted by D. R. Bhandarkar, it was originally built in honour of Mahāvīra, as it appears from the contents of the inscription.

² For the word in this sense, see *Lēkhaṇapaddhati* G. O. S. 1925), p. 16. This word is still current in this sense in remote parts of Rājasthān and Mālwa.

³ C. I. R. A., p. 356, No. 7.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol which is partly visible.

⁶ This *akshara* is partly lost and the reading of *Muni* Jinavijaya is adopted here.

⁷ From an examination of the original, the *akshara* in brackets appears more like उ and the reading of the first two *aksharas* in the next line is also doubtful, as the consonant of the first of them is damaged and the second looks like a conjunct. The verse offends against the metre *Āryā* since it has only fourteen and not fifteen *mātrās*, as required.

⁸ *Chatuṣṭhika* means a 'hall resting on four pillars or a quadrangular court-yard'; and *ṣaṭka* is used here to denote six figures of *Tirthaṅkaras*. The intended sense appears to be that the *gōṣṭhikas* (members of the assembly) constructed a *mandapa* for the six figures, and besides these, two (or two of the same?) were constructed by one whose name is not mentioned here but who is stated to have conquered *kali* and *mōha* thereby.

⁹ This with the preceding *akshara* is indistinct and the reading is conjectural as from traces left.

¹⁰ It cannot be ascertained whether the consonant *m* is doubled in all the three cases, as some others also.

¹¹ The reading of the bracketed *aksharas* is only from the traces left and it may also have been स्वयशः, or श्रेयमे, which suits the sense.

¹² This *akshara* has now totally disappeared and the reading is from that of the *Muni*, referred to above.

No. 74 ; PLATE LXXV

BUTRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1271

THE stone on which this inscription is engraved was found by Pandit G. S. Ojha, in the early years of the present century, at **Butrī**, a village in the Piṇḍwādā (now Sirōhī Road) *tehsīl* of the Sirōhī District in South-West Rājasthān. Ojha noticed the inscription in his *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, for 1910-11, on page 2; and the record was subsequently transcribed by R. R. Halder, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume LVI, p. 51, with a facsimile plate. It is edited here from the same facsimile and an impression kindly supplied to me, at my request, by Shri. Om Prakash Sharma, the Curator of the Museum, where the stone is now deposited. Later on, I have also compared my reading of the text from a photograph kindly supplied by the chief Epigraphist.

The inscription is in a sunken panel below the figure of a cow with calf and consists of four lines which are engraved on a marble slab, measuring 48·9 cms. high by 26·67 cms. broad.¹ The **alphabet** is Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit. The record is entirely in prose. With reference to **orthography** it may be observed that the dental sibilant is put for the palatal in *-maṇḍalēśvara*, l. 2, and *vice versa* is the case in *praśāda*-, l. 4.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of one *halavāha* of land (the area that can be tilled with one plough in a day) in the village of Sāvaḍa Vṛiddha (now known as *Badī Ānval*), to a merchant named Āmpa, by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Dhārāvarshadēva**, who is evidently, from the find-spot and the locality of the inscription, the homonymous king who was the son of Yaśōdhavala and holding his sway over the region of Chandrāvātī. The date of the inscription, as recorded in words and figures in l. 1, is **Monday, the fourth day of Āsōja śu di of the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1271**, which regularly corresponds to the **8th of September, 1214 A.C.**²

Dhārāvarsha, as we have seen so often, was a feudatory of the Chaulukya throne of Gujarāt, and his overlord in the year of the present record was Bhīma II (1179-1239 A.C.). It is a royal document; but it states nothing that is historically important.

The only **place-name** mentioned in the inscription is **Sāvaḍa Vṛiddha**, l. 3, which, as already seen, is the modern village of *Badī Ānval*.

TEXT³

- 1 संवत् १२७१ वर्षे आसोअ(ज) सु(शु)दि ४ सोमे
- 2 महामंडलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीधारावर्षदेवे[न]
- 3 श्रे.⁴ [अं]पदत्त(त्ताय)⁵ मावडवृद्धभूमि[र्*] हल-
- 4 वाह १ प्रशा(मा)द(दे)न प्रदत्ता [॥*]

¹ As mentioned by Ojha in *op. cit.*, Appx. A. p. 5, No. 8.

² D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscrs. of N. India*, No. 463.

³ From facsimile between pp. 50-51 of *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI.

⁴ This is probably a contraction of श्रेष्ठिन्.

⁵ The sign of *anusvāra* on the *akshara* in the brackets has not fully come out and it also appears as *śrī*. But the name of the donee in that case would be totally missing. My reading of this letter is absolutely certain, in view of the same form that it shows twice in l. 1, above.

JHĀLŌDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1255

Left side

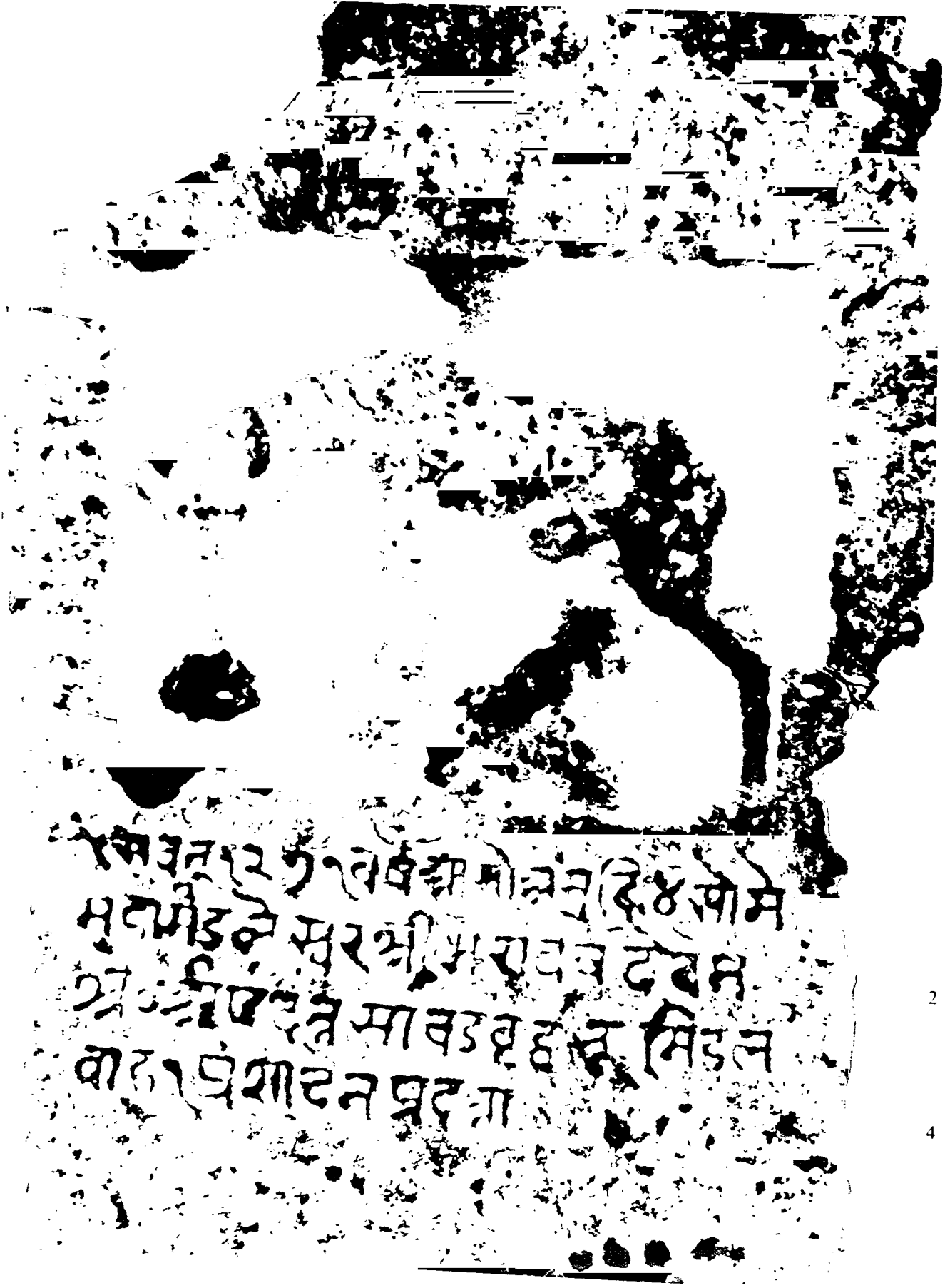


Right side



Scale: One-half

BUTRĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1271



Scale: One-half

NO. 75 : PLATES LXXVI - LXXVII

KĀMṬAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1274

THE stone bearing this inscription was found near a Śiva temple at **Kāmṭal**, a village lying just to the south of Piṇḍwādā, the chief town of a *tehsil* in the Sirōhī District of Rājasthān.

From there it was removed to Piṇḍwādā where it lay for some time, and was subsequently taken to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, where it is at present exhibited. The inscription was very briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-06, p. 48, and again in *ibid.*, 1910-11, p. 39; and subsequently it was transcribed by R. R. Halder, in his article published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LVI, pp. 47 ff.,¹ with Pl. The record is edited here from impressions which I owe to the kindness of the Curator of the Museum.

The inscription consists of 21 lines of writing, occupying a space 71 cms. high by 25 cms. broad. The stone is broken into two parts, almost in the middle of the record so as to separate the first ten lines from the remaining ones. Owing to this break, parts of letters have also peeled off in the eleventh line. With this exception, however, the record is in a fair state of preservation. The last four lines are shorter in length as they leave a blank space of one or two letters on either side. The size of the letters, which is about 2 cms. in the first thirteen lines, is slightly reduced in the remaining lines, till the last two lines show the letters about half of the original size.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgari** script of the 12th century to which the record belongs. The formation of *th* in *prathama*, l. 14, and of *bh* in *bhavaśya(viśhya)ti* in l. 15 is archaic. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is incorrect and full of local elements, particularly in the names Dhōmarāja (l. 3), Jasadhavala (ll. 4-5), and Lashamaṇasīha (l. 9). With reference to **orthography**, we may note that the vowel *i* continues its old form (l. 7); the consonant *dh* begins with a horizontal stroke (*dhō*, l. 3); *bh* continues its old form (*sōbhā*, l. 10); and the medial vowel of *su* is lengthened in all the instances. The record is in prose, except a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in ll. 14-17.

The **purpose** of the inscription, as suggested by the wording of it, is to record some grant by one Rāṇā Vaijā, son of Vijīsīrāhi (Vijayaśri-?), and by Lashamaṇasīha (Lakshmaṇasimha), son of Ānā, a Rāṭhaḍa of Hathiuṇḍi. The **object** of the grant cannot be definitely made out. The **date** of the record is furnished as (Vikrama) Year **1274**, *māgha-phālgunayōr-madhyē Sōma-grahana-parvaṇi*, i.e., on the **(lunar eclipse which fell between the months of Māgha and Phālguna)**. Obviously the day is to be taken to be the full-moon day of Māgha. But Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, shows that there was a lunar eclipse on the full moon day of Phālguna in V.S. 1273; and accordingly, taking the year as the Northern, *Current*, and the month as beginning with the new moon day, the date regularly corresponds to **5th of March, 1216 A.C.**²

The person who made the donation was a Rāṭhaḍa of **Hathūṇḍi**; and as already observed by D. R. Bhandarkar, this place is no other than Hastikuṇḍī in the Bālī District, Jodhpur division, where an inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa family was found.³ This place has given its name to the Hathūṇḍiā class of the Rāṭhōḍs originating from it.

The inscription refers itself to **Dhārāvarsha**, in whose reign the donation was made: and though he is not endowed in it with any of his *birudas*, from the mention of his father's name Yaśōdhavala, there is no doubt that he was no other than the homonymous ruler who belonged

¹ The present inscription appears on p. 51 of *ibid.*, with a facsimile.

² In his *I. N. I.*, No. 469, D. R. Bhandarkar calculated the corresponding Christian date as 29th December, 1217; but according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, there was no eclipse on that day, besides the fact that it was *amāvāsyā* of Pausa; and thus the calculation is obviously wrong. On the other hand, we find that there was a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Phālguna of the year, and the day corresponds to Saturday, 5th March, 1216 A.C., and thus also on the full-moon day of the next year, the day corresponding to 13th January, 1218, A.C. The first of these alternatives has obviously to be rejected. *A. S. I. R.*, *W. C.*, 1910-11, p. 39.

to the Ābū Paramāra line. The importance of the present inscription, however, lies in its mentioning the name of Dhūmarāja as one of his ancestors, as also to be found in the Hāthal grant,¹ and this statement goes to corroborate the information available in it. Nothing more is known about Dhūmarāja. It also appears possible that he may have been the same as the eponymous hero Paramāra himself, who is stated to have sprung out from Vasishṭha's fire-altar (or smoke).

Line 13 of the inscription mentions a son of Vālha, who is called an *āchārya*. The name of this person was probably Pūthama, as suggested by Halder.² This name appears to have been introduced to show that the grant was made to this person who may have been the *bhaṭṭāraka* of the temple. This statement is followed by a request to future kings to continue the grant; and in the end we find the name of Mahīdhara who appears to have been the engraver of the inscription, with some other expressions which I am unable to make out.³

Hāthiundī, the only **place** mentioned in the inscription, is the modern village of Hathūndī, as already stated. It is about 30 kms. due east of Osian, the chief town of a *tehsil* in the Jodhpur District of Rājasthān.

TEXT⁴

[Metre: Verse 1 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 संवत् १२७४ माघ-
- 2 फाल्गु (लु) नयो [मं] ष्ये
- 3 [सो] मग्रहणपर्व⁵ श्रीघो (धु)-
- 4 मराजसंतानजसध-
- 5 बलदेव⁶ सु (सु) तश्रीधाराव-
- 6 षंविजयराज्ये ।⁷ विजेसीरा-
- 7 हसू (सु) तराणावइजा हा-
- 8 थिउंदीवंस (श) रा⁸ ठडडआ-
- 9 नासू (सु) तलषमणसीह⁹ क-
- 10 मणसोभाकाम-
- 11 [म] ¹⁰-
- 12 हारात्रे¹¹ माममध्ये दि-
- 13 न २ आचार्य¹² बोल्हासू (सु)-
- 14 त [प्र (पू?) थम १ मम वंसप्यए षी-
- 15 जे¹³ अन्यो राजा भव (वि) स्य (प्य) ति [।*]

¹ Above, No. 68, 1. 3.

² The reading here is *prathama*, which, as already suggested by Halder, appears to be a name from the context. Otherwise, the numerical figure 1 after it remains unexplained.

³ Halder takes the last four lines as probably added later on by some person. He holds this view in view of the smaller size of the letters in them. As far as it appears to me, these lines belonged to the original inscription, showing the same palaeography and giving a coherent sense and they do not indicate any marked difference.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Read पर्वणि. From माघ up to this word the construction is as in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

⁶ Read यशोधवलदेव—.

⁷ The *danda* is redundant.

⁸ This is a suffix meaning 'of'; or it may be the initial letter of राणा.

⁹ The Sanskrit equivalent of this name is Lakshmanasimha. The expression that follows is unintelligible to me.

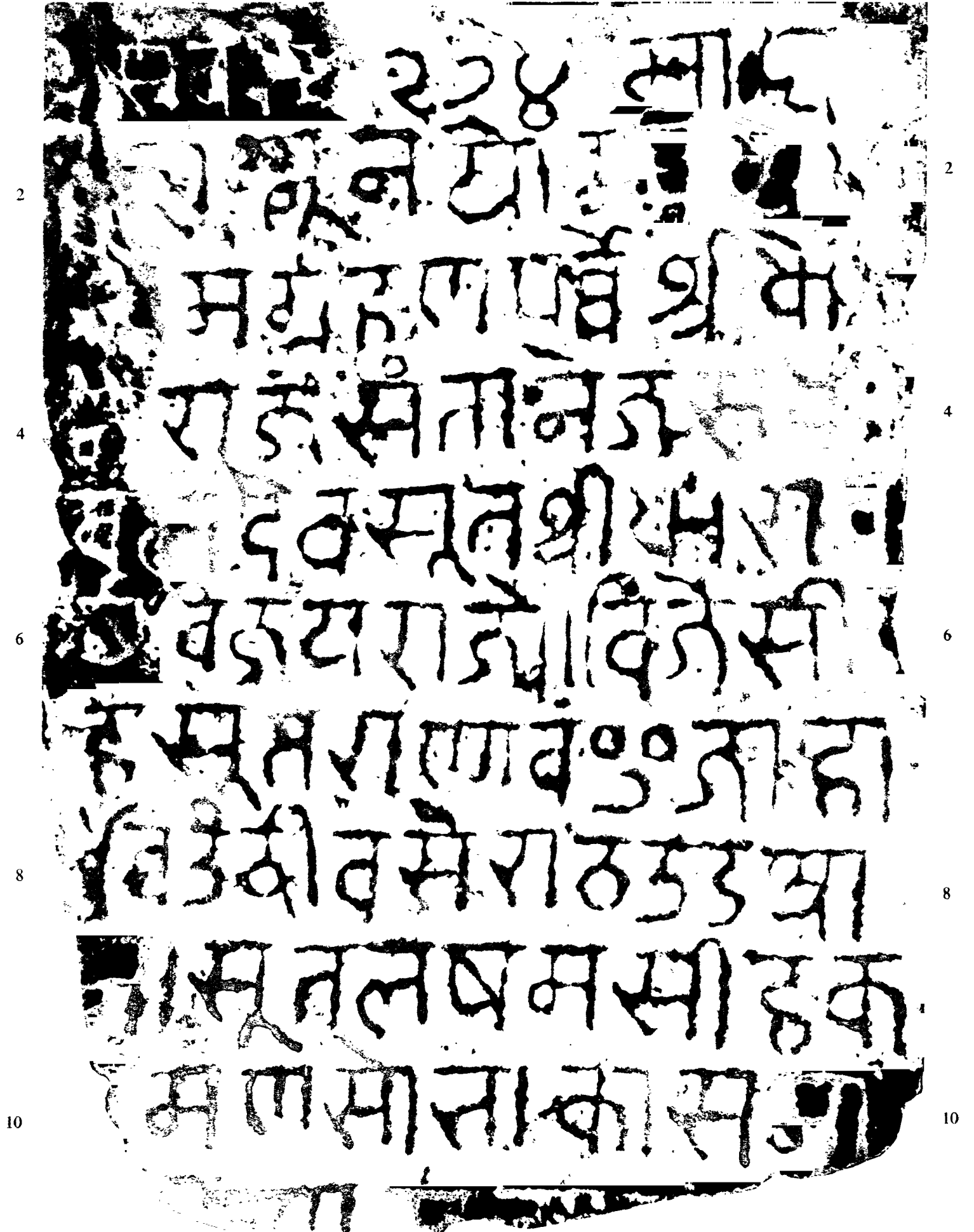
¹⁰ All the letters in this line are visible only in their lower parts and hence they cannot be made out.

¹¹ The first *akshara* has the *mātrā* of *ō* above, and hence its reading as *hā* and taking the whole word as *mahārātrē* to denote Śivarātri, as taken by Halder, is not acceptable. There is also a redundant *rēpha* on त्रे.

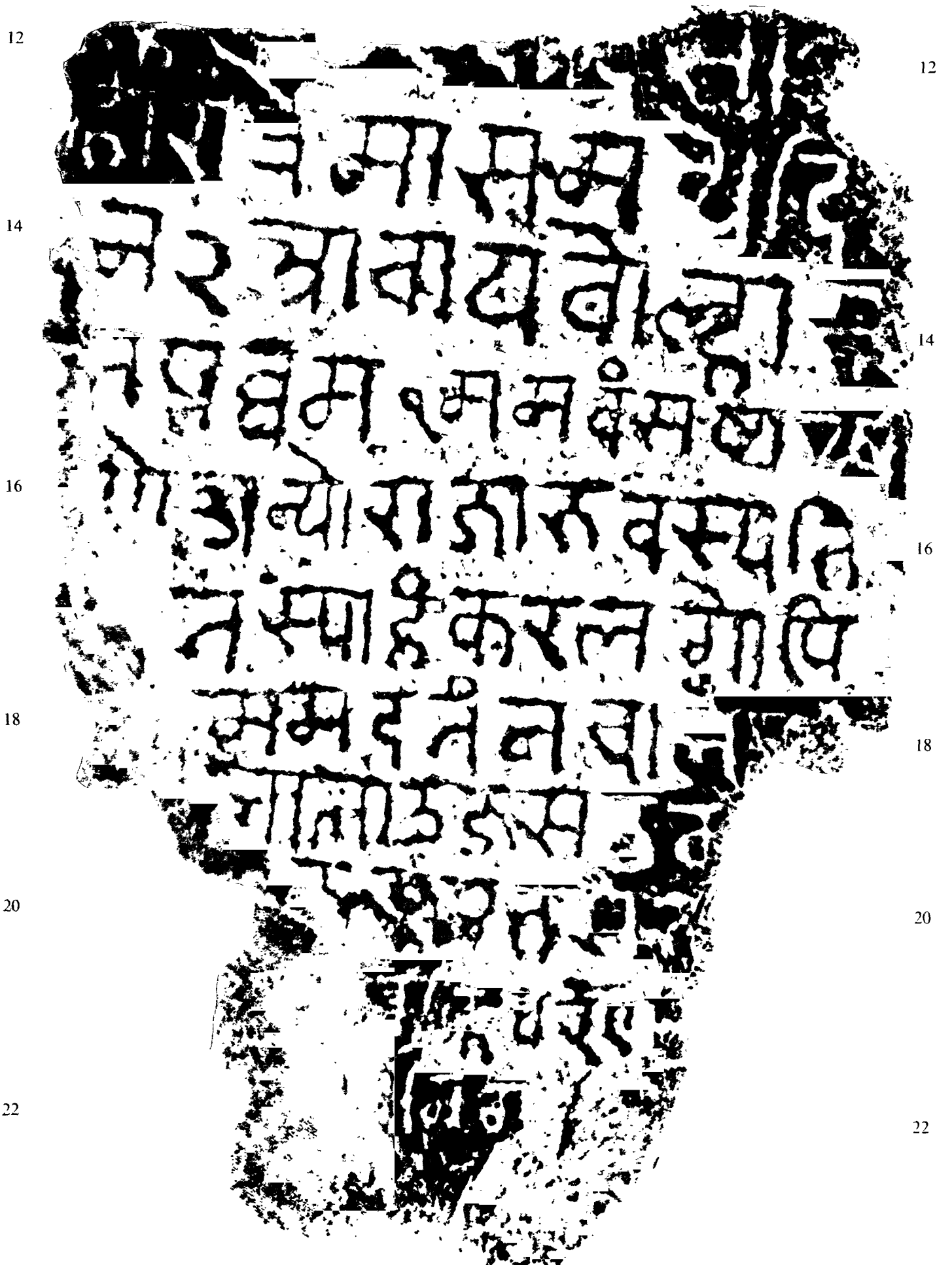
¹² The *rēpha* appears to have been omitted. Or, it is lost in the original, as shown by a trace above.

¹³ Read क्षये क्षीणे.

KĀṆṬAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
DHĀRĀVARSHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1274



KĀNTAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
DHĀRĀVARSHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1274



- 16 तस्याहं करलग्नोपि¹
 17 मम दत्तं (त्तं) न चाल . . ²[॥१॥*]
 18 [लालउज्जुतक?]-
 19 [ज] . . . [सुत]-
 20 [महिधरेण]³ [पूनिग?] [॥*]

No. 76 ; PLATE LXXVIII

RŌHĒRĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF CHANDRĀVATĪ

(Fragmentary)

THE plate containing this fragmentary inscription is the first of (apparently) two plates, the second of which is not forthcoming. It was discovered by the late Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, in the possession of a gardener of Rōhērā,⁴ or Rōhēdā, c. 25 kms. South-west of Piṇḍwādā, the principal town of a *tehsil* of the same name in the Sirōhī District and lies about six kilometres distant from the Rohērā Road Station on the Ajmer-Ahmedabad line of the Western Railway. Ojha noticed the inscription in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rājputānā Museum*, for the year ending March, 1932 (p. 2-3), where he gives its summary; and from an impression supplied by Dr. Chhabra, then Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, the record was edited by Professor Sadhuram in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXXII, pp. 135 ff., with transcript and facsimile. Nothing about the present whereabouts of the plate is known now, and as an impression of it is also not procurable, I edit the inscription here from a photograph which is kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist of the Central Archaeology Department.

The inscription consists of eighteen lines of writing, covering a space 23·3 cms. broad by 20·85 cms. high. There is one more line at the bottom, which is written by a different hand and the sense of which cannot be made out. It appears to have been added later and has no connection, whatsoever, with the main record. The average height of the letters is about ·8 cms.⁵

The **characters** of the inscription are of the Nāgarī alphabet of the 11-12th century. The letter *ch* shows a transitional stage; e.g., in *chakruḥ*, l. 8, it has its older form resembling *v*, whereas in *Chāhumāna*, l. 18, it is written in an advanced form. *Dh* has developed a horn on its left limb and the verticals of *dhā* are joined by a mid-stroke, as in *dharaṇī*, l. 5, and *Dhārā-varsha*, l. 17. The subscript *ṇ* often appears as *l*; cf. *Pūrṇṇapāla*, l. 8. The conjunct consonant *gg* is written as *gn*, as in *vargga*, l. 7; and *v* occasionally, though wrongly, is engraved as *y*, e.g., in *tanūdbhava*, l. 7.

The mason's slovenliness, along with that of the writer, is often to be noticed; e.g., *priyaḥ* in l. 1 is engraved as *triyah*, *sutau* in l. 6, as *śunau*, and *maṇḍalē* in l. 7, as *gaṁḍalē*. In *Yaśōdhavalō*, l. 11, both the *prishṭha-mātrās* of the diphthongs are separated from the letters to which they belong, and *v* appears as *d*. In *śaraughaiḥ*, l. 15, the *mātrā* above the top of the second letter resembles the curve of the medial *i* and the *ūrdhva-mātrā* of the third has come out only as a dot. And in l. 16 the word *pādān* appears as *pārān* and the top-knot of the left limb of *m* in *simha* is not distinct. It may, however, be observed here that some of the parts of letters which may not have been deeply and evenly engraved on the original, are possibly missing on the photograph.

¹ What appears to be intended is पादलग्नोस्मि.

² Fill up the gap by reading दत्तं, which has left traces. Perhaps *dattim* (a gift) is intended here.

³ Read मही—.

⁴ The antiquities of Rōhērā, also spelt as Rōhēdā, are noticed in *A.S.I.R.*, W.C., for 1905-06, pp. 53 f. It is also spelt as Rōhidā.

⁵ All these measurements are nowhere recorded; they are calculated by me from the scale of the photograph.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of the last (18th) line, the record is metrically composed. There are eleven stanzas which are all numbered. The **orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as to be found in the contemporary records; e.g. the use of *v* for *b*, as in *Vallāla*, l. 12; the general use of an *anusvāra*, wrongly even at the end of a hemistich; and the use of the *prishṭha-mātrās*. Of the consonants following *r*, only a few are doubled; as in *vargga*, l. 7, but not in *Arvuda* in ll. 3 and 13.

The **object** of the inscription cannot be definitely made out, since it was obviously mentioned in the second plate which is reported to have been lost. It may also have contained the date. But in spite of this loss, the portion that is extant is important as it gives a complete genealogy of the Paramāra rulers of Chandrāvātī from Utpalarāja to Dhāravarsha. The record begins with a verse invoking the blessings of the god (Śiva), the husband of Girijā, and whose matted hair are adorned by Gaṅgā appearing as a jasmine wreath. The next verse refers to the eponymous king **Paramāra**, who sprung from the fire-altar of the sage Vasishṭha at Ābū and humbled the pride of Gādhēya, the son of Gādhi, i.e., Viśvāmītra—a mythical account recorded in the several Paramāra inscriptions, as we have so often seen.

The inscription goes on to state that in his lineage was born the king **Utpalarāja**, whose son was the king **Aranyarāja**, and the latter's son was the king **Kṛishṇarāja**.¹ Kṛishṇarāja's son was **Dharaṇivarāha**,² and he had two sons, viz. **Dhūrbhaṭa** and **Mahipāla**,³ both of whom held the earth, i.e., governed the kingdom (v. 3). Mahipāla's son was **Dhandhūka**, who banished the enemies from his territories and governed the kingdom. This statement has evidently a reference to Dhandhūka's defeat and banishment by the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla and his success in regaining his kingdom with the help rendered by his kinsman Bhōjadēva of Dhārā, as we have seen while editing the Vasantgaḍh inscription of Pūrṇapāla.⁴ Dhandhūka, as the present inscription informs us, had three sons, **Pūrṇapāla**, **Dantivarman** and **Kṛishṇadēva**, who became rulers one after another (v. 5). The son of Dantivarman was **Yōgarāja**, who conquered the earth; and the son of Kṛishṇadēva was **Kākaladēva** (v. 6). The son of Yōgarāja was **Rāmadēva**, who was a terror in the battle-field; and from Kākaladēva was born **Vikramasimha** (v. 7). The son of Rāmadēva was the illustrious **Yaśōdhavala**, who destroyed in a battle, Ballāla, the ruler of Mālava (v. 8). We have seen above, while editing the Bāgh image inscription, how as a feudatory of Kumārapāla, Yaśōdhavala defeated and slew Ballāla who had usurped the throne of Mālava, proclaiming himself a king.⁵

Verse 9 of the inscription introduces Yaśōdhavala's son, the illustrious **Dhāravarshadēva**, who was well versed both in the *Śāstras* and the use of weapons, and who was loved by his subjects and was glorious. The next verse which is historically important, states that Dhāravarsha vanquished an army of the Mālavas, on the Parṇā, and drove it away. We have no reference to throw light on this point and it is difficult to say anything precisely about the incident, but it is possible to presume that being a devoted feudatory of the Chaulukya throne, Dhāravarsha may have sided his overlord in his struggle against the Paramāras of Mālwā. We know that as many as three rulers of Mālwā, viz. Vindhavarman, his son Subhaṭavarman and the latter's son Arjunavarman, who were all contemporaries of Dhāravarsha, led victorious expeditions in Gujarāt. The first of these princes, i.e. Vindhavarman, is known to have relieved Mālwā from the yoke of Gujarāt when Mūlarāja II (1176-78) was on the Chaulukya throne, and he seems to have achieved some preliminary success.⁶ Subhaṭavarman is known to have invaded the country during the reign of Mūlarāja's successor, Bhīma II, when the ministers and feudatories were

¹ In his edition of the inscription Sadharam translates the expression तन्मूर्तेरवतीर्णवान् as 'who was the very image of his father' (*op. cit.*, p. 136); but the use of the fifth case in the word मूर्ति which means 'body' leads me to translate it as 'from whom was born'. The sense, however, is in no way affected.

² In the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 239, D. R. Bhandarkar restores the first foot of the Vasantagaḍh inscription of Pūrṇapāla as दधूव तस्माद्धरणीवराहः. His restoration of this *pāda* is further supported by the evidence of the present inscription.

³ These were two rulers and not one, as taken by G. Ojha in his notice of the record, referred to above. Mahipāla was the successor of Dhūrbhaṭa, whose name is omitted in the genealogy given in the other inscriptions, e.g. in the one found at Vasantagaḍh (No. 62), as he was a collateral.

⁴ See No. 62.

⁵ In No. 66, above. Also see *I. N. I.*, No. 488.

⁶ *H. P. D.*, pp. 190 f.

divided and Gujarāt was passing in a state of anarchy. Mērutuṅga informs us that the minister Lavaṇaprasāda collected a strong army and put up a successful opposition, as a result of which Subhatavarman had to withdraw.¹ And viewing all these affairs, though it is not possible to say anything definitely about Dhārāvarsha's struggle with the Mālava army, it appears most probable that the credit given to him in the present inscription concerns possibly to this struggle than to the invasion of Gujarāt by Vindhyavarman or by Arjunavarman whose known dates range from 1210 to 1215 A.C. We know that Subhatavarman had penetrated farther in Gujarāt when he plundered and devastated not only this country but also Lāṭa, the ruler of which, Siṃha, who was a feudatory of the Chaulukya throne, had to transfer his allegiance to the Paramāra king.² But in the absence of any corroborative evidence the question of Dhārāvarsha's participation in this struggle remains unsolved.

The inscription further informs us that in the meanwhile, (taking advantage of the absence of Dhārāvarsha, who was then possibly engaged in his struggle with the Mālava army), Vikramasimha's son Raṇasimha captured the throne (of Chandrāvātī), which had been occupied by his father (*pituh*), but Dhārāvarsha, by pleasing his overlord by means of his wisdom, devotion and valour, regained the throne due to his (the overlord's) favour. And to understand this incident properly, we may go back to trace the history of the rulers of Chandrāvātī. It has been stated above that all the three sons of Dhandhūka, *viz.*, Pūrṇapāla, Dantivarman and Kṛishṇadēva, ruled over the kingdom, one after the other; and it may be presumed that Kṛishṇadēva, who was the youngest of all, may have been succeeded by his son Kākaladēva, and he by his son Vikramasimha. If so, Yōgarāja and Rāmadēva, respectively the son and the grandson of Dantivarman, were deprived of their right of succession and the kingdom passed on to Kākaladēva, the son of Kṛishṇadēva. But Vikramasimha who became treacherous in Kumārapāla's struggle with Ballāla, by going against his overlord and joining the enemy, was reprimanded and thrown into prison by Kumārapāla, who bestowed the kingdom of Chandrāvātī on his (Vikramasimha's) nephew, Yaśōdhavala,³ who had shown his bravery and devotedness to the Chaulukya throne by killing Ballāla, as seen above. The fate of Vikramasimha is not known thereafter; but it is quite natural to presume that his son Raṇasimha, who had been watching an opportunity, captured the throne when Yaśōdhavala's son Dhārāvarsha was engaged in a battle with the Mālavas. This must have happened during the reign of a successor of Kumārapāla, who subsequently favoured his feudatory Dhārāvarsha by bestowing on him the kingdom, as reported by the present inscription.

The last line of the plate states that Dhārāvarsha had a queen, but her name is unfortunately lost. She is said to have been a daughter of the Chāhamāna Kēlhaṇa, who belonged to the Nāḍōl house and died before V.S. 1251. As we know from some other records, one of Dhārāvarsha's queen was Śrīṅgāradēvī.⁴

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Arbuda** (l. 3) is of course Mount Ābū. The river **Parnā** where Dhārāvarsha is stated to have defeated the Mālavas (l. 15), appears to me to be identical with Pūrṇā, a stream flowing by the Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa temple at Gīrvaḍ, about 12 kms. due north-west of Ābū as we have seen while editing the inscription found at that place.⁵ This river flows in the region which was then being governed by Dhārāvarsha; and if this identification is accepted,⁶ we may also hold that the Mālava army had then penetrated into the region from where it was beaten back by Dhārāvarsha, and in view of this, Subhatavarman was then on the throne of Dhārā, as seen above.

¹ *P. C. M.*, p. 154.

² *Hammāramadamardana*, Act II. Here also see *Dvyāśrayakāvya*, Canto XIX, vv. 34 and 98.

³ *Ibid.* Also see Jinamaṇḍana's *Kumārapālaprabandha*, p. 42.

⁴ For example, see No. 70 and No. 73, v. 3.

⁵ See below, No. 82.

⁶ I again looked minutely in the photograph at my disposal and am inclined to feel that the reading of the first letter of the name of the river may be *ṛ*, the upper part of the *mātrā* being visible.

TEXT¹[Metres: Verses 1, 3-8 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 9 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 10 *Upajāti*].

- 1 ओम् ॥ देवः पायात् स वः श्रीमान् शृंगारी गिरिजाप्रियः² । य-
 2 स्य गंगा जटाजूटे मालतीमालिकायते ॥१ श्रीमच्छ्रेष्ठ(ष्ठ)वसिष्ठकुं-
 3 डहुतभुक्(ग्)जन्मार्तु(र्तु)दे योभवत्(द्) भूपालः परमार इत्यभिधया गादे(धे)य-
 4 दर्पापहः । तद्वश्योत्पलराजभूपतिमुतो योरण्यराजो नृपस्तन्मूर्तेरव-
 5 तीर्णवान् क्षितिपतिः श्रीकृष्णराजो जयी ॥२ श्रीधरणीवराहोभूत्प्रभु³-
 6 भूमेस्तदंगजः । श्रीधूर्भट्टमहीपालौ तत्सुतौ(तौ) दधतुर्मही(हीम्) ॥३ श्रीध(धं)धूका[⁴]
 7 धराधीशो महीपालतनूद्भयः(वः) । निःसार्य वैरिवर्ग⁴ यश्चक्रे राज्यं [स्वमं]डले ॥१*⁵ ४
 8 तत्सु[तः] पूर्णपालोभूद्वितिवर्मा द्वितीयकः । तृतीयः कृष्णदेवोभूद्वाज्यं चक्रुः क्र-
 9 मेण ते ॥१*⁵ दन्तिवर्मात्मजः श्रीमान् षोडशराजो जगज्जयी । राजा काकलदे[वो*] येत्(यः)⁵
 10 कृष्णदेवतनूद्भवः ॥१*⁶ योगराजांगसंभूतो रामदेवो रणोत्कटः । जातः काकलदे-
 11 वांगाद्विक्रमसिंहः क्षमाधिपः⁶ ॥१*⁷ रामदेवतनोर्जातः श्रीयशोध[व]लो नृपः । येन मा-
 12 लवभूपालो व(ब)ल्लालो⁷ दलितो रणे ॥१८*⁸ तत्सूनुः परमारवंशतिलकः क्षोणीभु-
 13 जामग्रीणीः शास्त्रास्त्रादिकलाकलापकुशलो लब्धा(ब्धा)नुरागो जने । श्रीमानर्तु(र्तु)दभूमि-
 14 मंडलपतिः प्रौढप्रतापान्ति(न्वि)तो धारावर्षन[रे]श्वरोभवदसौ पुण्यप्रभावोत्कटः ॥१*⁹
 15 पू[र्णा]⁹ तटे मालविकप्रवीरान् परागु(ङ्मु)खान् यः कृतवान् श[रौघैः] । क्षोणीं पिनु(तु)-
 16 विक्रमसिंहभू(सू)नुलेले(लेभे)न्तरा श्रीरणसिंहदेवः ॥१*¹⁰ प्रसाद्य स [प्र]भोः पारा(दा)न्
 17 वु(बु)द्धिभक्तिपराक्रमैः । तत्प्रसादात्पुनः प्राप धाराव[र्षो] निजां मही(हीम्) ॥११
 18 तस्य भार्या चाहुमानकुलवंशजा श्रीकेल्हणदेवदुहिता राज्य[श्री]-⁹
 19 ¹⁰

No. 77 ; PLATE LXXIX

DHĀNTĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SŌMASIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1277

THIS inscription was discovered by C. L. Suri, then Technical Assistant in the office of the Chief Epigraphist,¹¹ at **Dhāntā**, a village about 10 kms. south-southwest of Sirōhī, the headquarters of a *tehsil* and district of the same name in south-west Rājasthān. Mentioning some other images found at the place, the same scholar concluded that it is an ancient site where a temple of Śiva and another of Viṣṇu stood side by side at one time. He also edited the inscrip-

¹ From facsimile facing p. 137 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII.

² By wrong strokes of the chisel, the consonant of the preceding letter appears as त्र.

³ This quarter of the verse is metrically defective as the second *akshara* is short instead of long, as required.

⁴ The sign of *anusvāra* appears more on the preceding letter.

⁵ The intended reading appears to be काकलदेवोभूत्.

⁶ This *pāda* of the verse is again metrically defective.

⁷ By wrong carving the medial ā which is a component of the *mātrā* attached to this letter appears as the sign of *visarga*; and the *prishṭha-mātrā* of the following तो appears as a *daṇḍa*.

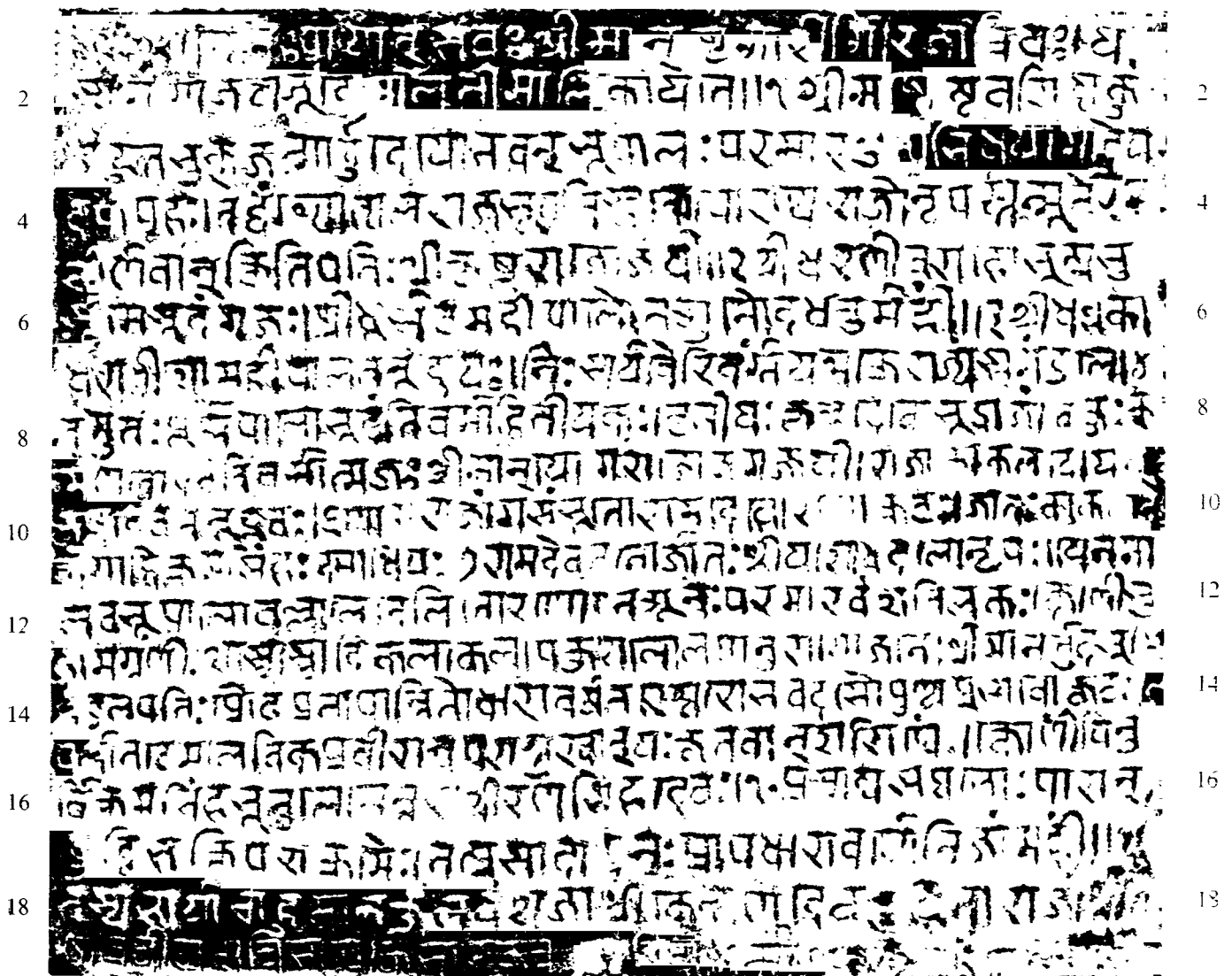
⁸ The superscript of the bracketed letter has come out only in the form of traces, as also the sign of the *mātrā* of the first *akshara*.

⁹ The intended reading may have been राज्ञी श्रीमती. From the other inscriptions we know that Dhāravarsha's queen was शृंगारदेवी. See Nos. 70 and No. 73, v. 3.

¹⁰ As stated above, this line was engraved later and has no connection with the main record.

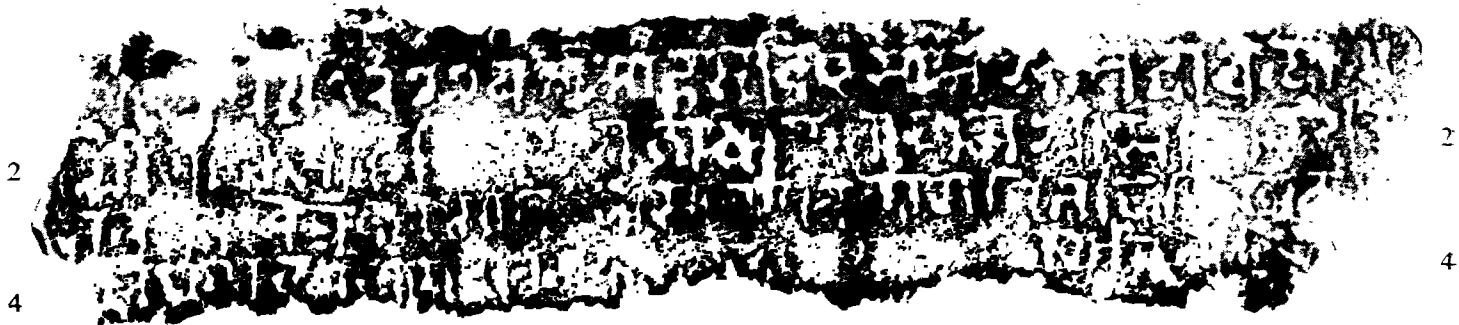
¹¹ Now a Superintending Archaeologist, in the Archaeological Survey of India.

COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARĀMARAS OF CHANDRĀVATĪ:
(FRAGMENTARY AND UNDATED)



From Photograph

DHĀNTA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
SŌMASĪHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1277



Scale: One-half

tion, with a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 209 ff. It is edited here from the facsimile accompanying his article. Later on, I have also revised the text from an impression which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist.

The record, which is incised on the pedestal of a statue of the goddess Mahishāsura-mardinī, locally called *Jōgmāyā*,¹ consists of four lines of writing, which covers a space 36.5 cms. wide by 7 cms. high. The letters are very badly incised and the stone is very much worse for weather action. The fourth line is almost totally lost and the penultimate line has some of the *aksharas* damaged or partly lost. The **script** in which the record is written is Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C. Noteworthy is the form of *dh* in *Dhāṇatā-* in l. 1, with the developed horn on its left limb and devoid of the top-stroke. The verticals of this *akshara* are also joined by a horizontal stroke. The medial diphthongs are indicated by the *śirō-mātrās*, which were current at the time to which the record belongs. The **language** is Sanskrit and the inscription is throughout in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any remark except that the name of the month *Māgha* is written as *Māha* in l. 1.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, during the victorious reign of **Sōmasimha**, ruling at **Chandrāvati**. The inscription is **dated** in the year **1277** (expressed in decimal figures only) of an unspecified era, which, of course, must be referred to the Vikrama era. The day was **Monday, the second of the bright half of Māgha**; and as calculated by Suri himself, the corresponding Christian date is **28th December, 1221 A.C.**² The year would be Kārttikādi Vikrama expired.

The dynastic name of the king or any title attached to his name is not mentioned in the record, but the statement that he was ruling at Chandrāvati and the provenance of the inscription leave no room for doubt that he belonged to the Paramāra dynasty ruling at the place during the time of the present inscription. Thus he appears to be identical with the son of Dhārāvarsha, mentioned in the Mt. Ābū inscription of V. 1287.³

The latest known date of Dhārāvarsha is Śrāvaṇa-śudi 3, V. 1276, as furnished by the Makāval stone inscription,⁴ and the present record, which is dated Māgha-śudi 2, V. 1277, shows that Dhārāvarsha was succeeded by his son Sōmasimha during this short period. Another Mt. Ābū inscription of V.S. 1265 (1208 A.C.) informs us that Prahlādana was the heir-apparent of his brother Dhārāvarsha,⁵ and the *Sōmasaubhāgya*, a work of the latter half of the fifteenth century A.C., mentions the former of these rulers as the lord of Arbudāchala.⁶ And if in the light of these statements it be held that Dhārāvarsha was succeeded by his brother Prahlādana, and he by his nephew Sōmasimha, the interval of eighteen months, shown by the two inscriptions referred to above, becomes still shorter. But the information supplied by the two sources is of a dubious nature. The statement of the Mt. Ābū inscription, *viz.*, that Prahlādana was the heir-apparent of Dhārāvarsha does not necessarily show that the latter was succeeded by the former, whom he might have predeceased, and what is recorded in a late work composed in the latter half of the fifteenth century A.C. cannot have any force in it for want of a corroborative evidence. It is however, possible that Prahlādana may have been entrusted by his brother with some work in administration and thus he may have been mentioned as the lord of Arbudāchala in the *Sōmasaubhāgya*.

The present record is therefore important as it furnishes the earliest date for the accession of Sōmasimha. His latest known date is borne by the Dēvkhētar inscription, as we shall see while dealing with that record.⁷

Beginning with the date and referring to the reign of the king Sōmasimha, as discussed above, the inscription contains an expression *Śrī-S[ī]gāradēvī .. kālē*, the full significance of which cannot be made out as the two important *aksharas* are lost in it. I agree with Shri. Suri in

¹ In his article Shri Suri also states that the image which is made of marble stone is now broken into two pieces and stands on a platform near a well called *Pāḍarlū arhaṭ*.

² My scrutiny shows the year to be 1220 A.C.

³ Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 488. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 211, v. 40 (l. 24).

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 473. Our No. 197.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 454. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 221 f.

⁶ See *H. P. D.*, p. 317.

⁷ Below, No. 79.

holding that Sīgāradēvī of the present inscription is evidently identical with Śṛiṅgāradēvī, the chief queen (*paṭṭa-rāṇī*) of Dhārāvarsha, as we know from the three inscriptions at Ajhārī, Jhālōḍī, and Rōhēḍā,¹ and thus she was the mother of Sōmasimha. But the same scholar also takes the above expression to mean that she was connected with the work of the creation of the image. This, however, appears to be less plausible; rather, on the other hand, from the use of the word *kālē* at the end of the expression, I am inclined to hold that the queen appears to be in charge of administration during the minority of her son, Sōmasimha. This inference however, needs some support to be accepted.²

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Chandrāvati** is, of course, the capital of the junior branch of the Paramāras; and **Dhānatā** is evidently identical with Dhāntā where the inscription was found.

TEXT³

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [1*] (सं)वत्(त्) १२७७ व[र्षे] माह⁵ सु(शु)दि ६ सो[मे] श्रीचंद्रावत्यां ॥⁶
- 2 श्रीसा [७] मसी(सि)हविजयराज्ये धा[ण]ताग्रामे श्रीसीगारदेवि-
- 3 ००⁷काले प्रवर्त[माने] दे[व्याः] मूर्तिः]⁸ कारापिता⁹ प्र . .¹⁰
- 4 (11)

No. 78 ; PLATE LXXX

NĀNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SŌMASIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1290

THE stone bearing this inscription is stuck up into the ground near the doorway of the hall of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādēva at **Nānā**, a village in the Bālī *tehsil* of the *Pālī* District in Rājasthān.¹¹ D. R. Bhandarkar, who first saw the inscribed stone in his visit to that place in 1907-8, was informed that it was originally found in the vicinity of the shrine. He briefly noticed the contents of the record in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* of the Archaeological Survey of India, for the same year (*i.e.*, 1907-8), on p. 49, with the remark that "the inscription is highly weather-worn, but, with a little care and patience, the important portion of it can be read with certainty". The inscription is edited here for the first time from my own transcript based on impressions, prepared for me by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle. It is needless to say that the transcript is bound to be fragmentary, as the

¹ Nos. 70, 73 and 78, respectively.

² The first of the two inscriptions mentions the name as Sīgāradēvī, and adds that she was the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha, and the second gives the name as Śṛiṅgāradēvī, and also says that she was the daughter of the Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇa of Nāḍōl.

³ From facsimile facing page 211 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol which is partly visible.

⁵ Read माघ.

⁶ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

⁷ These two *aksharas* cannot be made out. The first of them appears to be *bh* (?). The first letter of the name is perhaps स्री on the original.

⁸ The reading of the bracketed letters is conjectural, from the traces left.

⁹ Incorrect for कारिता, as we find also in many other inscriptions of the time.

¹⁰ The intended reading is perhaps प्रतिष्ठा for प्रतिष्ठापिता. All the letters in the line that follows are partially visible.

¹¹ For the situation of the place, see above, No. 69.

record has still further suffered due to its exposure to weather since Bhandarkar visited that place in 1907-8.¹

The inscription contains thirteen lines of writing which covers a space of about 28·5 cms. broad by 29 cms. high. From some faint traces below the thirteenth line, it appears possible that there may have been some more lines which are now lost. The existing portion of the record too is in a very bad state of preservation, and being not deeply engraved, the letters are extremely worn out. The impression also shows that the stone was not properly made smooth before the record was incised on it. The average height of the letters is about 1·5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C., to which the record belongs. They evince much carelessness on the part of the engraver, e.g., *ma* in *Sōmasimha*, l. 2, is engraved as *na*; *pra* in *-prasāda-*, l. 5, as *tra*; and the consonant *t* in *-kriti-*, l. 6, appears as *v*. Similar misformation and omissions of limbs of letters are to be noticed in some other instances also. It is also worthy of note that the form of *r* is wedged throughout, e.g. in *-rāja-*, l. 2; the medial diphthongs are denoted both by the *prishṭha-mātrā* and the *śirō-mātrā*, as in *narvēdya-*, where both these appear side by side in l. 8; the sign of *avagraha* is also to be found, as in the first line; and lastly, the word *-simha-* is written as *-śha* in l. 6. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is throughout in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Sōma-simhadēva**. His dynastic name is not given, but the mention of *Chandrāvati* as in the preceding inscription leaves no room for doubt that he was identical with Dhāravarsha's son Sōmasimha of the preceding inscription which was engraved only thirteen years before it and which also comes from the same region.

The **object** of the inscription is to record some donation, the nature of which cannot be made out, though it appears to have been some land or a village, as the name of a village, *Sōdēra*, is mention along with it. The purpose of the donation was to provide the daily *naivēdya* for Nīlakaṇṭhadēva (l. 8), near the temple of which the stone was found. The grant was made from his *jāgīr* of *Sōdēra*, by one Lākshā, who is stated to have been appointed an officer by Sōmasimha and a favourite of the heir-apparent Kāṇhadēva, i.e., Kṛishṇadēva III, the son of Sōmasimha. The inscription is **dated (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1290 and the day was Monday, the 15th of the dark fortnight of Mārga, i.e., Mārgaśīrsha**. The **date** regularly corresponds to **13th December, 1232 A.C.**, for the *current* Vikrama year, taking the month as *amānta*. It is one of the few dates showing the current year.²

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, **Chandrāvati** (ll. 1-2) is, of course, the capital town of the Ābū branch of the Paramāra rulers, as we have been seeing; and **Sōdēra** may be identical with the modern village Sēdlā which lies about 5 kms. north by east of Nāṇā where the inscription was found. Or, it may have been the modern village Sadrā, about 25 Kms. north by east of Nāṇā.³

TEXT⁴

1 -३ संवत् १२९०^६ वर्षे मा(र्ग) वदि १५ सोमेज्ज [चंद्रा]-

¹ In my personal visit to the temple on 13-9-1972 I closely examined the record which I found incised on a stone slab set up on a platform on the proper left side of the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* of the temple. The inscription occupies the middle of the slab, leaving the top and the bottom blank. I also found the inscription completely coated with white-wash, which had to be cleaned for my examination of it. The incisions are very shallow.

² D. R. Bhandarkar read the month as Māgha, for which see *I. N. I.*, No. 509, and *n.* in the text, below. The only probable equivalent of this date would be 2nd January, 1234 A.C., on which Amāvāsyā commenced at 41 moment of Sunday, and ended at 45 moment of Monday, after mean sunrise.

³ The map at my disposal shows still another village suggesting its identity with Sōdēra. It is Sandairāo which lies about 40 kms. north-northeast of Nāṇā and about 15 kms. north-northwest of Bālī, the headquarters of the *tehsil* in which all these places are situated. None of these suggestions can be said to be final.

⁴ From impressions and subsequent personal scrutiny.

⁵ One expects here a symbol denoting auspiciousness, as also shown by the traces.

⁶ The first two digits, which are obliterated and illegible in the impressions, are adopted here from Bhandarkar's reading. The second *akshara* of the name of the month is clearly *g* with a *rēpha* above, and hence I take the month as Mārga-(śīrsha) and not Māgha as read by him.

- 2 वत्यां महाराजाधिराजश्रीमोन(म)मिहदेवश्री-
 3 विजयराज्ये तन्नियुक्तोहं श्रीमोदेरप्रतिपत्तौ
 4 [श्री]तदीयपरमप्र[भो:] श्रीपादपद्मप्रसादावाप्त - . .
 5 श्रीकान्हडदेवप्रसादपद(?)¹त्तत्त भुज्यमाननाणक-
 6 . दिमीहनु . [म]हं विक्रमसिंहकृ[ति] पंच-----
 7 ----- राम ----- वमति -----
 8 ----- श्रीनीलकण्ठदेवनैवेद्यावतार -----
 9 ----- प्रतिदिनं ----- प्रद[त्तं(त्तम्)] -----
 2.

No. 79 : PLATE LXXXI-A

DĒVKHĒTAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SŌMASĪMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1293

THIS inscription was noticed by Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, for the year 1910-11, p. 7, and thereafter by V. S. Sukhthankar, in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle*, Archaeological Survey of India, for 1916-17, p. 69. It is edited here from my personal inspection and fresh impressions which I owe to the kindness of the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle of the Survey.

The record is incised on the base of a short pillar pertaining to the porch of the Śiva temple at **Dēvkhētar**,³ which is an ancient site about 2 kms. from Asāvā in the Rēodhar *tehsil* of the Sirōhī District in Rājasthān and lies about 18 kms. north by east of Rēodhar. The record consists of four lines. The writing measures about 31 cms. broad by 13·5 cms. high. The average height of the letters is between 2 and 2·5 cms. They are not well formed, though they are distinct and fairly legible. The *ūrdhva-mātrā* is throughout used to denote the medial dipthongs. Much of the portion of the record is in a local dialect. It is in prose. It appears also to have lost some letters on the proper left side and the sense cannot be clearly and completely made out. The **purpose** too is not clear.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign of **Sūmasiha** (*i.e.*, Sōmasimha). It does not furnish the name of the family to which this ruler belonged, but from the provenance of the record he appears to have been no other than the homonymous ruler who was the son of the illustrious Dhārāvarsha of the Ābū Paramāra house. The earliest date for this king is V.S. 1277, furnished by the Dhāntā image inscription;⁴ and the importance of the present record is that it provides his latest known year, giving him at least 16 years.

The **date** of the record is **Jyēshṭha, 1293** (of the Vikrama era); and the year, if taken as current, corresponds to **1235 A. C.** The details of the date are not mentioned and hence it cannot be verified.⁵

¹ The two *aksharas* appear to be struck off in the original and the whole corrected as प्रसादावाप्त.

² The rest of the inscription is illegible.

³ The antiquities of this place, which is also spelt as Dēvakhētra, or -Kshētra, were described by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Prog. Rep.*, of the W. Circle, for the year ending March, 1907, p. 30. The place is about 3 kms. from Sirōdī which is on the Rēodhar-Sirōhī metalled road. The record is incised on the last pillar of the circumbulatory path of the temple which contains a fine image of Trimūrti, in marble. The letters of the record are not deeply engraved and those at the end of each line are lost owing to a slanting break of the stone on this side. Inside of the lintel of the porch is another record in eight long lines which are all damaged but the first line reads:

... स्वस्ति (1*) संवत् १२०२ मार्गशिर मु(गु)दि ३ सोमदिने श्रीजम(यशो)धवल-

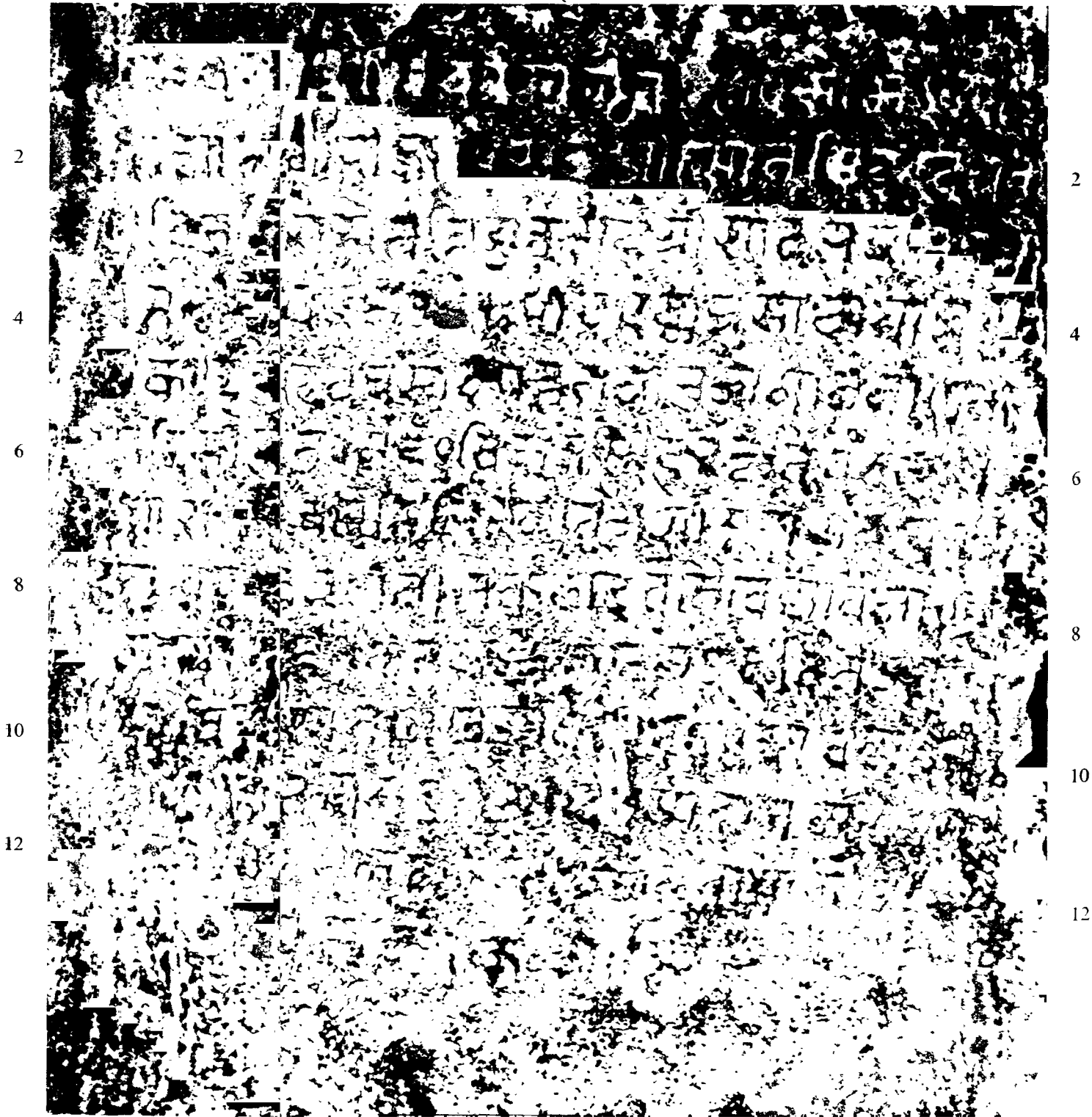
देवविजयराज्ये एतत्तस्मिन्(एतस्मिन्) काले प्रवर्त्तमाने प्रदत्त(दीय)मान द्रं २--

The date regularly corresponds to 17th December, 1145 A.C.

⁴ Above, No. 77.

⁵ However, if the expression *mahā* is intended to show the *mahāpūrṇimā* (full-moon day) of the month, the date would correspond to 22nd May, 1236, for the *current* Vikrama year 1293.

NĀNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
SŌMASINHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1290



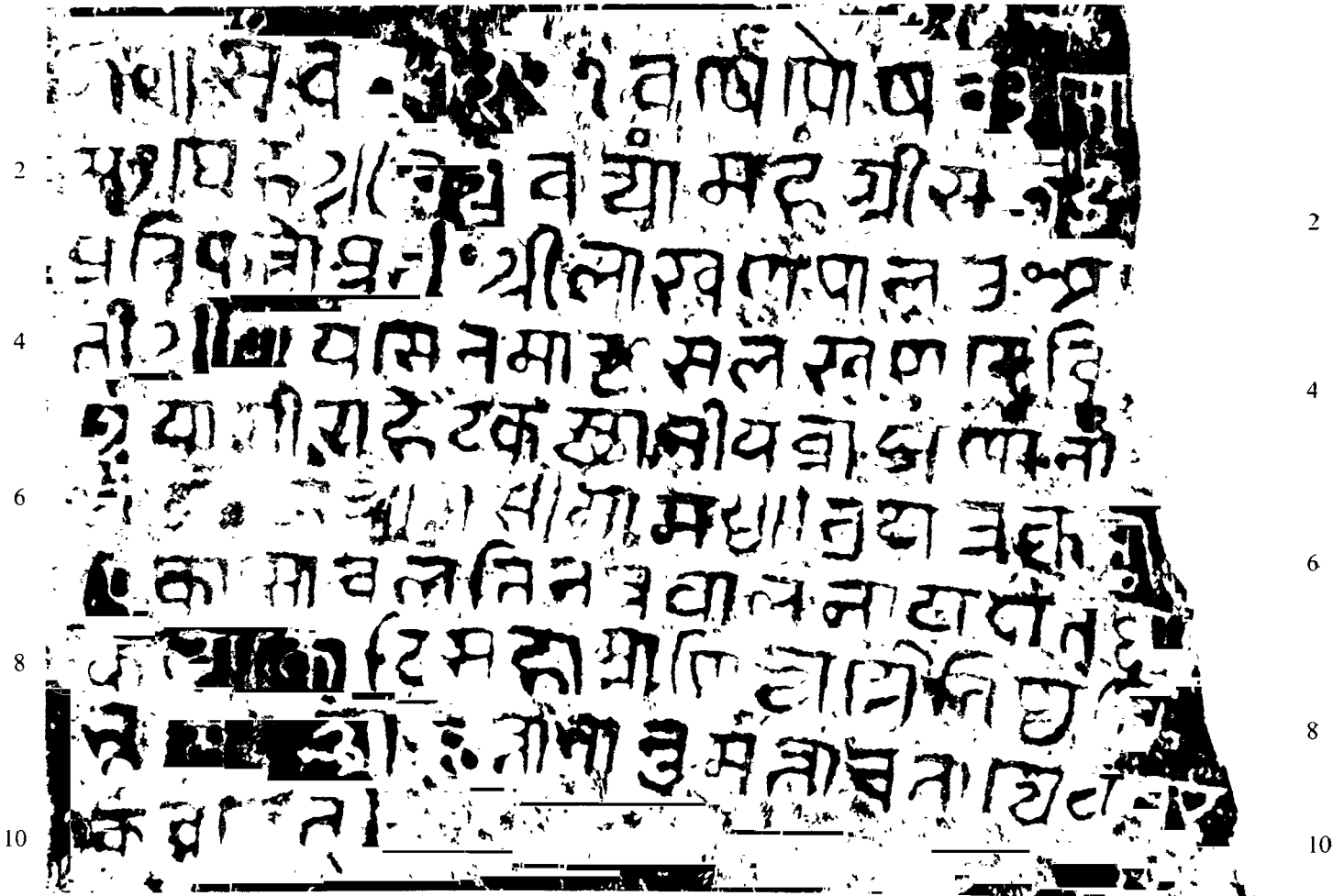
Scale: Five-eighths

A DEVAKHĒTAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
SŌMASIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1293



Scale: Six-elevenths

B BHŪLĀ STONE INSCRIPTION: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1321



Scale: Two-fifths

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीः ॥ संवत्(त्) १२६३ वर्षे जेठिम[हा?] ²
 2 द(?)दिने सूमसी³हदेवविज(य) (राज्ये*)⁴
 3 ५पा . चां . ड(?) चौकुमकलं तथा
 4 च . र वेचि चौकडमुक

No. 80 : No PLATE

KĀLĀJARĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ĀLHANĀDEVA

[Vikrama] Year 1300

THIS inscription was transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar in his *Jaina Inscriptions* (1918), Pt. I, p. 266 and also by Muni Jinavijaya in his *Prāchīna-Jaina-Lēkha-Saṃgraha*, Pt. II, pp. 260-61, No. 426. It is stated by the latter of these scholars that he found the record in the deserted village of **kālājarā** or **Kālāgara**,⁵ some two miles from Vāsā in the (former) Sirōhī State in Rājasthān. Vāsā, which is situated on the southern border of Rōhidā, is a big village and a railway station in the Pīndwādā *tehsil* of the modern Sirōhī District, which gave us a number of inscriptions of the Ābū branch of the Paramāras, but the village known as Kalāgara does not now exist, and the fate of the inscription is not known. And since it is now not possible to obtain even an impression of the record, I edit it here from Jinavijaya's transcript, reproducing the text as read by him, with my notes added to it.

The record contains 14 lines of writing, all of which, excepting ll. 1-5 and 11-12, are fragmentary. The dimensions of the writing are not recorded. The **script** is Nāgarī and the inscription is all in prose. **Orthography** calls for no remarks, except that *kh* is written as *sh* in ll. 4 and 6.

It refers itself to the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Ālhanāsīmhadēva*, ruling at **Chandrāvati**, and its **object** is to record the perpetual donation of some land in favour of a temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.

The record is dated on **Monday, the tenth day of the bright half of Jyēshtha in the (Vikrama) year 1300.**

As regards the equivalents of the date, we find:

Northern Vikrama *current*: Sunday, 11th May, 1242.

Northern Vikrama *expired*: Saturday, 30th May, 1243.

Southern Vikrama *expired*: Wednesday, 18th May, 1244.

None of these equivalents shows the week-day to be a Monday, as given in the inscription, and presuming that the first *akshara* of this day, which was engraved as *bhau*, may have been read by the transcribers as *sō*, the last of the equivalents mentioned above appears possible.

The donation was made by the illustrious Shētāka, probably to be taken as Khētāka or Khētā, who was then in charge of the royal seal. The details of the land appear to have lost in ll. 8-9, and in ll. 12-14 the names of some witnesses are mentioned. We cannot be certain about their number which appears to be about half a dozen. As far as we can make out from ll. 12-14, which are fragmentary, one of them is a *Rāūla* and at least three are Brāhmaṇas. All the names cannot be completely made out; but one of them is Alīṇa, another Davaū and

¹ From an impression.

² The number of *aksharas* lost after this *akshara* cannot be made out.

³ That is सोमसिंह-. The sign of *anusvāra* is faint even on the stone.

⁴ This *akshara* is probably ञ, which was obviously followed by राज्ये, which too appears to be lost.

⁵ The rest of the record is all in the local dialect and I am unable to make out the sense.

⁶ As the name is spelt by Jinavijaya and as it also appears in the inscription. In his *List of Inscriptions of N. India* (No. 539) D. R. Bhandarkar spelt the name as Kālājarā.

the third is Sōhana, probably to be corrected to Śōbhana. It is not definitely known how the record ends.

The inscription states nothing about the lineage of Ālhapasimha, or the family to which he belonged, but he is mentioned with the Imperial titles as reigning at Chandrāvātī in V. 1300 or 1243 A.C. No king with this name ruling in this year is known to us from any other source. The Girvaḍ stone inscription of V. 1344 or 1285-86 A.C., which we have edited below,¹ informs us that in that year, *i.e.* in 1285-86 A.C. the throne of Chandrāvātī was in possession of Pratāpasimha, the son and successor of Kṛishṇadēva or Kṛishṇarāja, none of whose records has come to light so far. And considering the year of the present inscription with the one found at Girvaḍ, I agree with Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha² in holding that Ālhapasimha may have been either an elder brother of Pratāpasimha and thus a son of Kṛishṇarāja, which indicates the possibility of his name being omitted in the Girvaḍ inscription, or, belonged to any other ruling house which may have captured Chandrāvātī for the time being. His Imperial title is also noteworthy here. Neither of these suggestions can be finalised until we get a corroborative evidence.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the inscription is that of **Nānakalāgara** in l. 6. This appears to have been a complete name of the village where the inscription was found but which no longer exists.

TEXT³

- 1 सं.⁴ १३(२)०० वरपे जेठ मुदि⁵ १० सोमे अछेह चं-
- 2 द्रावत्यां महाराजाधिराजश्रीआल्हण-⁶
- 3 सिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराजे⁷ तन्नि-
- 4 युक्तमुद्रायां⁸महं श्रीषेताप्रभृतिपं⁹-
- 5 चकुलं¹⁰ शासनमभिलिख्यते यथा
- 6 महं श्रीषेताकेन¹¹ ————— नानकलागर-
- 7 ग्रामे ————— श्रीपाश्वर्नाथ
- 8 देवस्य लो ¹²
- 9 ————— रहिता
- 10 एवं(वम्) ॥ आचंद्रार्क — — —¹³ यस्य
- 11 यस्य यदा भूमी तस्य¹⁴ तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
- 12 साखि¹⁵ राउल . ब्रा¹⁶ अलिणव ब्रा दउव
- 13 ब्रा जव — सोहण — — — वणदेसणा-
- 14 कल्हा . . . ॥

¹ No. 82.

² G. H. Ojha: *Sirōhī-Rājya-kā-Itihāsa*, p. 154.

³ From Jinavijaya's transcript in his *Prāchīna-Jaina-Lēkha-Saṁgraha*, Pt. II, pp. 260-61, No. 426.

⁴ That is, संवत्. The correction in the hundred figure of the year as done here does not appear to be necessary.

⁵ Read वर्षे ज्येष्ठ शु दि.

⁶ Sandhi between *Śrī* and the following vowel is not performed here for the sake of clarity, as in *Śrī-Udayāditya*, as often noted by us.

⁷ Read —राज्ये.

⁸ An expression like व्यापारे or अधिकारे is omitted here.

⁹ This *akshara* does not stand here for पंडित. In the name of the person *sh* appears to have been used for *kh*, and in the next line the suffix *ka* is used for the case-ending.

¹⁰ Read पंचकुले or कुलेन.

¹¹ Read either अहं पे(खे)ताकः or मया पे(खे)ताकेन.

¹² The purpose of the gift and the dimensions of the land appear to have been mentioned here.

¹³ A word like *pālanīyam* and the first half of the customary benedictory verse appear to have lost here.

¹⁴ Read भूमिस्तस्य.

¹⁵ This is the local word for साक्षी.

¹⁶ This *akshara* appears to be the abbreviation of ब्राह्मण.

No. 81 ; PLATE LXXXI - B

BHULĀ STONE INSCRIPTION

[Vikrama] Year 1321

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Gaurishankar H. Ojha, in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, for 1910-11, *appx. A*, No. 11. It was subsequently noticed by the Chief Epigraphist, in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, for the year 1968-69.¹ It is edited here for the first time from a set of impressions which I owe to his kindness.

The record is incised on a stone-slab, found at **Bhulā** in the Piṇḍwāḍā *tehsil* of the Sirōhī District in Rājasthān, and is now preserved in the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. The writing covers a space 41 cms. broad by 31 cms. high, and contains 10 lines, the last of which is only 11·5 cms. long and contains 4 *aksharas*. It is fairly legible except the first three letters in l. 6, which contain a name. The average height of the letters ranges between 1·5 and 2 cms.

The **script** used is Nāgarī of the 13th century A.C., to which the record belongs. It is slovenly written and a few of the *aksharas* are not well formed, *e.g.* *dra* in *Chandrāvati*-, l. 2; *tyu*- in *mātyu*-, l. 4; and *sva* in *svarggē*-, l. 8. The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit and the record is entirely in prose. The *prishṭha-mātrās* are used, the only exception being noticed in *Rōhēṭaka* in l. 5, which shows the sign of the medial diphthong above the letter.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a grant of some land in favour of the Brāhmaṇas of Rōhēṭaka-*sthāna*, in the village Maṇḍāvaḍā, which was then being administered by Sajaḍa who is otherwise unknown. The donation was made by *Pratī*-, *i.e.* *Pratīhāra* Lākhaṇapāla and his brother *Pratīhāra* Gōpasēna for the merit of their mother Salakhaṇadēvī, in the (Vikrama) year **1321, on Monday, the third day of the dark half of Pausha**. For the current Vikrama year the date regularly corresponds to **19th of November, 1263 A.C.**

The inscription opens with the date, expressing the year in decimal figures only; and subsequently it mentions Chandrāvati, the capital of the Ābū branch of the Paramāras, as we know from some other sources also. At this place the donation stated above was made. The name of the king, who was then ruling, does not figure in the record, but from the provenance of the inscription and the year given in it, he appears to have been probably a descendant of the well-known ruler Dhārāvarsha, a younger son or brother of Sōmasimha and the father of Pratāpasimha who is known from the Girvaḍ inscription of V.S. 1344.²

The inscriptions of the time of Dhārāvarsha range between V. 1220 (1164 A.C.) and 1276 (1219 A.C.); the first of these is known to have been found at Kāyadrā and the second at Makāval.³ After this long reign of about 55 years this king appears to have been succeeded by his son Sōmasimha, whose earliest and latest known years are V.S. 1287 and 1293, respectively. And considering that Dhārāvarsha closed soon after the date furnished by the Makāval inscription, *i.e.*, some time about V. 1280, his son Sōmasimha's reigning period may be calculated to have ended some time towards the close of V. 1300, when he was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇarāja. And if all this calculation is correct, we may further suggest that the present inscription was issued some time towards the close of Kṛishṇarāja's reign, shortly after which the territory around Ābū was temporarily annexed by the Guhila Samarasimha of Mēvāḍ who came to the throne some time between 1267 and 1273 A.C.⁴

The details of the land which was donated, are not mentioned in the record, which states only that it was situated within the boundary of the village Maṇḍāvaḍa and extended up to the place where the reeds locally known as *kāsa* begin to grow.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Maṇḍāvaḍa** (l. 6) is the modern village of the same name lying about 3-4 kms. due north of Bhulā where the inscribed stone was found and which itself is about 32 kms. due south-southwest of Piṇḍwāḍā, the headquarters of the *tehsil* of the same name. In the same *tehsil* exists another village with the same name Maṇḍāvaḍ;

¹ His No. C-2685 of 1968-69.

² Below, No. 82.

³ No. 67 (from kāyadrā): For the other, see No. 197, below.

⁴ *S. E.*, p. 90. Also see *I. N. J.*, Nos. 579 and 649, respectively.

but it is about 25 kms. north by west of the original find-spot of the inscription and thus obviously cannot be taken as the village intended. **Rōhēṭaka**, the original place of the Brāhmaṇas in favour of whom the donation was made (l. 5), is obviously the village Rōhēḍā, lying about eight kms. north of Bhūlā and about twenty kms. south by west of Piṇḍwāḍā.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्² ॥ संवत् १३२१ वर्षे पौष व³ ३ सो-
- 2 मे⁴ञ्चेह श्रीचंद्रावत्यां⁵महं श्री[रा]⁶जड-
- 3 प्रतिपत्तौ प्रती⁷ श्रीलाखणपाल उ०⁸ प्र-
- 4 ती श्रीगोपमेनमा[तृ]⁹मलखण[दे]वि(वी)-
- 5 श्रिया(यै) शी(श्री)रोहेटक[स्था]नीयत्रा(त्रा)ह्यणानां¹⁰
- 6 [मंडावडा(दा)]¹¹ ग्रामसीमामद्या¹² तुथत्¹³ कृता
- 7 पि¹⁴ कासो चलति [नलवालनायटां]¹⁵ तष्ठां(था?)
- 8 कल्पकोटिमहा(ह)जाणि [म्ब]ग्गे तिष्ठति
- 9 भूमिद[:*।] आच्छ(च्छे)त्ता ना(चा)नृमंत्ता(ता) च तान्येव नर-
- 10 कं वजेत्¹⁶ ॥

No. 82 : PLATE XXXII

GIRVAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PRATĀPASIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1344

THIS inscription was first noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, for 1906-07, page 27, and was again referred to in *ibid.*, for 1916-17, p. 60, and also in the *Annual Report of the Survey*, for 1906-07, p. 209. Subsequently, it was edited by the late Bisheswarnath Sastri, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XLV (1916), pp. 77 ff., with text in the Nāgarī characters (pp. 77-79), but without a facsimile. It is edited here from the original stone and a set of impressions provided, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle, Baroda.

¹ From an impression.

² Denoted by a variant of the symbol.

³ That is, वदि.

⁴ The sign of the *prishṭha-mātrā* appears to have peeled off.

⁵ The sign of *anusvāra* is redundant and who is referred to by what follows is not clear.

⁶ The sign of the *mātrā* has a horizontal stroke in its middle, denoting either that the sign itself is scored off or this letter has to be read as *sa*, or it may be only a scratch.

⁷ That is, प्रतीहार.

⁸ Neither the reading of this letter is certain nor is its denotation known.

⁹ This *akshara* is misformed and also damaged.

¹⁰ The *mātrā* above the first *akshara* of the name of the village is damaged and has faintly come out in the impression.

¹¹ These four letters forming the name appear as if tampered subsequently and the reading is from the traces left.

¹² Read व्या(व्ये). The vertical of the *mātrā* is followed by another vertical stroke and both these are joined by a slanting stroke.

¹³ Read तथात्.

¹⁴ Read अपि.

¹⁵ The meaning of these five letters is not known to me. The expression appears to be in the local language and perhaps expresses a curse.

¹⁶ Generally we find वसेत् in this verse used elsewhere.

The inscription is on a black stone slab, now built into a niche on the left side wall of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of a temple dedicated to the god Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, as locally called and also mentioned in the inscription. The temple stands about a kilometre south-west of the village which is now known as **Girvaḍ**, or Girvar, evidently a corruption of Griviḍa of the inscription, in the Sirōhī District of Rājasthān.¹ The record contains 39 lines of writing, which covers a space 75.5 cms. broad by 57 cms. high. The average height of the letters is about 1 cm. The inscription is in a good state of preservation, with the exception that two letters are lost in abrasions in l. 22, and a few in the last three lines have disappeared due to the flaking off of the portion of the surface of the stone, here and there. The letters are neatly written, but the engraver has done his work most slovenly. There are instances of corrections, omissions and additions, and also of scoring off some of the letters and their parts, *etc.*, all these making the task of the decipherer rather painful, as to be seen from the notes appended to the text, below.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** alphabet of the thirteenth century A.C. The initial *i*, which appears about half a dozen times (ll. 14, 17, 19, 20, 27 and 31), is almost in its modern form; and the signs for the consonants *ch*, *dha* and *v* are distinct from one another. The first of these *aksharas* shows its loop triangular, often with the horizontal stroke above, and the second has developed a horn on its left limb. The letter *b* has a separate sign of its own, as in *Arbuda*, in l. 1; *bh* occasionally resembles *t*, as in *abhinandyaṁāna*- l. 7; and the subscript form of *r* is shown by a serif attached to the lower extremity of the letter, *e.g.*, in *vīpra*, l. 11. The tail of the left limb of *t* and *h* is often not marked: cf. *e.g.*, in *patnī*, l. 4, *hētu*-, l. 27, and *Kēlhaṇa*, l. 21.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and leaving the last four lines which are in a local dialect, and also with the exception of a short sentence paying obeisance to Purushōttama, in the beginning, the record is metrically composed. The metres employed are all well known: but the rare *bhujāṅgaprayāta* and the still rare *mattamayūra* are also used, respectively in vv. 24-25 and 43. Two of the *pādas* in a verse involve *yati-bhaṅga*.² The record has 46 stanzas, all of which are numbered. The style is fluent and the poet was a good student of the kāvya-literature, often imitating the writings of Kālidāsa and Śrīharsha, as can be seen by the reading of verses 6, 9, 17 and 31.

With reference to **orthography**, we may note that (1) a class-consonant following *r* is not unoften doubled, as in *pūrṇa*-, l. 9, but not in many other instances, *e.g.*, in *nirjara*, ll. 16 and 17; (2) the dental sibilant is occasionally put for the palatal, *e.g.*, in *suddhayē*, l. 26; (3) the medial diphthongs are sometimes shown by the *ṣiṣṭha-mātrā*; (4) the *avagraha* sign is often used to show the elision of *a* after *ē* or *ō*, but sometimes wrongly, as in *tath*=*ārbuda*, l. 2, and *vā*=*sya*, l. 31; (5) a *daṇḍa* is occasionally put so close to a letter as to appear as a *mātrā* attached to it, as after *-mānaḥ*, l. 7, and *ratnaḥ*, l. 12; and (6) the sign of *anuvāra* is throughout used to denote a nasal, except sometimes *n*, as in *sainya*, l. 6, but not in *Chandrāvātī*- and *baṇḍha*-, in ll. 15 and 17. There are errors of spellings, some of which may be ascribed to the writer, *e.g.*, *ujjvala* in ll. 5 and 10 is written as *ujvala*, *tadjña* in l. 9 as *tajña*, *lasad-dyuti* in l. 12 as *lasadyuti*, and *āśīd*=*dvijendra*- in l. 20, as *āśītvijendra*. The dynastic name appears as *Paramāra* in v. 4, but as *Pramāra* in v. 2, which is for metrical exigencies, as in some other inscriptions.

The inscription is a *prasaṁsī*, a laudatory account; and its main **object** is to record the innovation of the temple of Pāṭa-Nārāyaṇa, or, Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, at Griviḍa, by a Brāhmaṇa minister of **Pratāpasimha, a Paramāra ruler of Chandrāvātī** (v. 30). The work of repairing the temple was commenced, as stated in words in vv. 36-37, on the **10th of the bright half of Āśvina of the (Vikrama) year 1343**, and finished, as mentioned in words vv. 37-38, and repeated in figures in the last line, on the **5th of the bright half of Jyēshṭha of (the Vikrama) year 1344, on Monday**. The latter of these dates regularly corresponds, for the southern V. *expired*, 1344, to **7th May, 1288 A.C.**; and the former, which contains no means of verification but is

¹ The village is situated about 12 kms. due north-west by west of Ābū, and is almost 4 kms. south of the village Chandala which is connected with Ābū Road by a metalled road. For the antiquities of the place, see *P. R. A. S. I., W. C.*, referred to above. In his visit to the place, in 1906-07, D. R. Bhandarkar saw the inscribed slab deposited in the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple, along with some other sculptures.

² In v. 33, for which, see text, *n*.

said to have preceded it, should therefore be taken as equivalent to **Thursday, 18th September, 1287 A.C.**, of course presuming that it was the immediately preceding date.

The inscription opens with a short sentence in prose, paying obeisance to Purushōttama, and then it has a verse invoking the blessings of the illustrious Paṭṭanārāyaṇa (an image of whom is) stated to have been installed, along with an abode of Brāhmaṇas,¹ on Mount Ābū, by the illustrious Rāma, on his way back to his capital, with Sītā, after killing Rāvaṇa. The next verse mentions the name of Vijayāditya, the Brāhmaṇa poet, who composed the record and who proposes to give here an account of the religious performances of Rāma and Vasishṭha, of the family, along with the origin of the Paramāras (Pramāras) on (in the region of) Mount Ābū,² and the repairs to the temple by the Minister Dēlhaṇa. From the third verse to the end, the contents of the inscription may be split up into the following sections: (a) verses 3-18 give the genealogy of the ruling house of the Paramāras of Ābū, from the beginning up to Pratāpasimha, in whose time the temple was repaired: (b) verses 19-35 describe the repairs to the temple, by Dēlhaṇa, whose genealogy is also mentioned: and (c) the remaining portion showing the date, the names of the writer and the engraver of the record, and some donations made to the temple.

To take up the first of these sections, verses 3-4 narrate the well-known myth of the creation of the originator of the Paramāra family (which is called *jāti* here) by the sage Vasishṭha, who also blessed it with his *gōtra*. This mythical account, as we have so often seen, has its origin in this region and is a later creation. It is, however, worth noting that the present inscription mentions the name of the hero created by Vasishṭha as **Dhūmarāja**, as also in No. 75, whereas in all the other records referring to the myth, he is called Paramāra: and thus both these names appear to be identical. The next verse, which is intended to bless this family, also tells us that the expansion of this house will be related in due course (*krāma-saṅkathā*), and with this remark, it proceeds to say that Rāmachandra, after testing Sītā's piety in the fire, on Mt. Ābū, established the god Śuddhēśvara, at this place, and after being inaugurated there by Vasishṭha, and having established the image of Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa and of Lakshmaṇēśa at the confluence of Pūrṇā and Paṭṭanada, near the hermitages of Vasishṭha and Gautama, left for his capital, with Sītā and Lakshmaṇa (vv. 6-9). From that day, this spot was known as *Guhya-tīrtha*, which was regarded holy (v. 19).

Verses 11-12 again praise Mt. Ābū in a poetic way, and the next six verses describe the genealogy of the Paramāras holding sway over the region of Chandrāvātī. The first historical figure mentioned in the inscription is the king **Dhārāvarsha** who exhibited his bravery by killing as many as three buffaloes in one shot, thus excelling Chaṇḍikā, who slayed only one of the kind (Mahishāsura) with her sword (v. 15).³ Dhārāvarsha's son was **Sōmasimha** (v. 16), whose son was **Kṛishṇadēva**; and the latter's son was **Pratāpasimha**, who vanquished **Jaitrakarna** and delivered Chandrāvātī, which had been submerged in the ocean in the form of enemical forces (vv. 17-18). The Jaitrakarna mentioned here was, in all probability, the Guhila king Jaitrasimha of Mēwād, whose known dates range between 1213 and 1252 A.C. and who invaded the territory of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt and also pushed his conquests in the north up to Nāḍol and Jālōr, which were then under the Chāhamāna Udayasimha.⁴

The second section of the inscription commences from verse 18, stating that the temple, which had suffered from decay in course of time, was re-built by the Brāhmaṇa Minister Dēlhaṇa (vv. 20-23). In the following three verses the record gives the genealogy of Dēlhaṇa, as follows: In the line of Upamanyu-muni was born a Brāhmaṇa named Vīṅkāka, whose daughter Charūpī (or Rūpī?)⁵ was married to Sādāka: and from this union five sons were born, viz., Lakshmaṇa,

¹ The reading *vipra-sthāna-samam* in v. 1, where the word *samam* I take in the sense of *saha*.

² I would interpret the expression as '*Pramāṇrōdhayam, (tēshām) Ārbudam cha charitam*.'

³ As observed by Sastri, on the Mandākinī tank outside the temple of Achalēśvara on Ābū there is a statue of Dhārāvarsha about 5 ft. in height, with a bow in his hand and three buffaloes standing before him side by side, with a hole running through their bellies. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 77. It is a marble image, incised with some letters, but in my short visit to that place I could not decipher the writing.

⁴ *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawar*, p. 84. Also see *H. P. D.*, p. 322; *S. E.*, p. 90. For the earliest and latest known inscriptions of this king, see *I. N. I.*, Nos. 462 and 545, respectively.

⁵ The particle *cha* may also be taken separate, and thus the exact form of the name cannot be ascertained.

Kēlhaṇa, Vālaṇa, Dēlhaṇa and Bhāskara, who were all learned in the Vēdas. In vv. 27-31 it is stated that the fourth of these brothers, i.e., Dēlhaṇa, by repairing the temple, made known (renowned) his Garga *gōtra*, Mādhyandinī *śākhā*, three *pravaras*, Yajurvēda, his village Grivaḍi (the same which is mentioned as Griviḍa, in v. 7, above), and seven of his ancestors along with some others, including himself and his five brothers. The names of the seven ancestors are: Āvasa, --la, Vānā, Dēdāka, Kēśava, Mahamūṇa, Malha and Sāsā (or Sāsa). Verses 32-35 eulogise Dēlhaṇa's conduct when the temple was under repairs. The next five verses mention the date of the commencement of the work of repairing the temple and the date of its completion, as we have already seen; and verse 41 that follows describes the temple in a poetic way, using the figure of speech known as *utprēkshā*.

Verse 42 of the inscription is historically important. It states that the temple was repaired during the rule of Vīsala, son of Bhādadēva; and from the mention of his father's name, Vīsala of the inscription was evidently different from the well-known Vāghēla king of the same name, the son of Vīradhavalā. The Turushkas defeated by Vīsala, as recorded in the inscription, appear to have been, as already suggested, the Muslim army invading Ābū during the reign of Ghiyas-ud-dīn Balban (1266-1278 A.C.),¹ which is also said to have been vanquished by the Guhila Samarasimha, as recorded in the Ābū stone inscription of V.S. 1342,² set only a couple of years before the present inscription. It would therefore appear that it was perhaps the same struggle in which the Guhila ruler and Vīsala jointly succeeded in repelling the Muslim invasion. As to the Mālava ruler who is said to have been defeated by Vīsala, he may have been Arjuna-varman II, as taken by D. C. Ganguly, Jayasimha-Jayavarman, as suggested by H. C. Ray, or, Gōgā (Kōkā), as held by A. C. Majumdar.³

The year of the present record, which is only seven years earlier than that of the Ābū inscription referred to above, favours the view that the Vīsala referred to here was the governor of the region when the repairs to the temple were carried on. But this view remains uncertain unless it is supported by any other evidence.

Verse 43 of the inscription tells us that the *praśasti* was composed by Vaijāditya, apparently the same as Vijayāditya mentioned in verse 2, above, and also that his parents were Paṇḍita Dharaṇīdhara and Chāmpalā. The next verse states that the record was engraved by Gāṅgadēva, son of Mūmadēva, a resident of Rōhēḍā. And v. 45 speaks of the ability of the poet. The last verse informs us that the Poet's father was a friend of Mōhana, the son of Ālhādana (Āhlādana), who was perhaps one of the seven forefathers of Dēlhaṇa.

The following three lines record grants and offerings made for the *naivēdya* to be presented to the deity. They are:

(a) One *dōṇakārī* (?)⁴ field in the village of Chhanāra, donated by Dēvaḍā Mēlāka, son of Śōbhita of the Mahārāja-kula.

(b) A *Dhūmadū*, i.e., *dhimaḍā* (well) in the village of Khīmāūlī, by Vīrapāla, son of the *rājaputra* Vīhala.

(c) In the village of Āūlī, 8 seers of corn from each *arahaṭṭa* and 2 seers from each well, donated by the villagers.

(d) In the village of Kālhaṇavāḍa, one seer of grain for each plough measure, and 10 *drammas* from each of the villages, by Nuḍimala, son of Gōhila.

(e) For twelve *ēkādaśis*, the revenue of *chōlāpikā* in the village of Maḍāūlī and the custom-duty from the custom-house of Chandrāvātī, by the Rājaputra Gāṅgū and Karmasīha (-sīmha).

The last line mentions the date of the *pratishṭhā* ceremony, in figures, as we have already seen.

Of the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription, **Arbuda** (ll. 1, 9 and 12), **Ayōdhyā** (l. 9) and **Mālava** (l. 31) are too well known to be identified. **Griviḍa** (ll. 7 and 22), as already seen, is evidently the modern village of Girvaḍ where the inscribed stone was found; and **Pūrṇā** and **Paṭṭanada** (l. 8) are the two streams flowing by the side of the temple and

¹ D. R. Bhandarkar Memorial Volume, p. 89.

² P. O., p. 69. Also see I. N. I., No. 610.

³ For details, see C. G., pp. 183 f.

⁴ For the explanation of this and the other technical terms occurring here, see notes appended to the text.

confluencing with each other at that place. They are also mentioned as *Gaṅgā-dvaya*, in l. 9. **Rōhēdā**, the place of the residence of the engraver (l. 33), is the principal town of the *tehsil* of the same name in the Sirōhī District, and is about six kilometres distant from the Rōhērā Road station on the Rājputānā-Mālwā Railway line.¹ All the other places where donations were made, as recorded in ll. 36-38, can be located in the modern Ābū Road *tehsil* of the Sirōhī District and in the neighbourhood of the find-spot of the inscription.² Thus, **Chhanār** is the modern village of the same name (56), about 14 kms. west-south-west of Ābū Road; **Shimāuli** appears to be the same as Māval (63), situated about 10 kms. south by west of Ābū Road; and Āuli, is obviously the modern village Awāl (54), at almost the same distance and in the same direction from Ābū Road. **Madāuli** appears to be identical with Moordala (13), about 10 kms. north-northwest of Ābū Road; and **Chandrāvati**, which still retains its old name, lies about 8 kms. south-west of Ābū Road (66), as we have so often seen. The only place mentioned by the name **Kālhanavāḍa** in l. 37, cannot be definitely identified; but it may perhaps have been the same as Kṛishṇaganj (82), as suggested by the name. It lies in the adjacent *tehsil* of Sirōhī itself, and almost at the same distance north by east of Ābū Road.

TEXT³

[Metres: Verses 1-2 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 21 *Mālinī*; vv. 4-12, 16-17, 19, 31, 40 and 45 *Upajāti*; v. 23 *Indravajrā*; vv. 13-14, 18, 20, 41-42 and 46 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 15, and 34-35 *Svāgatā*; vv. 22, 27-30, 36-39 and 44 *Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 24-25 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*; v. 26 *Āryā*; vv. 32-33 *Sālinī*; v. 43 *Mattamayūra*].

- 1 । सिद्धम्⁴ ॥ ओं नमः पुम्पोत्तमाय ॥ श्रीरामेण विजित्य रावणमथ स्वीकृत्य सीतां किल व्यावृत्तेन पुरीं पुराज्वदतटे कृत्वाऽथ देवाचर्चनं(नम्) ।⁵ विप्रस्थानममं सुमं-
- 2 गलपदं यः स्थापितोऽसौ विभुर्भूयाद्भूरिविभूतये म भवतां श्रीपट्टनारायणः ॥१॥ देवस्या[द्भु]तविक्रमस्य भवतो⁶ रामस्य धर्मक्रमं वाशिष्ठं च तथावुदं च चरितं किं-
- 3 चित्प्रमारोद्भवं(वम्) । चक्रे देहहर्मन्निणोद्धृतिरथ श्रीपट्टविष्णोर्यथा विप्रः सर्वमिदं व्यनक्ति विजयादित्यः कविग्रामणीः ॥२॥ जयतु निखिलतीर्थैः सेव्यमानः ममं-
- 4 तान्मुनिमुरमुपपत्नीसंयुतैरबुदाद्रिः । विलसदनलग्नादिद्भुतं श्रीवशिष्ठः कमपि सुभटमेकं सृष्टवान् यत्र मंत्रैः ॥३॥ आनीतधेन्वे परनिर्जयेन मुनिः स्वगो-
- 5 तं परमारजातिं(तिम्) । तस्मै ददावुद्धतभूरिभाग्यं तं धौमराजं च चकार नाम्ना ॥४॥ वशिष्ठगोत्वोज्ज्वल⁷ एष लोके ख्यातस्तदादौ परमारवंशः । स्वस्त्य[स्तु] तस्मै क्रमसंकथा-
- 6 यां विधास्यते तस्य विभावनापि ॥५॥ किलैकदा नि[र्हु]तरावणः श्रीरामोऽवु(वु)दोपांतनिविष्टमैन्यः । वह्नी विशु[द्धा]मिह वीक्ष्य सीतां शुद्धेश्वरं स्थापयति स्म देवं(वम्) ॥६॥ स्था-
- 7 नं तथाग्रे श्रिवाडिं च नाम्ना साम्नायविप्रैरभिनन्दमानं(नम्) । निवेश्य पट्टे⁸ प्रकृताभिषेकः श्रीमद्वशिष्ठेन तदा मुदा च ॥७॥ श्रीमद्वशिष्ठस्य च गौतमस्य⁹ पुण्याश्रमोत्तीर्णमुरश्च(म्)-
- 8 वंत्याः । इह प्रवाहद्वयसंगमार्णःपूष्णापिगापट्टनदोपकंठे ॥८॥ श्रीपट्टनारायणमेनमुच्चैः प्रकल्प्य तत्रैव च लक्ष्मणेशं(शम्) । सौमित्रिसीतापरिचर्यमाणस्ततः प्रतस्थे स्वपु-

¹ It is about 20 kms. south-southwest of Pinḍwāḍa and included in the *tehsil* of the same name. Also spelt as Rōhidā. For a copper-plate inscription from the same place, see above, No. 76.

² The identification of all these places is based on *C. I. R. A.*, and the number in brackets following each place-name is that of the village mentioned in the *tehsil*.

³ From the original stone and inked impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ This *danḍa*, as some others below, looks like a *mātrā* attached to the preceding letter, and there are examples of the reverse case also, all of which are not noted here.

⁶ For भगवतो, which would not suit the metre. The flaw may perhaps be eradicated by reading देवस्याद्भुतकर्मणो भगवतो.

⁷ Read -ज्ज्वल, and also note the spelling of the name of the sage with the palatal in this and in the fourth line.

⁸ And hence we get the name *Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa*.

⁹ The use of *cha* between the two names is wrong; it is adopted for metrical exigencies.

GIRVAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PRATĀPASIṆHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1344

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Scale: One-fourth

- 9 रीमयोध्यां(ध्याम्) ॥९ तदादि गंगाद्वयवारिपूर्णः ख्यातः स्फुटं पट्टनदोयमुच्चैः । कृष्णोपकंठे ननु मुक्तिहेतुं यं गुह्यतीर्थं प्रवदति तज्ञाः(ज्ञाः) ॥१० किं ब्रूमहे वैभवमर्बु(र्बु)दाद्रेः सम-
- 10 स्ततीर्थैः समलङ्कृतस्य । च्छा(छा)यापि यस्यातनुते मनूनां तनुत्यजां दुर्गतिनाशमुच्चैः ॥११ स्थाने ततस्तत्सविधोर्वरायां वराणि तीर्थान्यननोत्स रामः । अथोज्व(ज्व)लं स्थानमपि प्र-¹
- 11 सिद्धं सद्देविद्विप्रवरोरुद्धं(द्धम्)² ॥१२ श्रीरामशासनमहो किमु वर्णयामः किं वा प्रमारपृथिवीपतिसच्चरित्रं(त्रम्) । यै-
राममुख्यपृथिवीपतिदत्तभूमिरापाल्यते प्रतिपदं विनिरस्त-
- 12 लौल्यैः ॥१३ तस्मिन् किला[र्बु]दधरावलये स धारावर्षो बभूव नृपतिर्गुह्वरीरत्नं(लम्) । यस्य प्रभापरिकरोऽद्य दिनानि यावत् यस्मिन्नमत्यपि लमद्यु(द्यु)तिरद्भुतं तत् ॥१४ एकवा(वा)-
- 13 णनिहतत्रिललायुं यं नि[रीक्ष्य]कुर्योधमदृक्षं(क्षम्)³ । चंडिका हततदेककपाला लज्जितासिमधुना न धुनाति ॥१५ श्रीसोमसिंहोजनि भूमिपालस्तनोरिभूपालनिव(व)द्धकालः ।
- 14 यः शौर्यदानाधिकयो[गभावा]त्संगीयते राम इवाभिरामः ॥१६ श्रीकृष्णदेवस्ननयस्ततोभृद्(द् बु)द्ध्यापि शौर्येण च कृ[ष्ण]कल्पः । प्रद्युम्नकल्पोऽजनि⁴ येन स श्रीप्रतापसिंहोरिकरी-
- 15 द्रसिंहः ॥१७⁵ कामं प्रमथ्य सम[रे] जगदेकवीरस्तं जैवकर्णमिह कर्णमिवेन्द्रमुनः । चंद्रावती परकुलोदधिदूरमग्नानुव्वी(व्वी) वराह इव यः सहस्रोद्धार ॥१८ अथालमेषामनु-
- 16 संकथाभिरेतन्महीमुख्य(त)यादृताभिः⁶ । वक्ष्यामहे संप्रति पट्टविष्णुप्रासादजीर्णोद्धरणक्रमं⁷ तं(तम्) ॥१९ कालः किलास्ति दुरतिक्रम एव योसौ तान् निर्जरानपि जराविधुरा-
- 17 न् करोति । चेन्नेति निर्जर[प]तेः किमनेन चक्रे प्रासाद एष ननु जर्जरिताश्मबंधः ॥२० इति ननु कतिचिद्भिर्वामरैः शीर्णसंधौ शिथिलितशिखराग्रे निर्गलदृष्टिर्विदौ । वत रु-
- 18 दितवतीव स्वाश्र[येस्मि]न्हरिस्त[त्प]टुतरकरणार्थं देह्णं व्यादिदेश ॥२१ ततः पट्टतरं मंत्री देह्णो ब्राह्मणो⁸ व्यधात् । श्रीपट्टविष्णुप्रासादं जीर्णं वित्तरसायनैः ॥२२ व्यापारधौरेयतयै-
- 19 ष मंत्री ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ ऽ⁹ किं नेति तत्किं ननु मंत्रयोगात् । यो मंत्रयित्वा हृदि रामराज्यं धर्मेण साहाय्यमहो चकार ॥२३ इतश्चोपमन्योर्मुने रम्यगोत्रे स वीका-
- 20 क इत्याविरासीद्वि(द् द्वि)जेंद्रः । यतः संप्र[सू]ता च रूपीतिनाम्नी सुता चंद्रिकावत्सुखातिशुद्धा ॥२४ तथा संगमासाद्य मादा-
कनाम्ना द्विजेनोज्व(ज्व)लेनेदुकांतोपमेन ।¹⁰ सुताः पं-
- 21 चयज्ञोपमाः पंच जाताः सुधापंचनिर्मलसंदोहकल्पाः ॥२५ लक्ष्मण¹¹केल्हणवालणसंज्ञास्तुर्यम[तु] देह्[ण]स्तेषु । ख्यातो भास्करनामा पंचमकः श्रुतिविदः¹² स[र्वे] ॥

¹ This *danḍa* is redundant.

² The fifth *akshara* in this line was at first incised as *di* and later on corrected by erasing the horizontal stroke following it. Similarly, the ninth and tenth letters were originally cut as *vīrā* and later on corrected.

³ As also noted by Sāstri, what is stated in this verse is supported by the fact that on the bank of the tank at Achalagaḍh, from which place we have the inscription No. 65, there is a statue of Dhāravarsha with a bow in his hands and three buffaloes standing before him with a hole running through their bellies. In my visit to the place I also noticed an inscription on the side of the statue but it is highly weather-worn to be made out.

⁴ Pradyumna was the son of Kṛishṇa and is known to have killed the demon Śambara.

⁵ The number of the verse is written above the line.

⁶ It is an abstract noun from *mahīmukhya*, meaning *mahīpāla*, i.e., a Kshatriya. The *danḍa* that follows was at first engraved as the sign for medial short *i* and later on the curve above was scored off by a slanting stroke.

⁷ Before *ddha* the sign for the secondary *i* was at first engraved and later on the curve above was scored off.

⁸ This word which was omitted in this line is engraved in the next line just below where it is to be supplied, with an arrow-mark and a double *danḍa* on its either side, to draw attention.

⁹ These five curves are redundant. After *nē* in *munē* that follows, the sign of *visarga* was at first engraved and later on scratched off, leaving the mark.

¹⁰ This *danḍa* looks like a *mātrā* and the *mātrā* in the preceding *tō* looks like a *danḍa*. The five sacrifices referred to in the latter half of this verse are those connected with *bhūta*, *manushya*, *pītri*, *dēva* and *Brahman*.

¹¹ Above this letter a *rēpha* was at first engraved and later on erased, leaving the mark.

¹² The first letter in this word was originally engraved as *śrē* and the sign of *mātrā* was subsequently erased and the sign of the secondary *u* was put.

- 22 २६ f[न]जं गर्गमुमि(नि)गोत्रं शाखां माध्यंदिनीमथा(थ।) प्रवरान्स्वीन् यजुर्वेदं स्वस्थानं श्रिवर्दि तथा ॥२७ आवसो U U¹
[ला?]वेतौ वानादेदाकसंजकौ। केशवो महमूणश्च मा-
- 23 ल्हासा[सा?]भिधानकौ ॥२८ आत्मना सह तान् सप्त पूर्वजानिति च क्रमात् ॥(।) लक्ष्मणादीनथभ्रातृनन्यानपि च पूर्वजान्
॥२९ उद्धार स धर्मात्मा देल्हणोसौ² महामतिः। स्वकीर्त्ये-
- 24 व मुधाधौतं विष्णुप्रासादमुद्धरन् ॥३० तुर्योपि धुर्यस्य गुणैरुदारैः स देल्हणो वित्तरसायनेन। यः कालजीर्ण³ ननु पट्टविष्णु-
प्रासादमेनं नवमेव चक्रे ॥३१ जीर्णो-
- 25 द्वारादाप्रतिष्ठादिनं च भक्त्या विष्णावेकवेलाशनोऽभूत्। कर्मस्था ये यश्च पूर्णोत्तितूर्ण मेने म[।*]नी⁴ स्वं ततः पूर्ण-
कामं(मम्) ॥३२ हैमं पट्टं भूषणं भालमूले चक्रे वैकुण्ठस्य⁵ कं-
- 26 ठे च रौप्यां(प्यम्।) [है]मेनासीन्मुक्तिलोकोऽक्षयोस्य रौप्येणानंदो महीयान् पितृणां(णाम्) ॥३३ प्रायशः कलिमलाकुलितानां
मु(शु)द्धये हि शरणं हरिरेकः। सर्वपातकनिराकृ-
- 27 तिहेतुं यस्ततः शरणमेनमयामीत् ॥३४ जीवितं तरुणताथ धनं वा कस्यचित्त्वचन न स्थिरमास्ते। इत्यवन्यमुक्तैरिति⁶ तैर्यस्तानि
मुस्थिरतमानि वितेने ॥३५ संवत्
- 28 त्रयोदशशते त्रिचत्वारिंशदाख्यया। ख्याते संवत्सरे शुक्लदशम्याम(मा)श्विनस्य च ॥३६ जीर्णोद्वारसमारंभं कारयामास देल्हणः।
आगामिनि चतुश्चत्वारिंशदाख्येथ वत्सरो(रे॥)
- 29 ३७ ज्येष्ठस्य सितपंचम्यां प्रतिष्ठां च ध्वजोच्छ(च्छ)यं(यम्)। समापय्य च तत्कृत्यं सर्वं शांतिकपूर्वकं(कम्)⁷ ॥३८ ततो
यदृच्छया [भो]ज्यवस्त्रदानैर्द्विजोत्तमान्। यथापात्रं तथा लोकान्
- 30 प्रीणयामास तद्दिने ॥३९ विप्रः किल ग्राहकपात्रमेव प्रायः कलौ यो विदधे वृथेति⁸। न्यायाज्जितैः स्थानविभागवृत्तिर्धनैनि(नि)जै-
रीदृशधर्मकर्त्ता ॥४० गंगाप्रवाहप-
- 31 य[सः] स्तबकः किशु(मु)च्चैः किंवाऽस्य साव इव⁹ सांग इहास्ति शुद्धः। आभात्यलं धवलितः मुधया विद्वरात्प्राप्ताद एष
जनलोचनकाम्मर्णश्रीः¹⁰ ॥४१ श्रीमालवाधिपति[र?] ॥¹¹
- 32 कबलैकजैतश्रीभादेवमुतवीसलरम्यराज्ये। सर्वैर्द्विजैरनुमतादिमदेवदायैः जीर्णोद्धृतिर्व्यजनि दत्त्व(त्त)चतुःशतीकैः¹²(॥*) ४२ धरणी-
धरपंडितस्य पुत्रो जननी य-
- 33 स्य च चांपलेति साध्वी। द्विजयोगिबुधाग्रणीः स तेने वड्जादित्यकविः प्रशस्तिमेतां(ताम्) ॥४३ रोहेडास्थानवास्तव्यसुमदेवा-
त्मजः¹³ कृती। गांगदेवः सूत्रधारः प्रशस्ति कीर्णवानिमां(माम्)¹⁴ ॥४४
- 34 ये शब्द(ब्द)विद्यानिरवद्यभावाः साहित्यसौहित्यमुपेयिवांसः। येषां मना(नो) मत्सरमुक्तमेषा समूहतां तैर्विजयाकवाणी¹⁵ ॥४५
श्रीमद्विशिष्ट[भ]वभूषणरूतमोय(यं) मूकावभासिपद-

¹ The two letters giving a name are totally lost in the original.

² On the second of these *aksharas* a *rēpha* was at first engraved and later on erased, leaving the mark. The last letter is deformed.

³ Originally *sa*, later on corrected by overwriting.

⁴ The space for the *mātrā* of *ā* is left blank.

⁵ This and the fourth foot of this verse show a wrong pause-fall.

⁶ Probably to be restored to इत्यवेत्य सु. .

⁷ That is, with observances or ceremonies calculated to remove calamities.

⁸ This stich means that 'he removed the order or the belief that a Brāhmaṇa is only to take and not to give'.

⁹ The intended reading is perhaps सावयवसांग for सांगोपांग, with the main and subsidiary. The horizontal stroke of the preceding *m* is missing and thus it appears as *g*.

¹⁰ The word *kārmaṇa* means witchcraft, for which, cf. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* (Bombay), II, 14 and VIII, 2.

¹¹ This *akshara* is blurred but the reading of the preceding one is certain and the one that follows it is rather deformed. Should we take it as *-pati-dhashka* in the sense of *-dharsha* or *dhṛishṭa*, meaning assaulting? Sastri read the word as *Turushka*, but the *mātrā* of *t* is clear.

¹² Only the consonant of this *akshara* with the following *visarga* is certain and all the rest parts of it are corrected later on. The *anusvāra* above, too, is clear and some *mātrā* originally put above is scratched off. The reading of all these parts is uncertain.

¹³ The first letter of the name may also have been *Mū*. But the consonant is more like *S*.

¹⁴ In this line, and below too, the signs of *anusvāra* are only dots, some of which appear to have been inserted later on.

¹⁵ The same person is mentioned in its sanskrit from Vijayāditya in 1. 3 above.

- 35 वाक्यवि[दां] वरेण्यः। आल्हा(ल्हा)दनस्य तनयोजनि मोहनाख्यः¹ संकीर्त्यते स इह त[त्क?]वितातमित्रं(त्रम्) ॥४६ देवस्य नैवेद्यहेतोर्दत्ताय(थ) पदव्यक्तियथा ॥
- 36 महाराजकुलसो(शो)भितपुत्रदेवडामेलाकेन² छनारिग्रामे दोणकारी क्षेत्रे १ उभयं दत्त(त्तम्) ॥ पीमाउलीग्रामे वीहल रा०³ वीरपाल(ले)न ढीवड(उ) १ दत्ता(त्त)। (?) आउलिग्रामे।⁴
- 37 ग्रामेयकैः अरहट्टं प्रति सेः ८ ढीकडा टीकआ प्रति सेः २ दत्तं(त्तम्) ॥ काल्हणवाडग्रामे हलं प्रति सेः १ गोहिलउ(पु?) वनुडिमल(ले)न प्रतिग्रामपाद्रं(?) दत्तं द्र. १० तथा
- 38 मडाउलीग्रामे रा० गांगूकर्मसी(सि)हाभ्यां द्वादशएकादशीषु चोलापिका⁵ आयपदं दत्तं(त्तम्)। चंद्रादं(व)तीमंडपिकायां विसार⁶
- 39 अंकतोऽपि ॥ सं० १३४४ ज्येष्ठशुदि ५ शुक्ले जीर्णोद्धारप्रतिष्ठा⁷ [1*]

¹ Before this word is engraved another name *Sathiradēvaḥ*, probably for *Sārthadēvaḥ*, which was later on erased.

² The preceding word is perhaps to be read as देवडा and the word *dōṇakārī* has already explained by Sastri as a combination of *drōṇa* and *khārī*, both in the sense of measure. The whole of the remaining portion is in the local dialect.

³ It is a contraction of either *Rājputra* or *Rāūla*. The reading of the name of the village that precedes is certain but it is not known whether the first letter is a part of it or to be taken as *Śrī*, an honorific prefix. Both *ḍhivādā* and *ḍhikadā* (or *ḍhimaḍā*) are local words denoting a well.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous. *Arahaṭṭa* (or *araghaṭṭa*) is often, as taken here by Sastri to be a 'Persian wheel,' but I find nothing like Persian in it. It only means, literally, the pots attached to *aras*, i.e., spokes or radius of a wheel (to lift water), as we find used in Rajasthān (for irrigation) even to-day.

⁵ This word too has not been explained before and some misunderstanding about its meaning still prevails, for which see *P. B. P.*, p. 234, where it has been taken as a tax on *chōllikās* brought from outside the town. I take it as a combination of two words, viz. *cha* (and) *ulāpikā* which is formed from *ulapa* (grass). Bundles of grass for cattle-fodder are brought from the jungles even to-day. D. C. Ganguly read the word as *Cōpalikā* (*H. P. D.*, p. 324) but did not explain it.

⁶ This word means spreading out (articles for sale) before *maṇḍapikā*, i.e., a market pavilion where they were taxed.

⁷ The reading of this line, which is imbedded in the portion of the wall below, has been adopted from the text in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 79.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF VĀGAḌA

No. 83 : PLATE LXXXIII

PĀNĀHĒḌĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAṆḌALĪKA

Vikrama Year 1116

THE stone bearing this inscription is built into a wall of the temple of Maṇḍalēśvara (locally known by the corrupt name Maṇḍlēsar) Mahādēva at **PānāhēḌā**,¹ a village in the former State of Bāṇswāḍā, which is now the chief town of a district of the same name in Rājasthān. The record was first brought to notice by Gaurishankar Ojha in the *Annual Report* of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, for 1916-17, pages 2 ff.; and subsequently it was edited by R. R. Halder, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXI, pp. 41 ff., with text in the Nāgarī characters (pp. 44-9), but without a facsimile. But, besides the fact that Halder's treatment of the record is not exhaustive, his reading of the text suffers from some minor inaccuracies,² as will be known from the subjoined transcript; and though these inaccuracies do not affect the historical facts, they doubtless deteriorate the value of an elegant literary composition. The inscription is edited here, from inked impressions, which, at my request, were prepared and supplied to me by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. The text was thereafter also revised from an impression which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.

Unfortunately, the stone on which this record is incised is broken in three pieces, and only the portions on the right and left are now available.³ The middle portion thereof has entirely disappeared from top to bottom. The writing, when the slab was entire, measured about 80 cms. broad by 50·4 cms. high; whereas the part of the stone which is now lost is so irregular that it is calculated to measure 34 cms. broad in ll. 1-6, and widening in ll. 20 to 30 and also taking off along with it, an almost semi-circular fragment so as to show its breadth 26 and 11 cms., respectively in these lines, it again lessens in breadth which is 7·5 cms. in the end. But the extant portion of the record is satisfactorily preserved, except that a part of the surface of the stone in the right side thereof has altogether peeled off, taking away one or two *aksharas* in ll. 34-37, with it.

The inscription consists of 38 lines of writing; and the characters are carefully drawn and well engraved. They are occasionally ornamental, as in *khadga*, l. 5; but there are cases when some redundant strokes make their forms somewhat indistinct, for example, *śāla* in l. 1 has become *śāma*; *garala* in l. 3, *śarala*; *chaṇichat* in l. 8, *vāṇichat*; *kāma* in l. 16, *kāna*; and *mālavānāṁ* in l. 17, *māvavānāṁ*. The average size of the letters varies from 8 to 15 mms., including the flourishes and *mātrās* at the top.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century. The initial short *i* is denoted by two hollow circles subscribed by the sign for the medial short *u*, as in *iva*, l. 20, and the same vowel in its long form is to be seen only once, in *Isānēna*, l. 2, where it is distinguished by a horizontal stroke above. The left limb of *g* often resembles *th*, as in *pannaga*-, l. 2; *ṇ* has not developed its dot; cf. *paṇka*, l. 7; and the *aksharas* *ch*, *dh* and *v* are almost identical in form, though occasionally the loop of the first two of them is slightly angular; see *chitta-chaura* and *daṇḍ-ādhiśa*, both in l. 26. The rare *jh* occurs only in one instance, *jhaṇkāra*, l. 34, where it almost resembles the modern *kra*; the subscript forms of *chh* and *th* are similar; cf. *sthānē kachchhōka*, l. 31; and *ṇ* is formed as *l*; see *prayāṇē* and *chaturṇām* = *arṇṇavānām*, both in l. 17. *Kh* and *t* have often no tail; e.g., in *khura*, l. 9 and *dyōtatē*, l. 38. The forms of the letters *t*,

¹ Now known as PārāhēḌā, the place is about 8 kms. due east-northeast of Gadhi, the head-quarters of a *tehsil* in the Bāṇswāḍā District and connected with it, by a cart-track.

² For example, he read *tam* = *anu* as *tamava*, in l. 16; *saṁślishā* as *saṁdṛishā* (*shvā*), in l. 37 and *kūā* as *jūā*, in l. 38.

³ In his notice of the inscription Ojha does not say anything about the break and thus it appears to have taken place after he wrote in 1916-17 but before 1932-33, when Halder noticed it while editing the record.

n, *v* and *l* are sometimes confounded with each other, which is an error on the part of the writer or the engraver: see *nibhṛita*, l. 14, *nāmani*, l. 22, *samanvita*, l. 27 and *tēn*=*ātra tatriḥ*, l. 35, where all these three letters appear almost alike. *P* has often the same form as *y*, as in *visarppi*, l. 11, and the latter of these letters occasionally shows a cursive bar as in *sh*; see *kāmayatē* and *sthalayēt*, both in l. 29. *Bh* is often confounded with *h*; cf. *śvās-ōrmubhiḥ saṁbhṛitāḥ*, l. 3, and *lēbhē*, l. 9, where the left limb of the first *bh* has an additional stroke below, making it appear as *h*. The slight distinction to be observed between the formation of *ś* and *s* is that the loop which begins the first of these letters assumes the form of a stroke curved above whereas that of the second is curved downwards; see *śaṁbhōḥ* and *saṁbhṛitāḥ* both in l. 3, respectively. Both these letters are in a transitional state, occasionally assuming the modern forms; cf. *vipāśchit* and *daṇḍādhīsa*, both in l. 26.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of a short sentence in the beginning, one or two words in ll. 26 and 36 and the concluding portion in l. 38, it is metrically composed, in high-sounding and dignified words and expressions, as the poet himself asserts in v. 60, using figures of speech like *anuprāsa*, *upāmā*, *utprēkshā*, *rūpaka* and *atiśayōkti*, and often reminding us of old poets. In all there are 61 verses: they are all numbered. But while marking them, the number 34 is inadvertently repeated and the error is continued: and thus the number of the last verse is marked 60 instead of 61. Versification involves a few mistakes; and *sandhus* are violated sometimes for metrical exigencies, as in *Jayasimhēna asmaḥ*, in v. 45. All such errors are noted in the text that follows. The composition also shows a few grammatical errors, e.g., *bhaktinā* for *bhaktyā*, l. 31; *śrēyāya* for *śrēyasē*, l. 32; *brahmachārī-* for *brahmachārī*, l. 34; and *stōkaṁpi* for *stōkam*=*api*, l. 36. Such errors are to be noticed more in the latter half of the record.

The **Orthography** calls for the following remarks: (1) *V* throughout does the duty for *b*, as in *kuṭumba-*, l. 4; (2) the consonant following *r* is generally doubled: e.g., in *kūrtti-*, l. 8; the palatal sibilant is often replaced by the dental, and in rare examples the case is *vice versa*: see *sirasi*, l. 16, and *taṇḍavē*, l. 34; (3) the sign of *anusvāra* represents a class-nasal throughout, even wrongly at the end of a stich: see the one in v. 15 and (4) the medial diphthong or one of its elements is indicated by *prishṭha-mātrā*, with occasional exceptions as in *bhōga*, l. 34. The word *aṅghri* is spelt as *aṁhri* in ll. 16, 26 and 37.

The main **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of *Smara-riṇu* (Śiva) and to show the endowments made to it, by the **Paramāra** king **Maṇḍalika**, at *Paṁśulā-khēṭaka* (l. 27), which is evidently the modern village of Pānāhēḍā, where the stone was discovered, as stated above. The year, which is expressed in numerical figures, is Vikrama **1116** (l. 38); it corresponds to **1059 A.C.** for the Northern Vikrama, *expired*. The figures showing the year appear to have been followed by the mention of the day and month: but this portion of the stone is unfortunately lost.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, a laudatory account, as shown by the use of this word in its v. 60. It consists of two parts, the first of which is devoted to the description of the main line of the **Paramāra** rulers of Mālava down to Jayasimha I, and the second, to the kings of the branch line, ending with Maṇḍalika, in whose reign the record was set up. And though fragmentary, it is a valuable document, presenting a complete list of the rulers belonging to the subordinate branch, ruling over the territory known as Vāgaḍa and comprising, more or less, the area covered by the modern districts of Bāṁswāḍā and Ḍūṅgarpur on the southern border of Rājasthān.¹ The inscription which appears here immediately below and which too is likewise a *praśasti*, is not so exhaustive, since it omits one name, *i.e.*, that of Maṇḍalika's elder brother Limbarājā, and though elaborate in its description, it is silent about the princes of the main line, except giving the name of Vairisimha during whose period of reign the junior branch began its political career. In the description of kings, the present *praśasti* more or less bears a resemblance to the Udaipur and Nagpur *praśastis*, edited above (Nos. 24 and 33 respectively).

Beginning with a short sentence paying obeisance to Śiva, the inscription has five *maṅgala-sloka*s in honour of the same deity under different names. Then in vv. 6-7 it gives the familiar legend of the origin of the Paramāras, *viz.* the creation by Vasishṭha of a hero who defeated

¹ *Imp. Gaz. of India*, Vol. XI, p. 380.

the enemies and brought back the cow taken away by Viśvāmitra, as we find in the Udaipur *praśasti* for the first time in the epigraphic records.¹ Verses 7-9 describe the scene of a battle which, from the description, appears to have been very fierce; and though the name of the Paramāra king who fought it is lost, he appears to have been no other than **Siyaka II**, from the fact that his son and successor **Muñjadēva** is described in the verses that immediately follow (10-12). Muñja is said to have been a valorous prince who defeated his enemies: these enemies are not mentioned by name, but they seem to have been the Chālukyas or the Chaulukyas with whom he is known to have waged wars. Verses 13-15 mention (Muñja's younger brother) **Sindhurāja**; and the next five verses (16-20) are devoted to the description of (his son) **Bhōjadēva** eulogising his learning and munificence in a conventional manner. After Bhōja is mentioned **Jayasimha** (*lam-anu*), who is stated to have been a great warrior vanquishing all his enemies; but the statement that he subjugated the earth bounded by the four oceans is again conventional and historically worthless.

Here the first part of the *praśasti* ends; and then it gives the genealogy of Maṇḍalika in whose time the record was put up.

The first king mentioned in the second part is **Dhanika**, who is spoken of as a 'wish-fulfilling tree' and who built the temple of Dhanēśvara near that of Mahākāla, obviously at Ujjain (vv. 26-27). His relationship with any of the rulers of the main line is not specified in the present record, but it can be known from the Arthūṇā *praśasti* of V.S. 1136, which, on the other hand, begins the account of this subordinate line of rulers with Dambarasimha, mentioning him as the younger brother of Vairisimha² of the main line. Dambarasimha, as we know, has no room in the present inscription; but that he was no other than Dhanika himself can be inferred from the name of his immediate successor who is mentioned as **Chachcha** in the present record but as Kaṅkadēva in the Arthūṇā inscription referred to above, both these names being synonymous and the variants of *chāchā* and *kākā*, which bear the same sense.³ According to the *praśasti*, Chachcha was a nephew of Dhanika (v. 28) and skilled in the art of warfare. Verse 29 mentions a historical fact, *viz.*, that he actively participated in Siyaka's struggle against Khōṭṭigadēva at Khalighaṭṭa on the Rēvā (Narmadā) and died a heroic death. This is evidently a reference to Siyaka's expedition against the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānyakhēta, in which the Paramāras succeeded in sacking and plundering the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, which took place in 972-73 A.C., as we have seen above while editing the Udaipur *praśasti*.⁴ But that Kaṅka actually ruled for some time is known from the epithet of *mahā-nṛpa* applied to him in v. 28 of the present record. The period of his reign is not known, but assigning him at least a few years, his uncle Dhanika may be taken to be a contemporary of Siyaka's father Vairisimha, considering only one generation before in both the houses.⁵

The next verse of the *praśasti* (30) is completely lost, but it is not difficult to infer that it may have mentioned Chachcha's son, **Chandapa**, whom we know from the next inscription. Chandapa was followed by **Satyarāja** (v. 31). Verse 31, which is wholly lost excepting three syllables, may have mentioned the relationship between these two rulers, as of father and son, respectively, as we know it from the Arthūṇā *praśasti*. Satyarāja is stated to have fought with the Gūrjaras and obtained dignity (*vibhava*) from Bhōjadēva, the renowned Paramāra king of Mālwā. Bhōja's

¹ This account is also to be seen in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta, which is a literary source and is an earlier work. (See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 48).

² *Op. cit.*, text, v. 12.

³ Attention to this similarity was first drawn by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions in Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, *appx.*, p. 398, *n.* 2. I have based my identification of Dhanika with Dambarasimha on his suggestion (*ibid.*, *n.* 1). On the other hand, D. C. Ganguly takes Dhanika as a son of Dambarasimha (*H. P. D.*, p. 343). But here we may ask: Why Dhanika, who is known to be an uncle of Kaṅka from the Pānāhēdā inscription should not find mention in the Arthūṇā inscription in which instead of him Dambarasimha is stated to have begun this line? And there are only two alternatives to solve the problem, *viz.*, that either Dambarasimha is identical with Dhanika, or that he did not at all rule and his name is mentioned in the Arthūṇā record only by way of courtesy. The first of these views appears to be more probable.

⁴ Above, No. 24.

⁵ This contemporaneity was first suggested by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscr.*, p. 399 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, *appx.*, *n.* 1.

struggle with Gujarāt has been dealt with above; and, on the evidence of the present record we may presume that Satyarāja may be taken to have participated in that contest. Satyarāja's consort was Sahajā of the Chāhamāna family, from whom was born **Limbarāja**, who is stated to have been a great warrior, a great politician and a charitable person (v. 33): but as not even a specific fact in this connection is mentioned, we may take the account as merely conventional. As we have stated above, the name of this ruler is omitted in the Arthūṇā *praśasti* that follows immediately. Limbarāja's younger brother was **Maṇḍalīka**, mentioned as Maṇḍanadēva in the Arthūṇā *praśasti*. Maṇḍalīka is stated to have been a king of charitable disposition and learning, and a great warrior (v. 35). The last of these epithets he well deserved as in the next verse we are told that he captured the great general, Kanha, in a battle and presented him before his overlord Javasiṃha, along with his horse and an elephant. Of v. 36 only the first two letters *Bhōja* are preserved, probably showing that Maṇḍalīka may be taken to have been a contemporary of Bhōja also.

To this laudatory account v. 40 adds that Maṇḍalīka or Maṇḍanadēva built a sky-licking temple in honour of Śiva (*Smarārātī*), at *Pāṇśulā-khēṭaka*, which is evidently the village of Pānāhēḍā, where the temple stands even to this day and where the record under review was discovered. The next five verses (40-44) speak highly of the activity of building temples, whether it be of reeds, wood, earth, sun-dried or fired bricks or of precious stones. We are further told that Jayasiṃha assigned to the deity, for defraying the expenses of worship, one *vimśōpaka*¹ (to be charged) on every bull (that passed by the temple) on the road and also some land, and that he also made some grants to this temple, for his own spiritual welfare. The grants consisted of some lands and a garden behind *Nagna-taḍāga* and (the temple) of *Varuṇeśvarī*,² together with some rice fields (lit. lands under water) as well as lands in the villages of *Naṭṭāpāṭaka*, *Deūlapāṭaka*, *Bhōgyapura*, *Pānāchhī*, *Maṇḍaladraha* and two shares at *Pāṇśulā-khēṭaka* (vv. 45-53). The next verse gives a list of persons who were pious and as such, were entitled to stay at that place. The next five verses (55-59) are by way of benediction and request to future generations to continue the grants.

The name of the composer of the *praśasti* is lost in v. 60; and v. 61 is devoted to express that the *kīrtti*,³ i.e., the temple built by Maṇḍalīka may continue to stand so long as the crescent of the moon shines on the matted hair of Śambhu. This is followed by the year of the record, which we have seen above; and then we are told that the *praśasti* was engraved by Āsarāja, a son of Śrīdhara, who belonged to the *Vālabhya kāyastha* caste. He is identical with Āsarāja, who, as we shall see below, also wrote the following *praśasti*. Here it may be stated that the word *Vālabhya* probably shows that Āsarāja's family originally belonged to *Valabhī*.

When the kingdom of the branch line holding its sway over the territory of Vāgaḍa was actually founded may also be considered here. The only information that helps us to say anything in this respect is the statement of the Arthūṇā *praśasti*, viz., that Dambarasiṃha was a younger brother of Vairisiṃha, (v. 15), whom D.R. Bhandarkar is inclined to take Varisiṃha I of the main house of the Paramāras,⁴ and in course of editing that record, L. D. Barnett shows his agreement with Bhandarkar's opinion, stating that 'considerations of chronology forbids us to identify him with Vairisiṃha II of Mālwā'.⁵ Barnett says nothing more on this point. But we may consider the question in view of generations of the ruling princes. And since Chachcha or Kaṅka, as he is also called, is known to have participated in the war of his overlord Sīyaka (II), his uncle Dhanika has to be taken as a contemporary of Sīyaka II's father who was Vairisiṃha (II). Whether Dhanika was identical with Dambarasiṃha or his predecessor is altogether a different point on which we have said enough, and it need not affect the conclusion drawn here.

¹ For the meaning of this word see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 166.

² As *Varuṇa* is known to be the water-deity, the construction of a temple dedicated to his consort on the tank appears to be quite justifiable.

³ The word *kīrtti* means 'any work of public utility'. See *C.I.I.*, III, p. 212, n. 6. Here it means 'the temple'.

⁴ The whole discussion that follows rests with taking Vairisiṃha and Sīyaka as two kings with each of these names and does not affect our conclusion in taking one ruler with each name, as shown above, in the political history of the house.

⁵ *H.P.D.*, pp. 343 and 30 respectively.

We may also say a few words with respect to D. C. Ganguly's assertion, since, following Barnett, he also takes the Paramāra ruler to be Vairisimha (I) and not (II). The battle between Vairisimha (II) and the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga is known to have been fought in 971-72 A.C., and the reigning period assigned by Ganguly to Chachcha from c. 945 to 970 A.C., goes against his own statement that Dambarasimha, the younger brother of Vairisimha, received the province of Vāgaḍa from Vairisimha (I).¹ Ganguly's assignment of complete 25 years' reign to each of the princes of the house may be accepted, but this cannot be in the case of Chachcha whom we know as killed in a battle, as seen above. It cannot be doubted that this prince ruled for some time at least, but he may have enjoyed the throne for a very short period, and it is difficult to assign him, as in the case of the other rulers of the house, complete 25 years, on which Ganguly's whole theory is based.

Of the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription, **Arbuda** (l. 4), **Mālava** (l. 12) and **Rēvā** (l. 22) are well known. **Khalighaṭṭa** (l. 22), which still retains its name in the form of the modern Khalghāt, is a ford on the Narmadā, about 11 kms. south of Dhāmnōd in the Dhār District, and on the Bombay-Agra high-way. It is also known as Akbarpur. **Pāmsulā-khēṭaka** (l. 27) is the modern town of Pānāhēḍā, as already seen. **Nagna-tadāga**, behind which the donated land was situated (l. 32), is the tank now known as *Nāgēlā-talāw*, which exists at the foot of the temple of Maṇḍalēśvara at Pānāhēḍā, as shown by Halder. The villages of **Naṭapāṭaka**, **Dēūlapāṭaka**, **Bhōgyapura** and **Pānāchhi** (l. 33), as also shown by him, are all in the vicinity of Pānāhēḍā and retain their names in some changed forms even to this day. Thus, the first of these places has been identified with Nāṭāvāḍā, situated about 3 kms. west of Pānāhēḍā, and the second is the modern village of Bhagōrā, lying about 5 kms. north-west. **Dēūlapāṭaka** is the modern Dēlwāḍā, which exists about 6 kms. south-west of Jagpurā near Pānāhēḍā, or the village Dāwēla, about 20 kms. south-west of it. And **Panāchchi** is the modern Panāsī,² which lies at a distance of about 6 kms. south by east of Pānāhēḍā.

TEXT³

[Metres:—Verses 1, 2(?), 52 *Āryā*; vv. 3-6, 8, 11, 13-15, 23, 26, 29, 31, 32, 39, 60 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 7, 16 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18, 22, 35, *Sraḡdharā*; vv. 19, 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 34, 36, 37, 44-51, 53-59, 61 *Anushṭubh*; v. 21 *Mālinī*; v. 35 *Śālinī*; v. 38 *Upajūti*; vv. 40-43 *Toḷāka*].

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [1*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ धृतगगनसिधुपट्टः शैलमुताशालभजिकाभुभगः । जयति जगत्र (त्र) यमंडपमूलस्तंभो⁵
महादेवः ॥१ [11*] जयति शिवो यन्मू[हित] [1*] [11२॥
— — — U U — [ग-]
- 2 शांककलया मद्यः प्रपद्यामृतं वामः प्राप्य सुरां जगाम गरलग्रामादधोरः मुखं (खम्) । ईशानेन समुद्रमंथनविधौ नेत्रीकृतः पन्नगो
— — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U U [11३॥*] — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U —
- 3 तैर्द्धूमैर्ममसलिताः पुनश्च दलिताश्चूडैर्दुलेखांशुभिः । भूयः स्फारभुजंगभोगण (ग) रलश्वासोर्मिभिः संभृताः शंभोः पांतु कठोरकंठ-
U U — — — U — — U — ⁶ [11४॥*] — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U —, — — — U U — U — U U U —
- 4 र्दत्ते कुटुंबं (वं) हरिः । मैनाकाव्वु (व्वु) दयोः स्वमुस्तव गृहे को नाथ मे वर्तते⁷ मिथ्याहं भवतः प्रियेत्यगमुताक्षिप्तो हरः
पांतु वः ॥५॥ [11*] अत्रास्त्यव्वु (व्वु) द — U — U U U — — — U — — U —, — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U —
— [1*] — — — U U — U — U [वि*]-
- 5 तते होमक्रियाप्रक्रमे कुंडाग्नेः परमार इत्यभिधया दिव्यः पुमानुत्थितः ॥६॥ [11*] आसीदकुंभजदर्पकठोरवैरिकंठास्थिनिर्हलनदं-
नुरखड्ग[धारः ॥६*] — — U — U U U — U U — U —, — — U — U U U — U U — U — [11७॥*]
— — — U U — U — U U

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 296, n. 1.

² There are two villages of this name, *budrukh* and *khurda*, situated side by side. See *C. S. R. A.*, p. 474, Nos. 91-92.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ The consonant is engraved as ह्, as also in some other places below.

⁶ The gap may be filled in by —कण्ठलुठिता जूटा जटानां शिवाः, or कठोरकण्ठरुचयो लोकस्मयोत्पादकाः (or तापत्रयोत्सारकाः).

⁷ The second letter of this word is damaged and also shows that some other letter was originally engraved here.

PĀNĀHĒDĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF MANDALĪKA: (VĪKRAMA) YEAR 1116



Scale: Two-sevenths

- 6 मये संज्ञापनार्थं मुहुश्चंडोडामररावरुद्धककुभि द्राक्ताडिते दुंदुभौ। चेलुः पीलुघटातुरंगमचमूसंघट्टदप्पोत्कटाः सामन्ताः
कटकाग्र¹— U U U — — — U — — U U [॥८॥*] — — — — U — — U U U U U U — — U — — U
नेत्रैर्व्वेतालैः स्नातुकामै-
- 7 रनधिगततलास्तस्य युद्धस्थलीषु। दोर्हडोच्चंडखड्गाहृत्करटिघटाघोरकंकालकूलाः सद्यः कीलालनद्यः स्फुटितनरशिरःपङ्क — — U — —²
[॥९॥*] — — — — U — — U U U U U U — — U — — U — — [उद्य]द्विट्कंठपीठस्फुटविगलद[सृक्सि]-
- 8 क्तसंग्रामरंगः। राजा श्रीभुजदेवः समजनि कृतिनां वां(वां)ध्रवो यस्य कीर्तिः कुंजे कुंजे गिरीणां प्रकटितपुलकं गीयते किन्नरीभिः³
[॥१०॥*] — — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U — — — — U [म]कातरेण मनसा वां(चं)चत्फणामंडलः।
- 9 लेभे[स]नंतरमेव सौस्थ्यमतुलं तुच्छाभवद्यन्मही त्वंगतुं(तुं)गत्तु(तु)रंगनिष्ठुरखुरक्षोदोदगतैः पांसुभिः ॥११॥* सुंडा(शुण्डा)रा⁴
डाकिनीनां [ह?] U U U U U — — U — — U — — — — — U — — [श]तकरटिघटाः सत्वरं जित्वरेण। ये[ना]-
- 10 दीयन्त⁵ मूर्द्धनि स्फुरदसिसलिलं पातयित्वारिसैन्ये गृद्ध(ध्र)स्त्रीणां ररं(ध्रुः) श्रु(सु)तव(ब)हलवसासीधवो योद्ध(द्ध)कंठाः ॥१२
[॥*] रंभावा(बा)(हु?) U — U — U U U — — — U — — U — — — — U U — पराक्रमनिधिः श्रीसिधुराजो नृपः।
भेजे यस्य
- 11 विसर्पिकुंजरघटासंघट्टहे[ला]नमद्वात्रीमंडलभारधारणपरिक्लेशं(शं) भुजंगेश्वरः ॥१३॥* कः स्थातुं क्षमते पराक्रमनि — — —
U — — U — — — — U U — U — U U U [ते] प्रोद्गमगर्व्व वचः⁶। ते दृप्यंतु क[थं न]⁷ नाम रिप-
- 12 बः सौ(शौ)र्यप्रतिस्पर्द्धया दध्ने यैर्मूर्ख एव यस्य यस(श)सा विद्रासितः कालिमा ॥१४॥* जाता वागसमंजसा भयव-
[शा]दुत्सृ[ज्य] — — U — — — — U U — U — U U U — [य*]द्वा गृहे यादसं(शम्)। सु(श्रु)त्वा यद्भुजदंडपीडितधनु—
- 13 ष्टंकारमारा[द् द्रु]तं गाढापाणिस्वानहः परमभूदै(दे)कैव विद्वेषिणां(णाम्) ॥१५॥* तस्मादजायत सरोरुहपत्रनेत्रो
विद्यानि[धिः*] U U U — U U — U — U [॥*] — — U — U U U⁶ चंडकृपाणदंडव्यापारकोस(श)लविदग्धभुजो नरै-
- 14 द्रः ॥१६॥* सर्पत्युद्गमदप्पोत्कटकरटिघटामेदुरे यम्य सैन्ये मेदिन्यामक्षमायामसहभरधुरां धर्तुमुद्धर्तुकामः। — — — — U — —
U U U U U U — — U — — U — — [म]र्मो मर्मव्यथाभिः समजनि निभूवः(तः) प्राणशेषस्तु
- 15 [शे]षः ॥१७॥* यस्मिन्नुर्व्वी विजेतुं प्रचलति व(ब)लवत्तुंगमातंगसैन्यक्षोभक्षीणप्रवाहाः प्रमथितनलिनीमंडपोडडीनहंसाः [॥*]
— — — — U — — U U U U U U — — U — — क — — वैरिस्त्रीवा(बा)[ण]पूरैर्मर्षु समभव(वं)स्तेपि कृपाः
- 16 [श्व]लेह्याः ॥१८॥* दर्शयन्नात्मनो रूपं विद्यास्पु(स्फु)रितविभ्रमैः। यत्प्रतापोवु(बु)दो भूत्वा कान(म)वर्षी प्रजास्वभूत⁷
॥१९॥* मुक्ता सि(शि)रसि शत्रूणां खड्ग U U U — U U [॥*] U U U U U — — U, U U U U U — रियं(यम्)
॥२०॥* तम[नु]विनतभूभृच्चक्रचूडाच्चिताह्निः⁸ प्रतप-
- 17 ति जय[सि]हः पार्थिवो माव(ल)वानां(नाम्)। चटुलतुरगसेनापांशुभिर्यः प्रयाणे कलुषयति चतुर्णामिर्णवानां पयांसि ॥२१॥*
यद्वा(द्वा)हुः सौ(शौ)र्यवेगो U U U U U U — — U — — U — — — — — U — — [अ*]मरयुवतिभिः कीर्यंते पुष्पवृष्ट्या।
हेलाकृष्टासिदंडाहतसु-⁹
- 18 भटघटाकं(स्कं)धकंडा(ठा)स्थिखंडप्रश्च्योतद्रक्तधाराप्लुतसमरधरापृष्ठनृत्यत्कवं(वं)धः ॥२२॥* ताः कंडूलकपोलकेलिकषणवृट्य-
त्कठोर[द्रुमा?] — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U U [॥*] [य]दोर्हण्डविलासडंव(ब)रणचचंडासिधाराजले
द्रागम(ङ् म)ज्जंति वि-

¹ The last letter in this word, as in some others where the stone is exactly broken, is followed by a part of another letter which cannot be distinctly made out. It appears to be व but may also be च. or ध.

² The missing letters may be conjecturally supplied here as -पूराः प्रसस्तुः. The name वाक्पतिराज appears to have been lost in v. 7.

³ The second *akshara* of this word is engraved as न्व.

⁴ The *mātrā* of the first *akshara* in this line shows an additional vertical, ending in a fine tail, by way of an ornamentation.

⁵ Some other letters were originally engraved in place of both the bracketed letters.

⁶ The name of Bhōja appears to have been lost here. Perhaps to read श्रीभोजदेव इति, which also suits the metre.

⁷ The figure of speech in this verse is *Rūpaka*, showing the co-existence of valour and learning. The वृ in शत्रूणां that follows, is formed in a peculiar way.

⁸ Read घ्नः.

⁹ A combination of the palatal and dental sibilants.

- 19 पक्षवारणघटाः संग्राममीमास्पृजः ॥२३[॥*] यस्याजौ यमजिह्वाभं खड्गमालोक्य विद्विषः। अप्राप्तेऽप्यायुषः काले] U U
 न्मुचति जीवि[तम् ॥२४[॥*] U U U U U — — U, U U U U U — U U [॥*] [म*]र्वे पृथ्वीभूतश्चित्तं भुष्टिमध्ये निवेमि
 (शि)ताः ॥२५॥^२
- 20 अवाशी(मी)त्परमारवं[ज]विनतौ लब्धा(ब्धा)न्व[यः] पार्थिवो नाम्ना श्रीधनिको धनेम्म(श्व)र^३ इव त्यागैककल्पद्रुमः। — — —
U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U —, — — — U U — U — U U U — नित्ये स्वकीय वपुः ॥२६॥ श्रीमहाकालदेवस्य
 निकटे हिमपाङ्क-
- 21 रं(रम्)। श्रीधनेश्वर इत्युच्चैः कीर्तनं यस्य राजते ॥२७[॥*] चच्चनामाभवे^४(व)त्व(त्त)स्माद् भ्रान्तमनुर्महानृपः। रणे U U U
U U — — U, U U U U U — U U [॥२८[॥*] — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — खया विख्यातः करवालघात-
 दलितद्विद्विभुभुम्भस्थलः। यः श्री-
- 22 [खो]टिव(ट्टि)कदेवदत्तमरः श्रीसीयकार्ये कृती रेवायाः खलिघ[ट्ट]नामनि तटे युध्वा(द्ध्वा) प्रतस्ये दिवं(वम्) ॥२९॥ U U U U U
 — — U, U U U U U — U U [॥*] U U U U U — — U, U U U U U वामिनां(ताम्) ॥३०[॥*] आतः^५ कीर्त्ति-
 तरंगिणीम(चु)ल(लु)किनवैलोक्यमीमांस्तरस्या[गी]
- 23 सत्यपराक्रमनिधिः^६ श्रीपराक्रमवत्। यः श्रीमोजनरेन्द्रतत्रिमवः सार्द्धे रणे गूज्जरैः कृत्वा [मं] U U — U — U U U — — —
U — — U U [॥३१[॥*] — — — U U — U — U U U — — भाग्यभागीश्रीमेन्द्रः(तुः) कीर्त्तिपु चाहमानमहतां वंशोद्धवा
 लभ्यते। रा-
- 24 जयः सहजैव ये[न] सहजश्रीमन्मतिः स्वामिना यस्याः स्यादुपमानमादिपुरुष(पा)पीन(स्न)नी देवकी ॥३२[॥*] तस्या— U U
 — U — U U U — — — U — — U —, ख्यातः श्रीलिव(व)राजः प्रकटमुमटनामृष्टिपु ब्र(व)ह्मकलः [॥*] स्वस्यश्री-
- 25 भूरिदाता नयविनयमहापंडितस्नद्विगुणः स्वि(स्व)र्ग प्राप्तश्छलिवा हलि]पुगमधिरद्वेपिगो निर्दलित्वा [॥३३[॥*] भोग्यागौ गृहीत्वा]
U, U U U U U — U U :। श्रीमंडलीक इत्यस्य लघुभ्रान्तभवे(व)वृषः ॥३४[॥*] सू(शू)रस्यागौ नर्मणीवो वि-
- 26 पश्चित् कंदर्पाभिः कामिनीचित्तवौरः। सामनता मूर्द्धनि दनांहिरैको राजत्यूर्ध्वमंडले मंडलीकः ॥३४(३५)[॥*] अपि च ॥
 भोज U U U — — U, U U U U U — U U [॥*] U U U U U — — U, U U U U — U U U ॥३५(३६)[॥*]
 येनादाय रणे कन्हं दंडाध्रीमं(शं) महाव(व)लं(लम्)। अप्पितं जयमिहाय सा[श्व]
- 27 गजममन्विवं(तम्) ॥३६(३७)[॥*] जयत्यमी श्रीपरमारवणो यत्र प्रभुः श्रीजयमिहदेवः। जातः प्रमा(जा)स्वामु च यस्य
 तुंगमामंतपूज्य U U — U — U [॥३७(३८)[॥*] — — — U U — U — U U U — — — U — — U U, भक्त्याकार्यत मंदिर
 स्मररिपोस्त्यागुलाखेटके। यस्योत्तु(त्तु)गशिरः-
- 28 प्रदेशनिहितैर्दीपोत्सवे दीपकैर्दत्तं कज्जलमंजयति नयनान्यादाय मिद्विस्त्रियः ॥३८(३९)[॥*] नृणमुष्टिमुपाहृतवानपि यः U — U
U — U U — U U — [॥*] U U — U U — U U — U U —, भुवि सोप्यवतीर्य भवेन्नृपतिः ॥३९(४०)[॥*]
 शरदारुमृदालयमीशकृते
- 29 कुरुतेत्यध[नो] दिनमेकमपि। दिवि वर्षमहन्नमुपाम्य मि(शि)व पुनरव महीपनतः प्रभवेत् ॥४०(४१)[॥*] वृ(वृ)हदाम-
U — U U — U U —, U U — U U — U U — U U U [॥*] U U कामप्रतेपि महेंद्रपदं सुरनाथमि स्थलयेदचिरात्
 ॥४१(४२)[॥*]

^१ Here the intended reading appears to be काले क्षणान्मुचति.

^२ After the number of the stanza is a floral design followed by the symbol resembling the subscript *chh* or *th* appearing twice, each of these engraved between double *dandas*, showing the end of the first part i.e., the *prastā* of the inscription.

^३ The vertical showing the *mātrā* of स्ना that precedes was inserted later on, and the third letter of the name is damaged.

^४ The sign of the *mātrā* of this letter appears as struck off on the original.

^५ The reading of the first and the ninth letter of this verse is uncertain: can the first letter be भ्रा? The meaning of the first word is uncertain.

^६ Two *aksharas* after सत्य are omitted here as the metre shows. Halder proposed to read सत्यपराक्रमो [गुण*] निधिः; but म has no *mātrā*; and सत्यपराक्रमः would not be a happy expression. Thus what appears to be intended is सत्यपरः पराक्रमनिधिः. The word भेत्तः, below, was at first engraned as —तुः and later on corrected.

^७ Read छि, as in *n.*, above. In व्री that follows, the sign of superscript र् is mixed with the curve of the *mātrā*.

^८ This *akshara* is followed by what looks like दृ, and the following portion of the line is broken. Possibly the intended reading is आमदृषद् in the sense of undressed stone.

- 30 यदि पक्व[मृ]दिष्टिकया तस्मिन्वर्षमारण(शि)लाघटिनैर्घटयेत्। निखिलामरमे(शे)खरघट्टनया निविमे(शे)दिवि घृष्टपदांबु-
(वु)म्हः ॥ ॥४२(४३) [11*] U U U U U - - U, U U U U विषाणजं(जम्)। प्राणादमय माणेषं गिव
एव करोति यः ॥४३(४४) [11*]¹
- 31 राजा श्री(श्री)जयसिंह² अस्मै देवाय भक्तितः। वृषभं प्रति भोगार्थं मार्गे विमो(शो)पको दत्तः ॥४४(४५) [11*]
पांमुलाखेटके स्थाने कच्छिक U U - U U [1*] U U U U द्वितीयस्तु दत्तः शंभोः स्वभक्तिना (?) ॥४५(४६) [11*]
वंदनाख्ये(ऽ)रघुटे च नृपै(मे)-
- 32 भगिद्वयं तथा। दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन स्वधेयाय³(यमे) महेश(श)तः ॥४६(४७) [11*] पृष्ठे तगनडागम्य बह्मेश्व (श्व)यस्मिन्थैव
च⁴। वाटिका मुभगा दत्ता U U U U - U - U ॥४७(४८) [11*] U U एवादिनः कृत्वा यावच्चन्द्रदिव्यकरौ। भूमिर्दत्ता
मकेदारा वृधवा(वृद्धवा)
- 33 नांमार्गिकं फलं(लम्) ॥४८(४९) [11*] नट्टापाटकग्रामे भृग्या देउलवाटके। भोग्यपुरे च पानाछ्यामपरा
मंडलद्रष्टे⁵ ॥४९(५०) [11*] एवमेनेपु त्रामेपु* U U U U U [न*]क्षिता। भूमिः श्रीमंडलीकेन दत्ता श्रीमंडलेश्वरे
॥५०(५१) [11*] एतच्च पु-
- 34 रं लज्जतात्पुत्रजंकारमुखरिताभोग(गम्)। भोगनिमित्तं शभोर्दत्तं श्रीमंडलीकेन ॥५१(५२) [11*] पुरेव मन्त्रद्रव्यस्य भूरघट्टादि-
कस्य च [1*] म U U U U - - U, U U U - जः प्रकल्पितः ॥५२(५३) [11*] नयग्वी(स्वी) ब्र(व)ह्मचारि(री)यं(यः)
[शु]चिर्दत्ता(तो) जितेन्द्र-
- 35 यः। तेनाव तविः(वृत्तिः)⁶ कर्त्तव्या वारिकैः सह सर्व्वदा ॥५४*॥-छ॥ भरतो ध्रुवमारण्य कर्त्तवीर्यो गिविर्व(र्व)लिः।
हरिश्चन्द्र(श्चन्द्र)स्तु⁷ मांधाता नवो वेणुनृपाद[यः] ॥५५॥* U U U U U - - U, U ज्ञातः(ता) वग्धुग्निताः। नेप्यायुपि
परिक्षीणे ग[ताः] कृतां(कर्त्ता)निक⁸ पुर(रम्) ॥५६॥*
- 36 मन्त्रै[न*]दस्थिरं सर्व्व राज्यमायुर्धनं नृपैः। न लोप्यं मि(शि)वसंव(वं)धि वस्तु स्नोक(कम)पि यद्भवेत्⁹ ॥५७॥* यतः
[1*] भवस्तानाज्यमजानाद्यत्स्थितं करजोद[रे] [1*] U U U U U - - U, U U U U हरिद्विपः ॥५८॥* विमे(शे)पतः।
अस्मद्विमे(शे)य U - U विपये भो-
- 37 कता[च] यो भवेत्¹⁰। तस्याम्माभिः कृताभ्यर्था मि(शि)वदत्तं न चालयेत् ॥५९॥* अस्ति प्रत्यवनीन(ज)चक्रमुकुटस्पृष्टां-
ह्लिपीठश्रियः।¹¹ श्रीकोदंडचतुर्भुज - U U U - - - U - - U U [1*] [ने*]नेय स्फुटवर्णपाकपटिमप्रौढैः पदाड[व(व)नैः]
संमृ[ष्टा]¹² सुम-
- 38 [नः]प्रवा(वो)धजननी शंभोः प्रजस्तिर्गृहे ॥६०॥* यावच्चाद्री कला शंभोद्योतनेजूमडपे। [कीर्तिः] श्रीमंडलीकेन तावद-
स्वक्षया भुवि ॥६०(६१) [11*] संवत् वि[क्र]म- १११६... [वा]लस्यकायस्यश्रीवरमुता¹³नराजेनेयमृत्कीरिता(र्णा ?)
[मु(शु)द्धा] ॥

A floral design appears here also. The reading विषा is not certain.

² Sandhi is not made here for metrical exigencies. The last but one letter in this verse is long whereas it is required to be short.

³ This incorrect form is used for the sake of metre.

⁴ This foot contains one *akshara* more than required by the metre. Read वण्णेश्वर्याम् but the name appears to be वग्धेश्वरी. See *n.* in the edition of the record.

⁵ This and the following verse contain metrical errors. The one in the first foot can be removed by reading श्री in its beginning; the second syllable is required to be long instead of short as it appears here; and the sixth letter in the following verse unnecessarily stresses the previous one.

⁶ Probably वस्तिः is intended. All the three *aksharas*, viz. त्, न् and व् are here formed almost alike. The word वारिक, which is not to be found in dictionaries, probably means a 'beggar'. It may probably be connected with *Vārakin*, which means an ascetic living on leaves, or with a person of the *Vārakarī-sampradāya* (?).

⁷ Better read च in place of नृ.

⁸ The reading of the letters from the third to the sixth is proposed here in view of the sense. The first of these letters looks like कृ, which is also preceded by a *danḍa*, possibly the vertical of medial *i*, and the following two *aksharas* are unrecognisable. Again, the gap in the first foot of this verse may be filled in by reading अस्मिन्वृत्तिले नैके ये.

⁹ This foot is again metrically defective. The reading स्नोकं च यद्भवेत् is suitable but it does not give the exact sense. The meaning of the following hemistich is not clear to me.

¹⁰ This foot is again metrically defective and the whole may be read as अस्मद्विमे(शे)यवान्यस्मिन्भूमिभोक्ता च यो भवेत्. In the next foot अभ्यर्था is used in the sense of अभ्यर्थना.

¹¹ This punctuation mark is redundant.

¹² The reading of the bracketed letter is doubtful. Probably what is intended is संश्लिष्टा, in the sense of 'composed'.

¹³ Due to a redundant stroke this *akshara* appears as त्य.

No. 84; PLATE LXXXIV

ARTHŪṆĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHĀMUṆḌARĀJA

[Vikrama] year 1136

THIS inscription was first noticed by F. Kielhorn, who published from 'an imperfect pencil rubbing' sent to him by Kavirāja Shyamaladas, an abstract of it, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XXII (for 1893), pp. 80 f.¹ The record was also referred to in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1914-5, p. 36; and subsequently it was edited and translated into English, by L. Barnett, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XIV (for 1917-18), giving his own version of the text, in Roman characters (pp. 297-303), but without a facsimile. Barnett's transcript of the text of the inscription was based on an inked impression received by him from the Curator of the Jhālāwāḍ (Rājasthān) Museum, Pt. Gopal Lal Vyas; and, as he himself writes, the impression "was in several places touched with white paint, which somewhat lessens the value of the testimony."² It is probably owing to these touches that while editing this important record Barnett could not do full justice to the text; and the transcript, as we shall see below, has not only some lacunae but is also full of inaccuracies at several places. All these considerations necessitate a fresh attempt: and the inscription is edited here from the original stone and a set of excellent inked impressions prepared fresh and supplied to me, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Baroda.

The inscribed slab is built into a wall in a temple of Maṇḍalēśvara Mahādēva, standing in the eastern extremity of **Arthūṇā**, a village about 45 kms. south-west of Bāṇswādā, which was formerly the capital of a State but now the chief city of a district of the same name in southern Rājasthān.³ The inscribed portion measures 76 cms. broad by 67 cms. high and contains 53 lines of writing. With the exception of some single and sometimes two or three *aksharas* which are lost here and there in consequence of damages suffered by the stone, particularly in its lower part, the writing is well preserved. The damage does not appear to have been effected when Barnett wrote in 1917-18; and in the subjoined transcript these letters I have restored from his writing, except when the text can obviously be prepared, even conjecturally. It is, however, to my surprise that Barnett was unable to read some of the letters and some others were wrongly read by him, which are all clear in the impressions before me. This may probably be due to the indifferent impression sent to him, as we have stated above. The size of the letters varies between 8 and 10 mms. in height, excepting the *mātrās* and flourishes above and subscripts below.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, bearing a great resemblance to those of the preceding inscription. They are well cut and deeply engraved; and a few of them exhibit their ornamental form. Some of their peculiarities, as to be observed in the present inscription, however, may be noted here. The initial *a* begins with a vertical stroke followed by a curve, as in *atha*, l. 5; and the loops of the initial *i* are sometimes subscribed by the medial short and in the other

¹ Kielhorn also says in *op. cit.*, p. 80, that this pencil-rubbing was accompanied by a rough transcript of the text.

² With reference to Barnett's edition of this inscription, the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* observes: "In a number of specific points I should dissent from the subjoined rendering of this elaborate composition. But it is not necessary to discuss them, as the historical facts are not affected" (*op. cit.*, p. 303, n. 1). However, here I may point out a few striking inaccuracies in Barnett's reading of the text, some of which are historically important. In l. 52, he reads स(ञ) का [तु*] and remarks in *op. cit.*, p. 297, n. 1, that "Curiously enough, the poet in v. 86 gives the year as Śaka 1136; chronological considerations prove this to be an error." But the impression before me is clear to show समासहस्तैकजते प्रयाते (समा = year). (b) In l. 53 Barnett reads वा(वा)लम्य for बालभ्य (hailing from Valabhī). (c) In l. 53 he could not read the names of the writer and the engraver (see *f. n.* in the text below). And some of the other inaccuracies in his reading are: मन्वारता: for मन्थरिता:, l. 1; व(व)न्धन् for व(व)द्धन्, l. 5; पपु(शु) for यव, l. 48; and संभोगवृद्धाप्रियं for संभोगवृद्धाप्रियं; l. 9.

³ *Ind. Atlas*, quarter-sheet 36; Lat. 23° 29½'; Long 74° 9½'. It is now in the Gadhi tehsil of the district and connected with it by a metalled road, 17 kms. long.

instances by long *ū*; see *iva-*, l. 17, and *iti*, ll. 8 and 14. The sign of the secondary short *u* is occasionally attached to the right side of the letter, though generally put at its lowest extremity; cf., e.g., *manyunā* and *muninā-*, respectively, both in l. 5. Of the consonants, *ṇ* assumes a somewhat advanced form, as in *guṇa*, l. 15: *ṇ* appears both in its antique and modern forms; cf. *munin*=*āmunā*, l. 5: the consonant *b* is used only once, in *Balabhid*, l. 21, and *bh* shows as many as four varieties, *viz.*, resembling *t* as in *bhānta-*, resembling *ru* in *bhaya-*, and resembling *s* in *bhujaṅga*, all in l. 1, and *h*, in *bhava-*, l. 3. *ś*, which is in a transitional stage, shows its antique form in *āśisham-*, l. 8, and an advanced form in *śrī*, l. 10, where it is only slightly distinguished from *s*, as often noted in this inscription. Occasionally we find this letter showing a combination of both these sibilants, *i.e.*, the loop of the palatal along with the middle stroke of the dental, as in *śivāya*, l. 1.

A characteristic feature of the writing is that a slightly vertical stroke resembling a hook is attached to the left of the top strokes of some of the letters, e.g. in the initial lines, — a tendency which has changed their forms, e.g., *chha* appears as *stha* in l. 44, *nā* as *mā* in l. 46, and *tuṇvaka* as *vuṇvaka* in l. 48. This tendency appears also in some other inscriptions of the time, as in the Udaipur *praśasti*, edited above. Influence of local pronunciation is also noted: as in the word *kshuṇṇa*, l. 31, *ṇ* is spelt with the dental nasal: the word *-aṅghri* in ll. 7 and 18 is written as *aṇhri*, and *-sinha* as *-sinha*, l. 8, *nistrūṇśa* as *nistrūṇśa*, ll. 15 and 32 (twice): and the word *ujjvala*, in l. 52, is spelt as *ujvala*. The writer has also omitted two syllables in l. 42 of the text that follows. Other errors are to be noted in the subjoined text. Rules of *sandhi* have been violated in writing *duḥprāpyāṇi* l. 5, *āviḥkṛtā*, l. 25, *vaṇṇa-maṇḍalikā*, l. 49, and *sandhi* is violated in the third foot of v. 87, obviously due to the metrical exigencies.

With the exception of a short sentence paying obeisance to Śiva, in the beginning, and the portion mentioning the name of the engraver and the date in the end, the record is metrically composed, showing 87 stanzas, in all the well-known metres; but, curiously enough, one of them, No. 55, is a combination of *Rathōddhatā* and *Svāgatā*. The **language** is fluent and the style is *Gauḍī*, as in any composition of the medial period and describing valorous deeds; and figures of speech are freely used, prominent among them being *Ślēsha*, *Rūpaka*, *Upamā*, *Utprekṣhā* and *Yatirēka*. The composition is generally free from errors; and though the historical material afforded by it is scanty, it is indeed valuable as a literary piece. The verses are not numbered.

The **orthographical** peculiarities to be observed in the record are as follows: (1) The sign for *v* is used to denote *b* also, as in *vaddha*, l. 1; the only exception thereof is *Balabhid*, l. 21, as noted above; (2) the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal, as in *sasiśekhara*, l. 2; (3) the consonant following *r* is mostly doubled; see *kīrtti*, l. 21; and the consonant preceding this letter is occasionally doubled, as in *yattrā*, l. 2, and *-agniḥōttra*, l. 3, but not in the former of these words in l. 48; (4) medial diphthongs or one of the components of *ai* and *au* are indicated by the *prishṭha-mātrā*, with a few exceptions as in *māsē* and *dāpitō* in ll. 48 and 47, respectively, where we find the use of the *ūrdhva-mātrā*; (5) the sign of *anusvāra* is often put throughout in place of a class-nasal, though wrongly at the end of the second and fourth foot of a verse; and (6) the use of the *kāka-pada* sign, to denote that the word is continued in the next line, at the end of ll. 11 and 166 and perhaps at the end of l. 37 also.¹ A number of local words, mostly of 'homely kind', are also used in the business part of the inscription, while enumerating the articles of donations made.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, a laudatory account of a line of kings who belonged to the subordinate **Paramāra** house ruling over the province of Sthālī or Vāgaḍa, comprising mostly the modern districts of Bāṇswāḍā and Dūṅgarpur, in Rājasthān. That it is a *praśasti* is clearly stated in v. 86, and again in v. 87 below; and its importance lies in that it mentions the names of the line of kings from the earliest to Chāmuṇḍarāja, in whose reign it was composed and set up. Its immediate **object** is to record the foundation of a temple of Śiva under the name of

¹ All these signs being not clear enough in his impression, Barnett took them to be *daṇḍas*. See p. 291, n. 7. Curiously enough, an *anusvāra* and a class-nasal are occasionally found even side by side, e.g., in *prachanḍa-dōr-daṇḍa* in l. 10 and *chintā chintā-* in l. 43.

Maṇḍalēṣa, by the king Chāmuṇḍarāja, in honour of his father Maṇḍanadēva and the endowments made in favour of that temple. The **date** recorded in the last line thereof, both in decimal figures and words, is **Friday, the seventh day of the bright half of Phālguna of the (Vikrama) year 1136**, which, as calculated by Kielhorn, regularly corresponds to **31st January, 1080 A.C.**, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half ended 20 h. 3 m. after mean sunrise.¹

Opening with a customary sentence paying obeisance to Śiva, the inscription has two *maṅgala-slōkas*, the first of which invokes the blessings of Pārvatī and the second, that of Śiva. Then it has nine verses (3-11) to describe the Mount Arbuda (Ābū), the sage Vasishṭha engrossed in penance there, and the creation of a warrior by him from his sacrificial pit, to fight with the forces of Viśvāmitra who had stolen away his (Vasishṭha's) cow. The myth of the creation of the race of the **Paramāras** is a later invention, as we have often noted, simply to glorify the family. The following three verses introduce **Vairisimha**, who is stated to have sprung in that family in course of time; and then his younger brother **Dambarasimha**² is mentioned (vv. 15-16). In vv. 17-19 we are told that in his, *i.e.* Dambarasimha's family (*tasya* = *ānuyayē*) was born the illustrious **Kaṅkadēva**, who helped **Harsha**, the lord of **Mālava**, in his battle fought on the Narmadā, against the Karṇāṭas, and died a hero's death. This is evidently a reference to the imperial king's struggle with the Rāshṭrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga, as we have seen in the immediately preceding record; and the Vāgaḍa king Kaṅkadēva is the same as **Kakka** of the preceding record, where he is stated to have been Dhanika's nephew. But that the Mālava king is called Harsha here, as in the Udaipur *prasaṅgi*, and Sīyaka in the Pānāhēḍā inscription of V.S. 1116 furnishes a further clear proof that both these rulers were identical. Kaṅkadēva's son was **Chañḍapa** (vv. 20-21), and the latter's son was **Satyarāja** (vv. 22-24). The description of both these rulers is merely conventional. Satyarāja's son was **Maṇḍanadēva**, the Maṇḍalīka of the Pānāhēḍā inscription, to whose description are devoted 21 verses, stating that he was handsome, righteous, strong, valorous and skilled in the art of warfare. The name of his elder brother Limbarāja, as mentioned in the Pānāhēḍā record, is omitted here, probably because he was not in the direct line of descent.

The following twenty verses (46-65) are devoted to extol Maṇḍanadēva's son and successor **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, who is described almost on the same lines where it is also stated that he excelled the kāmādhēnu, chintāmaṇi and kalpa-*vyākṣha*, in his charities.

Verse 55, which is of historical importance, states that Chāmuṇḍarāja, like Purushōttama, having churned (completely destroyed or vanquished) Sindhurāja (the king of Sindh in the form of an ocean), with his sword resembling the Mandara mountain, obtained fortune (Lakshmī) and fame in the form of the world-purifying conch-shell. About the ruler of Sindh we know nothing; and the king mentioned here with the name Sindhurāja cannot be taken as the father of the well-known Bhōja, as he belonged to the imperial house of which Chāmuṇḍarāja was a feudatory and lived several years ago in the days of Maṇḍanadēva's grandfather Chaṇḍapa.³

The genealogical account is followed by the main object of the record, *viz.*, showing the construction of the temple of Śiva, as seen above; and v. 67 that follows expresses that the shrine may stand as long as the moon and the snake are on the head of Śiva and the Kaustubha jewel, resembling the attachment of Lakshmī, is borne by Viṣṇu. This laudatory account is supplemented by enumerating some imposts for the maintenance of the temple establishment, a list

¹ There are two important points on the discussion of the date. The first has already been discussed above in n. 2, with reference to Barnett's wrongly reading स(ग)का for समा. And the second point is about the *tithi* which was read by him as 3, following Gopal Lal's reading; but it would not correspond with Friday. The number of the *tithi* is in fact 7, as also read by Kielhorn in his notice of the inscription; and the seventh day of the month would fall on Friday. For details, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80 and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 297.

² The name was more likely डवरसिंह or डमरसिंह. See n. on the corresponding portion of the text below.

³ Nor can this Sindhurāja be the Chāhamāna ruler, the father of Lakshmana, who is known from two inscriptions of V.S. 1024 and 1039 (*J. N. I.*, Nos. 76 and 90), for taking him as on the throne for 25 years prior to V. 1024, he flourished about 140 years before Chāmuṇḍarāja. One Sindhurāja is also known from No. 94, below, as the fifth ancestor of Dēvarāja, the originator of the Bhīnmal branch of the Paramāras, who flourished in the eleventh century, and thus much before the time of the present inscription.

(*prati*) of which is said to have been prepared by Yaśōdēva, some other servants and by others headed by Kīrtirāja,¹ on the fifteenth of Chaitra. The imposts are as follows (duly classified):—

(1) **On imports and exports :**

A *varṇikā*² on each load (*bharaka*) of candy sugar and jaggery and a rupee on each load of Indian madder, thread and cotton. (v. 69).

(2) **On what is sold in the bazar :**

One fruit on each load of cocoanuts; one *mānaka*³ on each *mūṭaka* of salt; one areca-nut on every thousand; and one *palikā*⁴ on each *ghaṭaka* (*ghaṭa*?) of butter and sesamum oil (vv. 70-71.) One and a half rupee on each *kōṭikā* of clothing fabric; two *pūlakas* (bunches) on a *jālaka* (load?); one-fourth of a rupee (*pāṭī*) on each *anna-chhadma* (or *anna-chhatra*?); (v. 72).

(3) **In Utthapanaka** (the town as to be presently seen):

One *dramma* on the *Chaitra* festival and one on the *Pavitraka* festival, from each trader's house; one *dramma*, per month, from each brazier's shop; four rupees on each *tumbaka*⁵ of the distillers; one *dramma* on every house of the population; two rupees on a gambling house; two hundred leaves from each load; one *paṇaka*⁶ on each *karsha* of oil; one *vrishavimśōpaka*⁷ on each load of cattle-fodder; and one *dramma* on each traders' association (vv. 73-77).

Verse 77 tells us that all these imposts were to be collected on the fourteenth of the bright half of every month. And the following two verses again mention some taxes imposed on certain articles in the region known as *Ardhāshṭama-śata*. These taxes are: one *dramma* on each *ikshu-tavaṇi*;⁸ a *hāraka* of barley on a water-wheel; a load over twenty packs of load grain; and one *chhaṅga* (?) on a *bharaka*.

The next two verses of the inscription (80-81) inform us that the king also constructed a town with white-(washed) house and furnished it with gardens and donated it to the god with a piece of land which was duly measured with its boundaries. The deity is obviously the same as installed in the temple. The king also assigned one citron (*bija-pūraka*)⁹ from each *lagada*, a *vāpa* from a *mūṭaka* of barley on an *āṭavika* (mountain-dweller). In the following two verses (82-83) we find the request of the king to the future kings to continue the donations.

The next three verses are devoted to mention the name of the poet with his lineage. Here we are told that in the Sādhāra family was born one Sumati, an ear-ring of the goddess Bhārati (Sarasvati), and his son was Vijaya, whose younger brother Chandra composed the *praśasti*. The last foot of verse 86 also mentions the year, in words, as we have seen above. Verse 87 states that the *praśasti* was written (on the stone) by Āsarāja, a son of Śrīdhara, a Kāyastha belonging to the Vālabhya (hailing from Valabhī) caste. Śrīdhara and Āsarāja are obviously identical with the homonymous persons mentioned as the father and the son in l. 38 of the immediately preceding record. The following prose portion gives the name of the engraver as Gundāka who was a son of Nannā; and with the date, which is repeated here in decimal figures, and thereafter, with the expressions meaning 'auspicious, great fortune,' the inscription ends.

The genealogical portion of the present record is practically identical with that of the preceding inscription; but its date, which is 20 years later, adds to our historical information. The last known year of Chāmūṇḍarāja is 1100 A.C., which is furnished by another inscription which too was found at Arthūṇā;¹⁰ and in view of this date, it appears that this ruler may not have come to the throne much earlier than that of the present inscription. Assigning him a period of 25 years, as to each of the other generations flourishing in the house, D. C. Ganguly

¹ It is possible that some of the persons who prepared the list were royal servants and the others selected from the public.

² A local word which is not known to the dictionaries.

³ It was a measure about which nothing is known to me.

⁴ Popularly known as *Paṭī*, a spoon with a handle. It is still used in villages in Rājasthān and Mālwa.

⁵ See text, *n.* on v. 74.

⁶ A measure of capacity.

⁷ See *n.* on the word in the text below.

⁸ 'Pile of sugar' (Barnett).

⁹ The dictionary meaning of this word is 'citron', but I am more inclined to take it to mean 'a pomgranate', as the word is used in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Canto I.

¹⁰ No. 86, below.

calculates Chāmuṇḍarāja's reign from c. 1070 to c. 1100 A.C.,¹ but in view of what we have stated here, this king appears to have come to the throne a little later than 1070 A.C. and not much earlier than the date when the present record was inscribed.

Here we may also examine the observations made by Barnett in connection with the building of the temple. Referring to v. 67 of the inscription, which records a prayer for the continuance of the glory of Maṇḍanadēva, and also to v. 70, according to which the king also established certain imposts for the benefit of the temple, Barnett concluded that "this temple was a new structure taking the place of an older structure to which his father Maṇḍana had previously granted an endowment".² But the inscription is altogether silent on this point, which, if really it was the case, should have been stated in it. The first of the points noted by Barnett as the basis of his view, goes to show that it is quite natural for a son to record a prayer for the continuance of the glory of his father, for the expression used here is *Maṇḍana-kīrtanam*, meaning the structure raised to perpetuate the glory of Maṇḍana. There is, similarly, another expression, viz., *Maṇḍanēśasya*, which too should be taken in the figurative sense. And in the light of all this, and from the way in which the inscription says all about the temple, we have to interpret the word *Śrī-Maṇḍalēśa* in v. 66, in the sense of "the ornament of the goddess of wealth and not as giving a proper name, as it is used poetically. Chāmuṇḍarāja is introduced in v. 46; and all the following verses naturally refer to him and not to any other ruler. And accordingly, P. Bhatia's suggestion that the intervening verses 57-60 of the inscription refer to Maṇḍalīka and not to Chāmuṇḍarāja³ cannot be upheld, since it would be an unusual procedure not known to the Sanskrit poets.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Arbuda** (l. 2), **Karṇāṭa** **Narmadā** and **Mālava** (ll. 12-13) are all well known. **Utthapaṇaka** which appears to be the same as *Uthūṇaka*, which is mentioned in l. 23 in the *Arthūṇā* inscription of Vijayarāja,⁴ may have been *Arthūṇā* itself. However, here I may hazard a conjecture, viz. that *Utthapaṇaka* may have been a compound name with *uttha* and *paṇaka* as its components, the first of which represents *Arthūṇā* and the second, *Pānāhēḍā*, which are the two places where all the inscriptions of this branch of kings were found.⁵ The *maṇḍala* mentioned as **Vyāghradōraka** in l. 49, has already been identified with *Bāgiḍōrā*; and I assume this to be the original name of the province of Vāgaḍa, through the intermediate stages of *Vāghadōra* and *Vāghōḍa*, later changed to *Vāgaḍa*. From l. 49 we know that the *dēśa* in which *Arthūṇā* was situated was then known as *Ardhāśṭamaśata*, which means seven hundred and fifty, as *aḍhatiyāni* in the Minor Rock Inscription of Aśoka denotes two and a half.⁶

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 3-4, 13, 19, 24, 28-29, 31, 37, 39-41, 43, 45-46, 49, 58, 63-64 and 67 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 5-7, 14, 16, 18, 21, 23, 26-27, 30, 32-35, 42 44 47 52-53 57, 61-62, 65, 68-70, 72-84 and 87 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 8 and 48 *Drutavilambita*; vv. 9-10, 38, 51, 56, and 59-60 *Sragdharā*; vv. 11, 36, and 71 *Svāgatā*; v. 55 the same, with its first quarter in *Rathōddhatā*; vv. 12, 15, 17, 22 and 25 *Vasantatilakā*, v. 20 *Indravajrā*; v. 50 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 54 and 66 *Mālinī*; v. 85 *Āryā*; v. 86 *Upajāti*].

- 1 मिद्धम्⁸ [1*] ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय। पाणौ व(व)द्धभुजंगफूत्कृतिभयात्संकोचयंत्याः करं व्याकृष्टं जरतीजनेन रभसाश्छं(च्छं)
भोर्दृढं गृह्णतः⁹। श्रान्ताः संभ्रमतः सुखान्मुकुलिता विस्फारिताः कौतुकात्(द्) ब्रीडामथरिता विवाहसमये देव्या दृशः

¹ *H. P. D.*, p. 343.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 296 f. n.

³ *P. B. P.*, p. 192, n. 4.

⁴ No. 88, below.

⁵ *Arthūṇā* is only about 15 kms. south by west of *Pānāhēḍā*, both situated in the Gaḍhī tehsil, and their close situation may have given this name.

⁶ See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 49.

⁷ From the original and inked impressions.

⁸ Denoted by a symbol with an ornamental design over its top-stroke, as also to be seen on some other letters in this line.

⁹ Barnett read the subscript of the second letter of this word as *n* and corrected it to *ṇ* as required, but to me it appears as transcribed here.

- 2 पांतु वः ॥[१॥*] इदं मूर्द्धनि दधत्क्षीणं पातु वः ससिसे(शशिसे)खरः। खेदादिव सदासन्नगौरीमुखपराजयात् ॥[२॥*] अस्त्युच्चैर्गंगनावलंब(बि)सि(शि)खरः क्षोणीभृद[स्यां]¹ भुवि ख्यातो मेरुमुखोच्छ्रिताद्रिषु परां कोटिं गतोप्यर्बु(र्वु)दः। यत्र स्फाटिकपुष्परागकिर-
- 3 णालीढावर्कचंद्रौ क्षणं दृष्ट्वा सिद्धजनैरमन्यत दिवा रात्रिस्व(श्च) नक्तं दिनं(नम्) ॥[३॥*] तस्मिस्त्यक्तह(भ)वस्व(श्च)-
रित्रविभवस्तथ्यं तपोतप्यत ब्र(ब्र)ह्मज्ञाननिधिर्गुणैर्निरवधिः स्ने(श्रे)ष्ठो वसिष्ठो मुनिः। यस्य प्रज्वलिताग्निहोत्रजनितैर्धूमैरिव²
व्योमगैर्जाताः संमिलितास्त्रि(श्च)रेण हरितास्ते
- 4 हारिदस्वा(श्वा) हयाः ॥[४॥*] मुनेस्तस्यान्तिके रेजे निर्मला देव्यरुंधती। स्थिरवस्ये(श्ये)द्रियग्रामा तपःश्रीरिव जंगमा ॥
[५॥*] अनन्यसुलभा धेनुः कामपूर्वस्य सन्निधौ। ददती वाञ्छितान्कामा(न्)स्तपःसिद्धिरिव स्थिता ॥[६॥*] ततः
क्षत्रमदोद्वृत्तो गाधिराजसुतः
- 5 च्छलात्। धेनुं जह्ने(हे)स्य दुः(दुष्)प्राप्यां विघ्नं सिद्धिमिवोद्यतां(ताम्) ॥[७॥*] अथ पराभवसंभवमन्युना ज्वलनचंडरुचा
मुनिनामुना। रिपुवधं प्रति वीरविधित्सया द्रुतभुजि स्फुटमंत्रयुतं हुतं(तम्) ॥[८॥*] पृष्ठे तो(तू)णीरयुग्मं दधदथ च करे चंडको-
- 6 दण्डदण्डं व(ब)धन् जूटं जटानामतिनिवि(बि)डतरं पाणिना दक्षिणेन। क्रुद्धो यज्ञोपवीतो निजविषमदृशा भाययन्जीवलोकं तस्मा-
दुद्दामघामा प्रतिव(ब)लदलनो निर्गतः कोपि वीरः ॥[९॥*] आदिष्टस्तेन यातो रणममरगणैर्म-
- 7 गले गीयमाने वा(बा)ढं व्याप्तांतरालैर्दिनकरकिरणच्छादकैर्वा(र्वा)णवर्षैः ॥(१) कृत्वा भगं रिपूणां प्रव(ब)लभुजव(ब)लः
कामधेनुं गृहीत्वा भक्त्या तस्यांहि(घ्रि)पद्मद्वयलुलितसि(शि)राः सोवतस्थौ पुरस्तात् ॥[१०॥*] आनतस्य जयिनः परितुष्टो वां-
- 8 च्छिताशिषमसावभिधाय। तस्य नाम परमार इतीत्थं तथ्यमेवमुनिरासु(शु) चकार ॥[११॥*] तस्यान्वये क्रमवशादुदपादि
वीरः श्रीवैरिसिंह इति संभृतसिंह(सिंह)नादः। दुर्वारवैरिवरवारणकुंभकूटभेदोद्यतासिनख-
- 9 रोडुमरः क्षितीन्द्रः ॥[१२॥*] कीर्त्तिं तावदवेक्ष्य भावचपलां संभोगवृद्धां श्रियं नित्यं मंगलसन्धना सु(शु)भचतुर्दिकुंभिकुंभप्रभे³
दोर्दण्डद्वयशालिना क्षितिभुजामासा(शा)चतुष्कान्तरे येनाकारि करग्रहो वसुधया गाढं गुणास-
- 10 क्तया ॥[१३॥*] गतश्रीः श्रीनिधानेन सवं(वं)धः संयतारिणा। न येन समतां धत्ते जडधिः पटुवु(बु)द्धिना⁴ ॥[१४॥*]
तस्यानुजो डम्बरसिंह⁵ इति प्रचण्डदोर्दण्डचंडिमवशीकृतवैरिवृदः [१*] सृ(शृ)ङ्गारसारतरुणीजनलोचनालिपुंजोपर-
- 11 द्धवदनांबु(बु)रुहो व(ब)भूव ॥[१५॥*] चंद्रिकापि कथंकारं यस्य कीर्त्या समं समा। एका दोषाकरोद्भूता⁶ गुणोत्करभवापरा
॥[१६॥*] तस्यान्वये करिकरोद्भूता(बा)हुदण्डः श्रीकंददेव इति लब्ध(ब्ध)जयो व(ब)भूव। दर्पाध्वैरिवनिताकुचपत्रवल्ली⁷-
- 12 संदोहदाहदहनज्वलितप्रतापः ॥[१७॥*] युद्धकंडूलदोर्दण्डद्वये यः समरं प्रति। मेने रिपुस(श)राघातनखकंडूयनैः सुखं(खम्)
॥[१८॥*] आरूढो गजपृष्ठमद्भुतस(श)रासारै⁸ रणे सर्वतः कर्णाटाधिपतेर्बु(बु)लं विदलयंस्तन्नर्मदायास्त-
- 13 टे [१*] श्रीश्रीहर्षनृपस्य मालवपतेः कृत्वा तथारिक्षयं यः स्वर्गं सुभटो ययौ सुरवधूनेलोत्पलैरञ्चितः⁹ ॥[१९॥*] तस्या-
त्मजस्त्वं(श्च)डपनामधेयो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडविभ्रान्तयसा(शा) व(ब)भूव [१] सामंतकांताजनहास[हंस]श्रेणीप्रवासैकपयोदका-

¹ The *aksharas* in the square brackets, here and also below, are either so damaged as to be read on the stone, or are not properly formed, and those marked with stars are supplied from the context.

² Barnett read the preceding word as *jvalitair*-, but the syllables are exactly as transcribed here. His reading would also offend against the metre.

³ Barnett corrected *bhē* to *bhau*, but it is not necessary as this expression has to be taken as governing *antarē* (the periphery of the four quarters) adorned with water-pots in the form of the frontal globes of elephants. It is customary to place water-jars in a *maṇḍapa* in marriage-ceremonies.

⁴ Here is a pun on the word *jaladhi*, which means (1) ocean and (2) of dull intellect (*jaḍadhī*), *ḍa* and *la* being used for each other.

⁵ Prosodically, the first syllable of the name is required to be *laghu*, and, as suggested by the editor, the reading *Damarasimha* would suit the metre.

⁶ The *mātrā* of *shā* was inserted later on. The word is here used in double sense: (1) *dōshā* meaning the night, and (2) *dōsh-ākara* meaning a mine (full) of faults.

⁷ Here is a *kāka-pada* and not a *daṇḍa* as taken by Barnett; it is intended to show that the word is continued in the next line. In the name *Kaṁka* that precedes, both the *aksharas* are marked by serifs at the lower extremity.

⁸ The reading is certain. From the indifferent impression the letters were read by Barnett as *gaja-prishṭha-vāhuta(ahata?)*.

⁹ Originally तैः, with the sign of *mātrā* erased so lightly as to show the remains. As also noted by Barnett, the first syllable in this line is engraved outside its proper border.

- 14 लः ॥[१२०॥*] व(ब)ह्यस्तं(ब)स्य यत्कीर्त्तिर्मजरीवोपरि स्थिता । सस्व^१(शश्व)त्किन्नरभृंभो(गौ)वैरुपगीताधिकं व(ब)भौ ॥[२१॥*] सत्यास्पदं दहनदुःसहधामधामा श्रीसत्यराज इति तस्य सुतो व(ब)भूव । सामंतदूरनतिसंगिललाटपट्टलग्नोल्लसत्तिलकपादन-
- 15 खांशुजालः ॥[२२॥*] वनमालाधरा नित्यं हि(भि)या यस्याच्युता^२ अपि । रिपवो न च विक्रान्ता न लक्ष्मीपतयः कथं-
(थम्) ॥[२३॥*] निर्व्याजं करुणाद्रितोपि स(ग)तसो(शो) निस्तं(स्त्रिं)शकर्मोद्यतः संजातप्रसरोपि विक्रमशतैरंतः सदा संयतः ।
ग्रामूलं गुणवर्द्धितो
- 16 पि व(ब)हृधा दोषाज्जितश्रीहरो योप्येवं नियतं विरुद्धचरितो लोकाविरुद्धोभवत् ।^३ [२४॥*] तस्मादभूद्दिह नयादिव वृद्धियोगः
पुण्यस्त्रिलोकतिलको विपुलोनतां[सः] । गीर्वाणचारुचरिताप्पितकर्णपूरः श्रीमंदिरं जगति मण्डनदेव^४-
- 17 नामा ॥[२५॥*] विनालोर[*]स्थलं का[*]तं मन्ये श्रीरुत्थितोदितं(तम्) । न ववं(बवं)ध यमासाद्य पुराणपुरुषे रति(तिम्)
॥[२६॥*] अनवच्छिन्नदानौघो यः प्रलंब(ब)करोदुरः । कुलैकधवलो भद्रः सुरद्विप इवावहौ(बभौ)^५ ॥[२७॥*] विस्फूर्जन्त्रख-
चंद्रदीधितिलसल्लावण्य-
- 18 नीरोच्चयं सुस्निग्धस्फुटदीर्घराजिरुचिभूत्सत्सं(च्छं)खमीनांकितं(तम्) । वाहिन्या[*] प्रपतित्वयोग्यमतुलं ख्यातं श्रियः कारणं
यस्याधत्त करांहि(त्रि)पद्मयुगलं सामुद्रिकं लक्षणं(णम्) ॥[२८॥*] व(ब)द्धा कौतुकमन्वयोत्थरुचिरा सव्वांगपूर्णधिक
येनात्र स्मररू-
- 19 पिणा दृढभुजादंडोल्लसन्मंडपे । वैरिश्चीर्नृवरेण भव्यदिवसावाप्तौ परैरीहिता दत्तेयं निजविक्रमेण महतेवोच्चैरूढा[ढा] स्वयं(यम्)
॥[२९॥*] धृतविश्वंभराभारः खडितारातिविग्रहः । असिम्मं(म्म)वीव सततं यस्यावर्द्धयत्^६ श्रियं(यम्) ॥[३०॥*] यस्यारा-
- 20 तिवधूजनस्य सरलैः स्वा(श्वा)सानिलैः सो(शो)कजैरुणोष्णैः परितो युगांतपवनप्रस्प[द्धिभिः] कानने । दग्धे नीलतृणांकुरोत्करभरे
नीरेधिकं शोषिते ।^७ कृच्छ्रेणाशनपानवृत्तिरहितैः खिन्नैर्मृगैः स्थीयते ॥[३१॥*] दीप्यमानः सदा सर्व्ववाहिनीश-
- 21 क्षयोल्ल(त्व)णः । प्रतापो यस्य जज्वाल वाडवोग्निरिवापरः ॥[३२॥*] कीर्त्तिनि(र्ग)मनाथे(दे)व सृं(शृं)खलेव रिपुसि(श्रि)-
यां(याम्) । यस्यासिः समरे भाति^८ वेणिकेव जलश्रियः ॥[३३॥*] बलभिद्व(द्व)लयुक्तेन गोत्रहा गोत्रनदिना । न येन
कृतिना धत्ते सोपि साम्यं पुरंदरः^९ ॥[३४॥*]
- 22 तस्यास्ति हृदये लक्ष्मीः^{१०} स च श्रीहृदयंगमः । स्पर्द्धां (ये)न कथंकारं करोति गरुडध्वजः ॥[३५॥*] यं प्रतापनवपल्लव-
कांतं कीर्त्तिनिर्मलधृताक्षतदेहं(हम्) । श्रीः सदा न हि मुमोच दयाभःपूरितं विजयमंगलकुंभं(भम्)^{११} ॥[३६॥*] निर्व्याजं सुरमंदिरैतिविम-
- 23 लैर्वृद्धैर्गुणैः स्थापिता मुक्तानां रुचिधारि[णी] मुमहिता^{१२} लोकत्रयव्यापिनी । प्रत्याशं प्रतिकाननं प्रतिपुरं गेहं प्रति प्रस्तुतां-
(ता) यस्यैषाद्भूतदेवतेव सततं कीर्त्तिर्जनैः स्तूयते ॥[३७॥*] लक्ष्म्या यस्मिन्नुपात्तं जननमथ यशःपांडुपीयूषपूरैर्यत्नोद्भूतं
- 24 समन्तादखिलभृतलसद्भूतलासा(शा)न्तरालः । क्षीरांभोधिर्गुणौघो निरवधिरभवद्यस्य चारित्रसीम्नः सी(शी)तांमु(शु)श्रीर्यदुत्थाच्छुरयति
गगनं कीर्त्तिकल्लोलमाला ॥[३८॥*] खर्वा क्वापि न^{१३} कुवचिन्नहि तथा लोके गता शेषतां न प्राप्ता विरति स्फुटं न हि

^१ Originally स्वा with the sign of *mātrā* erased so lightly as to leave its mark on the stone.

^२ Here Barnett read *yasy-āchyasā* and called it corrupt. He also stated that the translation of Gopal Lal Vyas gives *achyuta* which suits the sense well but does not seem to be the reading of the ink-impression. My reading is as transcribed here and Vyas appears to have prepared his reading from the original stone. The pun on expressions used in this verse suggests that his enemies had disappeared in *dharā*, i.e., land which had a line of mountains.

^३ This *danḍa* is followed by a rosette and another *danḍa*.

^४ Here is a *kāka-pada* symbol showing that the word is continued in the next line.

^५ The double meanings of the words *dāna*, *kara* and *dhavalā* are intended to show that the king resembled Indra's elephant.

^६ Originally, तः, with the sign of *visarga* erased later on. The third *akshara* in *khaṇḍitārāti* that precedes in the same line is engraved in smaller letters just below where it is required.

^७ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

^८ Engraved as भ्रां-, with the sign of *anusvāra* erased but leaving a clear mark.

^९ The words used here with double meanings intend to show that the king excelled Indra, who is known to have killed the demon Bala and cut the wings of mountains (*gōtras*).

^{१०} The sign of *visarga*, which was at first omitted, was inserted subsequently.

^{११} The expressions here show that the king was identical with an auspicious bowl. The custom of adorning an auspicious jar with foliage and grains is well known.

^{१२} That is, well (much) esteemed.

^{१३} Engraved नृ, with the *mātrā* erased. This verse states that the king excelled all the incarnations of Vishṇu, namely, those of Vāmana, Balarāma, Buddha, Kṛishṇa, Matsya and Varāha, respectively; and what is more is that his fame was of white colour in contrast with that of dark body (*kṛishṇām tanuṁ*) of the lord of Lakshmī. This is not suggested by Barnett's translation. The figure of speech is *Vyatirēka*, showing that the body of this king was not dwarf as of Vāmana, and so on.

ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF CHĀMUNDĀRĀJA:

(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1136

2 उदयगिरिस्थितायाः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 4 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 6 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 8 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 10 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 12 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 14 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 16 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 18 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 20 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 22 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 24 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 26 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 28 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 30 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 32 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 34 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 36 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 38 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 40 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 42 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 44 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 46 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 48 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 50 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः
 52 गौरीशङ्करादयः शिवदेवतायाः चामुण्डारजाः

- 25 वृषध्वंसोदधाविः(विष्)कृता । नो पूर्णैकपदात्पकविभुवना क्रोडीकृता न क्वचिद्यत्कीर्तिर्विसि(शि)नष्टि कुंदधवना कृष्णां तनुं श्रीपतेः ॥[३६॥*] यस्योड्डामरवामबा(बा)हुदण्डयुगलस्योद्यद्व(द्व)लेनाधिकं संच्छन्नेन रजोभरैः प्रचलतः प्रत्यर्थिवृदं प्रति । ते-
- 26 जस्त्यक्तमहो स्वकं भगवता¹ चंडांशुनापि स्फुटं प्रत्याशं भयसद्य सा(शा)व्रवजनस्यान्यस्य तत्का कथा ॥[४०॥*] यस्यामा- (शा)विजयोद्यतस्य निखिलक्षमापालवूडामणेर्वैरिश्च्युतिलंपटस्य चलतस्तीरेषु वारां निधेः । क्रुद्धाधोरणतज्जितैरपि मुहुर्मा-
- 27 नोन्नतैः पीयते मज्जदि(दि)गजदानगन्धि सलिलं दुःखेन मेनागजैः ॥[४१॥*] उच्चैर्धृतवृषो² नित्यं समदर्शी गताहितः । जि[ता]संख्यपुरः पूज्यो योपरः परमेश्वरः ॥[४२॥*] विख्याता चपलेति या प्रियतमासौ शंकितेव श्रिया गत्वादि-
- 28 [त्य]भुवं सुरैरपि नृता नित्यं विमु(शु)द्धा सती । मानेने(नै)व तथापि कीर्त्तिरम[ले]नांगीकृतापि स्वयं ।³ येनेयं यशसा महैव सहजेनेत्थं जगद् भ्राम्यति ॥[४३॥*] धनुर्विद्याविदा येन सत्व(त्त्व)सत्यैकसद्मना । र[णे] संधानमानीय कथं न रिपवो हताः ॥[४४॥*]
- 29 आलानो विजयद्विपस्य रुचिरा वेणी नु कीर्त्तिस्त्रियो दोर्दण्डप्रियनिर्भरैकवसतेश्छाया स्फुरंती श्रियः । वा(बा)ढं वैरिवधोद्यतः प्रतिरणं कालोप्रदंडो गुर्यस्यामिः सुमु(शुशु)भे पराक्रमभृतो दृष्टारिदर्पच्छिदः ॥[४५॥*] शूरः प्रौढव(ब)लः
- 30 कुलैकतिलको दुर्वारवीरान्तको वैरिश्चोहरणैकलंपटलसच्चंडासिदंडोत्वणः । कांतालोकटाक्षपुंजनिलयः शृंगारमीनध्वजो जातो यस्य रविद्युतेर्गुणनिधेश्चामुंडराजः सुतः ॥[४६॥*] गुरुदुःखोष्णनिस्वा(श्वा)सैरश्रुपुरै-
- 31 श्च सततं(तम्) । कृतं यस्यारिकांताभिर्दग्धपल्लवितं वनं(नम्) ॥[४७॥*] अहितदोषगु(ग?)णैरुदितोदितैर्जगति लब्ध(ब्ध)- जयैरिव विहृताः⁴ । सकललोकनिकायनिराकृता यमिह सर्वगुणाः शरणं ययुः ॥[४८॥*] दुर्वारारिविदारिणा हरिखुर- क्षुन्ना(ष्णा)न्तरा-
- 32 ले भृशं तीक्ष्णास्त्रक्षतवान्तशोणितपयःपूरप्लुते सर्वतः । निस्तृ(स्त्रिं)शाहतकुंभिकुंभविगलन्मुक्ताफलानां गणाः क्षिप्ता वीरवरेण येन समरक्षेत्रे यशोवी(बी)जवत् ॥[४९॥*] वारं वारं प्रकृतिमुभगं धौतनिस्तृ(स्त्रिं)शभाणि युद्धे (यु)द्धे⁵ सतत-
- 33 विजयश्चोप्रियं खेचरीणां(णाम्) । [त]त्कालोत्थस्मरभयवशाद्यं प्रति स्पर्द्धयै(ता) मंदं मंदं चकितचकितं दृष्टयः संपतन्ति ॥[५०॥*] क्रोधाद्यस्यातिभीता दिशि दिशि विहतानंतसामन्तकांताः कांतारेषु प्रविष्टाः श्रमवशं[वि]वशाः संस्त्रि[श्रि]ता दुःखनिद्रां(द्राम्) [।]
- 34 स्वप्ने दैवादुपात्तान्निजनिजरमणान्प्राप्य संभोगमेता(त्य) जाग्रत्योप्यामु(शु) (नेत्थं) रतिरसरसि(का)स्व(श्च)क्षुस्मीलयति ॥[५१॥*] म(श)ववश्चंडकोपेन येन स्वस्थानचालिताः⁶ । निजकांतामनो मुक्त्वा स्थितिमन्यत्र नो गताः ॥[५२॥*] मस्वत्सन्नंदको⁷ वा(बा)ढं व(ब)लिवं(बं)धोदितोदि-
- 35 तः । त्रिविक्रम इवोदारां यो लक्ष्मीं सततं दधौ ॥[५३॥*] दृढतरमभिम(श)क्या भव्यसंभोगरम्या विवृतविमलपक्षद्वंद्वमानंद- हेतुः । क्षणमपि न मुमोच प्राप्य यं राजहंसं कुवलयरतिपात्र राजहंसीव लक्ष्मीः ॥[५४॥*] मिथुराजम[ति]-
- 36 मथ्य हेलया खड्गमंदरभृता युधि येन । उत्तमेषु पुरुषेषु विलेभे श्रीर्यसो(शो) भुवनपावनशंखः ॥[५५॥*] विश्वं वैरिप्रतापं झटिति कवलयन् लीलया जांगलाभं चंडाशोस्तीव्रशोचिम्मिलनरुपिलिताच्चिच्छटाकेसरश्रीः । धारादं-

¹ Engraved त्, with the sign of *anusvāra* erased later on.

² Here is a pun on *vrisha* and the other words suggesting the king to be identical with Śiva who is also known as Tripurāri who destroyed three cities, whereas this king conquered many. *Vrisha* means (1) *dharma*, and (2) bull.

³ The punctuation mark is redundant. The restoration *mānēn* = *ē(ai)va* in the beginning of this foot is as suggested by Barnett, but I agree with the editor in retaining the original. The *akshara* *ṇē* in the same line is lost and has been restored from Barnett's reading.

⁴ Metrically the first *akshara* of this word is required to be *guru*. Its consonant is rather indistinct and the second *akshara* seems to have had a subscript, which too is equally indistinct. From traces on the original I take the word as *विहृताः* or *विहृताः*. From his indifferent rubbing Barnett also read *vēdārīnā* that follows in the same line, but the curve of the *mātrā* of the first of these letters is clear in my impression as well as in the original.

⁵ This *akshara* with a part of the preceding one is lost and has been restored from Barnett's reading. As also noted by him, this verse imitates the style of the *Mēghadūta*.

⁶ The sign of *visarga* is put here after the *danḍa* and *नेत्थं* and *का* in this line are lost; they have been restored from Barnett's reading.

⁷ Read *शश्वत्*. The *aksharas* are exactly as transcribed here. They were read by Barnett as *sasvatannadakō* and correcting them to *sa-Śatānandakō*, whereas the editor suggesting, with a query-mark, *śasvat-unnati-gō*, which is all due to the indifferent impressing, as already stated. This verse has an allusion to the *Vāmana avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

- 37 ष्टाकरालो विलसति समरे जातघातोच्चनादो यस्यारातीभकुंभस्थलदलनपटुः प्रौढनिस्तृ(स्ति)शमिहः¹ ॥[५६॥*] यस्य सर्वांगसौंदर्यप्रतिविव(बिम्ब)मपश्यता। प्रशंसिता स्मरेणापि निजा चिरमनंग[ता] ॥[५७॥*] स्वीभिर्यत्र गृहं प्रति प्रवि-
- 38 शति स्वस्थे स्वहृन्मंडले हर्षोत्तालतयैव हारकिरणान्संभाव्य सस्वस्तिकं(कम्)। उत्तुंगस्तनकुंभसंगरुचिरश्रीकण्ठकंबु(बु)स्फुरद्भ[क्तां]- भोजविभूषितं निजवपुश्चक्रे स्वयं मंगलं(लम्) ॥[५८॥*] दूती दृष्ट्वोत्सुकानां वद[नमभि]²भवत्सौरभात्कामि-
- 39 नीनां नायात्यायाति वेति स्ववचन उदिते यत्कृते दुःखसौख्यैः। जातोष्णं(ष्ण)³स्वा(श्वा)सदाहान्मधुकरपटलान्यश्रुसंपातसेकात्(द्) वैकल्प्यस्वास्थ्यभांजि त्वरित[त]रमधः संपतत्युत्पतति ॥[५९॥*] गेहे गेहेनुरागात्पथि पथि [सु]चिरं प्रां-
- 40 गणे प्रांगणे वा वारं वारं नितान्तं युतयुवतिजनो जाततृष्णाभरातः। उत्कल्लोलं समंतादहमहमिकया यस्य कंदर्पकांतैर्लविष्यां- भस्तनु[ऽ] स्वनयनचुलुकैरुच्छुलुपीचकार⁴ ॥[६०॥*] अनंगः स स्मरो युक्तं विरहज्वलिते हृदि।
- 41 तस्थौ यदिह कांतानां चित्रं यो वसतीति मे ॥[६१॥*] येम(न) धर्म्मो महीपृष्ठे कोप्यपूर्वः प्रकाशितः। यस्योन्नम[य*]- तोप्येव(or ष?) गुणः कोटि परां गतः ॥[६२॥*] दत्त्वा कांचनरत्नदानमतुलं धर्म्मकरागान्तं(त्त)था येनैश्वर्यमतिप्रपंचि- [तम]हो⁵ पुण्यद्विजाः
- 42 प्रापिताः। जातं मंदिरमालिकासु तिमिरं दीपैर्विनो[जृ'(ज्जू')भित्तं]⁶ जित्वोद्योतमहर्निसं(शं) विदधते रत्नप्रदीपांकुराः ॥[६३॥*] येन स्वर्णगिरि [U -]⁷विरचिताः(तः) स्वर्णेन सप्तान्वयः स्वर्ण्यः कल्पतरुः समस्तवसु[धा स्व]र्ण्या सहस्रं [ग]वां- (वाम्)। इत्यादि द्वि-
- 43 जसंचयाय ददता स्फूर्जद्यसो(शो)हासतः सोल्लासं हसिता व(ब)लिप्रभृतयः सर्व्वेप्यमी पार्थिवाः ॥[६४॥*] कामधेनुरकामा- भूच्चिन्ता चिंतामणेरपि। विकल्पः कल्पवृक्षस्य श्रु(श्रु)त्वा यदानमद्भुतं(तम्)। [६५॥*] नतरि[पुष्ट]तबूडालग[ननीले]द्व- सो(शो)चिर्मधुकर-
- 44 निकुरंव(ब)च्छन्नपादांबु(बु)जेन। रुचिरमिदमुदारं कारितं धर्म्मधाम्ना त्रिदस(श)गृहमिहश्रीमंडलेशस्य तेन ॥[६६॥*] यावत्लोचनधूमदंडमिलितं [च्छ]वच्छवी[—]दुं दधौ भोगीन्द्रं नवयोगपट्टसदृशं यावच्च मौ[लौ] हरः। यावत्कौस्तुभ ए-
- 45 ष भाति हृदये विष्णोः स्त्रि(श्रि)यो रागवत्⁸ श्रीमन्मंडनकीर्त्तनं क्षितितले तावत्स्थिरं तिष्ठतु⁹ ॥[६७॥*] अथ चैवचतुर्दश्यां यसो(शो)देवादिकं(कि)करैः। कीर्त्तिराजमुखैरन्यैर्देवस्यैषा कृता प्रतिः¹⁰ ॥[६८॥*] वणिजां खंडगुडयोर्भरकं¹¹ प्रति वर्णि-
- 46 का। मंजिष्ठासूत्रकर्पासभरकेषु च रूपकः ॥[६९॥*] तथाश्रीमंडनेनेयं शासने[न] महात्मना। हृष्टे विक्रीय[ते य]त्तु तस्यापि रचिता प्रतिः ॥[७०॥*] मा(ना)लिकेरभरके फलमेकं मानकं लवणमूटकम[व्ये]¹² [।*] पूगमेकमपि पूगसहस्रा-

¹ The figure of speech here is metaphor. This *danḍa* is followed by a floral design and then by another *danḍa*.

² The letters in the brackets have now peeled off and have been restored from Barnett's reading.

³ The sign of *anusvāra*, which was originally marked, was erased later on. For the correct interpretation of this verse, see the editor's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 308, n. 3.

⁴ For the use of this interesting word, see Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracharita*, V, 8.

⁵ Transcribed here as it actually appears on the stone, with doubt about the *mātrā* of the last *akshara*, which may perhaps be restored as वं. Barnett read it as *vin-ōjjrīm̐bhitam̐*, which is incorrect.

⁶ The sign of *visarga* was later on erased.

⁷ The two syllables which were inadvertently left in engraving may have been पुनर् or मुहुर.

⁸ The *danḍa* is superfluous. *Kīrtana* that follows means a temple.

⁹ This *danḍa* is followed by a floral design and another similar *danḍa* resembling Nāgarī r.

¹⁰ This word may possibly be connected with *pratipatti*, i.e. acquirement (for the temple), or with *pratyaya*, tax. From the expression it appears that Yaśōdēva may have been the royal representative and Kīrtirāja represented the village along with some others who are not named.

¹¹ It is probably a kind of measure and is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription of Ratnadēva. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 223, n. 7 (v. 80). *Varṇikā* also appears to be a kind of measure; it is unknown to me.

¹² The *mātrā* of the bracketed letter is faintly visible on the stone and the *danḍa* that follows is joined to the letter. We may also read as *madhyāt*, as restored by Barnett. M. Williams, on the authority of *Kāraṇḍa-vyūha*, gives *muṭa* (*mūṭa*) in the sense of a basket. Also see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 151, l. 37, and p. 153, n. 6. In an inscription of Vigharāja (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 57) we also find mention of a tax on salt, but the word given there is *kūṭaka*.

- 47 दाज्यतैलघटके पलिकैका¹ ॥७१॥* दापितो रूपकः सार्द्धः प्रतिकर्षटकोटिकां(काम्)²। पूलकद्वितयं³ जालादन्नच्छद्रे(वे) च पाइली ॥७२॥* तत्थो(थो)त्थपनके तेन वणिजां प्रतिमंदिरं(रम्)। चैल्यां द्रम्मः पविल्यां च द्रम्म एकः प्रदापितः ॥७३॥* सा(शा)लामु कां-
- 48 स्यकाराणां मामे द्रम्मः कृतस्तथा। तुंव(व)के⁴ कल्यपालानां रूपकाणां चतुष्टयं(यम्) ॥७४॥* प्रकृतीनां र(च) सर्वासां [त]या स्थित्यानुमंदिरं(रम्)। दापितो द्रम्म एकैको द्यूतेस्मि(स्मिन्) रूपकद्वयं(यम्) ॥७५॥* लगडा[त्*] पवस(श)ते द्वे⁵ तैलकषो(षे) नु (पा?)णकं(कम्)⁶। दापि[तो] यत्र शाके-
- 49 [च्छा? वृ]षविशोपकस्तथा⁷ ॥७६॥* द्रम्मस्तेन तथा दत्तो वणिग्मं(ङ्मं)डलिकां प्रति। सर्वावर्तयुता मासं प्रतिमु(शु)क्ला चतुर्दशी ॥७७॥* अर्द्धाष्टमशते देशे व्या(घ्र)दोरकसंभवे⁸। तथेक्षु[त]वणि⁹ द्रम्मोरघट्टे यवहारकः ॥७८॥* दाने च भांडघा(न्या)नां भरकच्छ(ङ्ग?)¹⁰।
- 50 [विं]शतौ। तेन दत्तः[*] स्वधम्मणेण भरक[च्छङ्ग] एव च। ॥७९॥* सवाटिकं तथा तेन पुरं धवलमंदिरं(रम्)। कारितं भूः प्रदत्ता च देवायाघाटसम्मिता ॥८०॥* वी(वी)जपूरकमेकं तु लगडायाश्च दापितं(तम्) [॥*] यवानां मूटकस्यैष वापश्चाटविके¹¹ तथा ॥८१॥* श्रूयतां भु-
- 51 वि भूपालाः प्रदत्तं शासनं मया। पाल्यतामन्यथा नात्र मौलौ व(व)द्वोयमंजलिः ॥८२॥* पृथुप्रभृतिभिर्भूपैर्भुक्ता कैः कैर्न मेदिनी। तैरप्येषा पुनः सार्द्धं यतो नैकपदं गता¹² ॥८३॥* कविः मुमतिमाधारो वंशे साधारसंभवे। व(व)भूव क्रमसो(शो) विद्वा-

¹ This is also a kind of measure of capacity, appearing in the Partābgarh inscription of V. 1003. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, p. 176. The word *pālī* or *pāvalī* is still current in the area in the sense of one-fourth of a rupee.

² *Karpaḷa* means patched garment.

³ *Pūlaka* is also mentioned in the Bilhāri inscription referred to above. See *n.* on v. 71 in *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 223, (n. 9). *Dramma* used in the next verse is a silver coin, struck to the weight-standard of Attic *drachma* or 67.5 grains. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxiii.

⁴ Here Barnett read *vuṃvakē* and puts *vuṃvaka* in the translation of the verse: but my reading is certain and the word is still locally known as *tūmbā*, i.e., container of the size of a gourd and still used in villages for liquids.

⁵ Here Barnett read *Lagaḍā yatra saṃtē dvē*, but he did not explain it, only inviting a reference where it is taken as a bar of gold. My reading is certain and it means 'two hundred of leaves from each *laggaḍa*, i.e., 'the load taken by a cart or a bullock', as the word is still used in the locality. *Karsha* is a standard weight equal to 80 *raktikās* or 146.4 grains (see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. clxxxiii), but it is perhaps to be taken here in the sense of *ghāṇa* or oil-mill used in an inscription from the same locality. See *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIV, p. 176.

⁶ The bracketed letter is again lost. Barnett read it as *pā* and suggested that perhaps it is a mistake for *mā*.

⁷ *Vimśōpaka* was so called as probably it was equivalent in value to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. Cf. *Visōvā* mentioned in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 343. Also see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 195, *n.* and also p. cixxxiii.

⁸ The third letter of this verse is not *shū*, as Barnett is inclined to take from the reading of Gopal Lal Vyas, but *sh/a*, as taken here. The second letter of the second foot is *ghra*. The first word, which occurs also above, in No. 8 (p. 30, l. 6), means 750. See *n.* above, in the edition of the inscription. The second foot gives another name for *Vāgaḍa*, which is a corruption.

⁹ The meaning of *tavaṇi* is not known to me. The first of these syllables, though misformed, is almost certain. Can it be *pravaṇi*, which is mentioned in l. 6 of the *Rājōr* inscription of Mathanadēva to which Kielhorn has drawn our attention in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 263, *n.* 4? According to Mirashi, it means a *śrēshṭhin*, for which see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 331, *n.* 2. This sense is most applicable here. *Hāraka* that follows may be, as already suggested by Barnett, a handful; or it may be a *bhāraka*, i.e., *bhārā*, as it is still locally known. The promiscuous use of *ha* and *bha* is often noted in this inscription.

¹⁰ Apparently corrupt. I am not certain about the reading of the bracketed syllable which looks like *dva*, or even *dhha*. Barnett took the whole word as *su(ū)ddha*, but the penultimate letter is definitely not *su*, but as taken here.

¹¹ As already suggested by Barnett, *vāpa* means a handful. According to M. Williams, *mūtaka* is a basket. Cf. *muḍā* in Marathi, and *muḍe* in Kannḍa.

¹² Barnett translated the latter half of this verse as "whence the latter together with them (the kings) has again passed through various conditions". This is not at all supported by the transcript which only means to say that the earth went with none of the kings ruled over it. The same idea is found expressed in the well-known verse *Mūndhātā cha mahīpatih*, etc., of the *Bhōjaprabandha*.

- 52 न् भारतीकर्णकुण्डलं(लम्) ॥[८४॥*] तस्य सुत[१*] गुणचंदनसुंदर^१संजातदिग्बधूतिलकः । कविजनमुखकुमुदससी(शशी)
जयतात् श्रीविजयसाधारः ॥[८५॥*] तस्यानुजेनाभिहिता प्रस(श)स्तिश्चंद्रेण चंद्रोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लकीर्तिभाजा । समासहस्रैकस(श)ते
प्रयाते^२ षड्-
- 53 त्तरे [विश]ति याति काले ॥[८६॥*] बालभ्यजातिकायस्थश्रीधरस्येह सूनुना । लिखिता आसराजेन प्रशस्तिः स्वस्थचेतसा
॥[८७॥*] उत्कीर्णा विज्ञा० चामुण्डकेन^४ । सूत्रधारोत्त नन्नासुतगुंदाकसूत्रधार[ः*] ॥ संवत् ११३६ फाल्गुन शुदि ७^५ शुक्ले ॥
मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥

No. 85 ; PLATE LXXXV

ARTHŪṆĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀMUṆḌARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1137

THE inscription edited here for the first time was discovered by the late Paṇḍit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, in an old temple at the village of **Arthūṇā** in the former Bāṅswāḍā State of Rājasthān, in 1931. Pt. Ojha acquired the stone for the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, where it is now exhibited. He very briefly noticed the historical information contained in the record, in the *Annual Report* of the Museum, for 1914-15, on page 2. The contents of the inscription are also summarily mentioned in the *Progress Report of the Arch. Survey of India, W. C.*, for the same year, on page 35, No. 2. But the record remained unedited so far. It is edited here from the original stone and an inked impression which was kindly supplied to me, at my request, by Shri. Om Prakash Sharma, the Curator of the Museum.

The record is inscribed on a stone slab, measuring 41.91 cms. high by 35.56 cms. broad. It consists of 34 lines of writing, covering a space 39 cms. high by 32 cms. broad. The letters are carefully formed and deeply engraved; but unfortunately the stone has suffered in a most deplorable manner; a part of it on the left and also at the bottom is lost. Only the first seven lines are complete; and below, from the eighth line, the stone, particularly on the lower proper right side, has also a crack which cuts across lines 8-32 on the left and runs transversely, broadening all the way down to lines 27-34 in the middle, and of lines 21-30 in the end, making the size of the slab very irregular; for whereas the length of the preserved portion in l. 8 is 24 cms., it is only about 8 cms. in the last line. Besides this, there are some abrasions in the portion that is luckily preserved, and we have occasionally to resort to guesses, as several letters here and there are partly damaged. However, a patient examination of the impression and also the original has helped me to prepare the subjoined transcript of the record, enabling us to form a general idea of its contents.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī **characters** of the 12th century, bearing resemblance to those of the records of the time, and its palaeography shares almost the same peculiarities as of them. Attention, however, may be drawn to the forms of the initial *a* in *asti*, l. 3, and *atha*, l. 5; of the initial *i* appearing in its archaic form as in *iva*- and *iti*, both in l. 6; of *k*, which is often devoid of its loop on the left, as in *kusuma*, l. 1; of *q* which appears as a combination

¹ As noted by Barnett, this compound is irregular and the error can be removed by changing the position of the two words.

² The reading is certain and not *Sa(śa)kāt** as taken by Barnett on the basis of the indifferent impression and therefore he had also to remark that the use of the word Śaka here is curious. See p. 286, n. 2.

³ Here *Sandhi* is not observed for metrical exigencies.

⁴ The preceding letters are perhaps to show the word *vijñāninā*. Barnett could not read the name of the engraver and some more letters and stated that twelve letters were almost illegible in the impression before him. He also wrote that "the transcript of Gopal Lal adds *mahā-śrī*". The impression before me shows all these letters clearly.

⁵ The reading of this figure is absolutely certain in the impression and also on the original stone. About incorrectly reading it as 3 from an indifferent impression, see my remarks above in the edition of the inscription.

of three straight strokes joined at right angles, as in *khaḍga-* l. 11, and of *t* which has not developed a tail in its left limb, as in *asti* and *prakhyāta*, both in l. 3. the letter *ch* can be distinguished by an acute angle in its loop, from *v*: cf. *ruchi-*, l. 2; *ṇ* as a subscript is written as *l*; see *Vishṇur* = *Vishṇu-*, l. 13; and *dh* has not developed a horn on its left limb but can be distinguished from *v* only in that it is devoid of its top-stroke, as in *ch* = *ādharē*, l. 2. The verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined in the middle by a horizontal stroke, as in *vidadhāti*, l. 3. The letter *th* is formed of two loops placed vertically before a vertical stroke: see *sthalē* and *sthinā*, both in l. 9. The subscript *r* appears in its complete form with the preceding consonant shown half, as in *prōttuṅga*, l. 3 and *putra*, l. 6. The sign representing medial short *u* is more often put below the letter to which it is attached, but is occasionally joined to its middle on the right; see *puru-shaḥ* for both these forms, in l. 6; and *ruchim* and *dyutum*, both in l. 2, are examples of the same. It is interesting to note that the *mātrā* of *ru* in these examples shows both the forms noted here.

The **language** is Sanskrit: and with the exception of a sentence in the beginning to pay obeisance to Śiva and the date in the end, the record is metrically composed, showing 32 verses. The language is generally correct, but the style is sometimes lethargic, as shown by the use of *vai* in v. 3. The verses are numbered. The immediate **purpose** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple in honour of Hari (Vishṇu), by an officer whose name is lost, in the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja, who belonged to the Vāgaḍa branch of the **Paramāra** family, as we shall presently see. **Orthographical** peculiarities are the same as to be found in the contemporary records, *viz.*, the general use of the sign of *v* for *b*, as in *vabhūva*, l. 10; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*; cf. *nirggata-*, l. 6; (3) occasionally putting the dental sibilant for the palatal, as in *sīghram*, l. 7, and the palatal for the dental, as in *śraṣṭum* l. 5 and *āśīt*, l. 12, some of which may be due to the influence of the local pronunciation: and (4) the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā*, excepting a few instances like *taṭē*, *vibhramāḍhyō* and *triṃśatikai-*, in ll. 2, 4 and 33, respectively. The word *nistriṃśa* is spelt as *nistruṃśa* in l. 10; *ujjala* has wrongly been written as *ujvala* in l. 2; and the *kāka-pada* sign is used at the end of ll. 12 and 19.

We shall now briefly review the contents of the record. After the introductory *Ōm namaḥ Śivāya*, it invokes blessings of Śaṅkara in the first stanza; and the following five verses describe the origin of the house of the Paramāras from the fire-fountain of Vasishṭha, performing penance on Mount Ābū. The next verse tells us that a prince of the name of **Maṇḍana** was born in that house; he was handsome and resembled Arjuna in a battle. Maṇḍana's son, **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, is introduced in v. 10. Verses 13 ff. seem to refer to an officer under Chāmuṇḍarāja: his name, along with that of his consort which was given here, is unfortunately lost; but from what is preserved, he appears to be Vishṇu or Śrīdhara, identical with the same person whose son Āsarāja wrote the fair copy of the Arthūṇā stone record of Chāmuṇḍarāja, dated V.S.1136. This officer under Chāmuṇḍarāja had three sons, whose names were Āsarāja, Bhavyāsarāja¹ and Anantapāla, in order of sequence. From the present record we also learn that all the three brothers were probably officers under Chāmuṇḍarāja. The youngest of the brothers, *i.e.*, Anantapāla, is mentioned in vv. 20-21, where he is said to be intelligent, devoted to his master, and possessing high administrative ability and also that he was governing a *maṇḍala*. The portion of the stone bearing the name of this *maṇḍala* is partly lost: but what is preserved, is *-rāsēṇaka*. We are further informed in vv. 22-24 that in honour of his brother, Anantapāla, he built a Vishṇu temple, evidently the one where the inscribed stone was originally set up, and that he also carried on some repairs to the temple some time subsequently. Verse 25, which is equally fragmentary, appears to state that this person excavated a tank somewhere near by.

The portion of the stone containing vv. 26-33 is too fragmentary to tell us anything definitely; but from the traces left here and there, it appears to contain the description of the tank, the name of the poet who composed the *praśasti* and those of the writer and the engraver. But fortunately the portion supplying the date and the year is preserved in l. 34, which states, in words, that it was **the eleventh of the bright half of Māgha of the (Vikrama)**

¹ The Pānāhēdā inscription of V.S. 1116 was engraved by Āsarāja, son of Śrīdhara (l. 38), and the Arthūṇā inscription of V.S. 1136 was written by the same person (v. 87). It is not known if the Āsadēva, son of Vishṇu (who too may have been known by the synonym Śrīdhara), is identical with the same person.

Samvat 1137. The year, if expired, corresponds to **1080 A.C.**¹ Here the record ends, with the usual expression *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ*, as we find with most of the records of the house.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Arbuda** (l. 3) is the Mount Ābū, and **-rāsēṇaka-maṇḍala** (l. 21) cannot be identified as the very first letter of the name is lost.² However, in view of the fact that the slab bearing the inscription was found at Arthūṇā,³ what we can say at the most is that this *maṇḍala* then designated the region in which this place was included.

TEXT⁴

[Metres: Verse 1 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2-6, 8-11, 13-18, 21, 25, 33, 24 (?) *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 7, 19, 20 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 12 *Upajāti*; vv. 22-23 *Rathōddhatā*; v. 32 *Āryā* or its variant].

- 1 ओं नमः मि(णि)वाय ॥ चूडायां कुमुदश्रियं श्रवणयोः कुंदावतंसमिथि मुक्ताजाल-
- 2 कलां च कुंलनटे हामद्युति⁵ चाधरे । कठे हाग्मचि यदुज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)ल⁶सि(णि)रश्चंद्रप्रभालंकृतिं [पा]र्व-
- 3 त्या विदधाति नूतनरते पायात्म वः सं(शं)करः ॥१॥ अस्ति प्रोत्तुंगसै(शै)लेद्रः प्रख्यातोर्वु(र्वु)दसंज्ञया [1*] रत्नमुक्ता-
- 4 विभ्रमाद्यो यस्तनप्रतिमो भुवः ॥२॥ तपः कृतवतस्तत्र वणिष्ठस्य महामुने । गाधयो दोर्म[दो]द्रेकाद्वेनुमभ्याजहा-
- 5 र वै ॥३॥ अथापहरणाद्वेनोर्ज्वलत्कोपानलो मुनिः । वीरं श्र(स्त्र)प्टुं जुहावाम्नौ समंलामाहूति क्षणात् ॥४॥ ततः प्रचंडकोदंड-
- 6 [यष्टि]रच्युतविक्रमः⁸ । निर्गतः पुरुषः कश्चिन्मूर्त्तः कोप इवाम्य यः ॥५॥ परान्मारय पुत्र त्वं लब्धा(ब्धा)ज इति सन्मुने [1*] । जि-
- 7 [त्वा वैरि]व(ब)लं मी(शी)घ्नमानिन्ये मुभटः स गा(गाम्) ॥६॥ तस्मादनुक्रमवसा(शा)त्परमाग्वंशः पीयूषपुंज इव चंद्रमसः प्रवृत्तः ॥(1)⁹
- 8 [युद्धेषु चा]र्जुन[ममो नय]नाभिरामः¹⁰ श्रीमंडनः क्षितितलप्रथितो नरेद्रः ॥७॥ मूर्हर्त्तमपि यं मुक्त्वा श्रि¹¹यं नान्यव सं-
- 9 U U [1] U U U U — — — लक्ष्मीवक्ष(क्षः)स्थले स्थिरा ॥८॥ येनापरेण सूर्येण¹² विदार्य रिपुसंत[ति*]म् । पद्मिनीव निजाल-
- 10 क्ष U U U U U — U U¹³ ॥९॥ श्रीमच्चामुंडराजोम्य व(ब)भूव प्रवरः मुनः [1*] निस्तृ(स्त्रि)शनखराकांतवैरिवारणकेशरी ॥१०॥
- 11 U U U U U — — U, U¹⁴[मं]मानाग्रहं तथा । दारिद्र्यमर्थिनां चैव यस्मिन्मत्यवलोकिते ॥११॥ खड्गावु(बु)धारास(श)मितां-
- 12 U — U, U — U — — U U —¹⁵ प्रवाहः । प्रतापविद्युज्जनितप्रकाशः पस्पदं मार्द्ध नवनीरदैर्यः ॥१२॥ आशी(सी)-

¹ The date for the Northern *current* Vikrama year fell on Wednesday, 16th January, 1079 A.C. and for the *expired* Vikrama year, on Monday, 6th January, 1080 A.C. It cannot be verified. The letters for the week-day appear to have been lost at the end of the last line.

² If our guess, that the first letter of the last foot of this verse was *Śrī*, is correct, the name of the *maṇḍala* is Rāsēṇaka, and its identification is suggested with the modern village Raiyana which lies about 7 kms. north-east of Arthūṇā, the capital of Chāmuṇḍarāja.

³ In his *A. S. I. R. W. C.*, 1914-15 (p. 35, No. 2) D. R. Bhandarkar states that the slab was found in a ruined temple at Arthūṇā. The exact location of the temple is nowhere mentioned. In my visit to the place I saw a number of ruined shrines there.

⁴ From the original stone and an ink-impression.

⁵ Some other letter was first engraved here.

⁶ This letter and the third following it, which were originally omitted, were subsequently written at the top, with a cross-mark to show their exact position.

⁷ The *visarga* after य is omitted here in accordance with the *Vārttika* on *Pāṇini*, VIII, 3, 36.

⁸ The reading of the first two syllables in this line is conjectural and has been suggested in view of the following र. Both the syllables are lost.

⁹ Here is a *kāka-pada* sign to show that the verse continues in the next line.

¹⁰ The reading of the bracketed letters is only conjectural, so as to suit the metrical exigencies.

¹¹ The reading of this letter is doubtful. On the stone the letters are clear as वितयं नान्यसंगता, but they give no meaning, and it is also prosodically faulty.

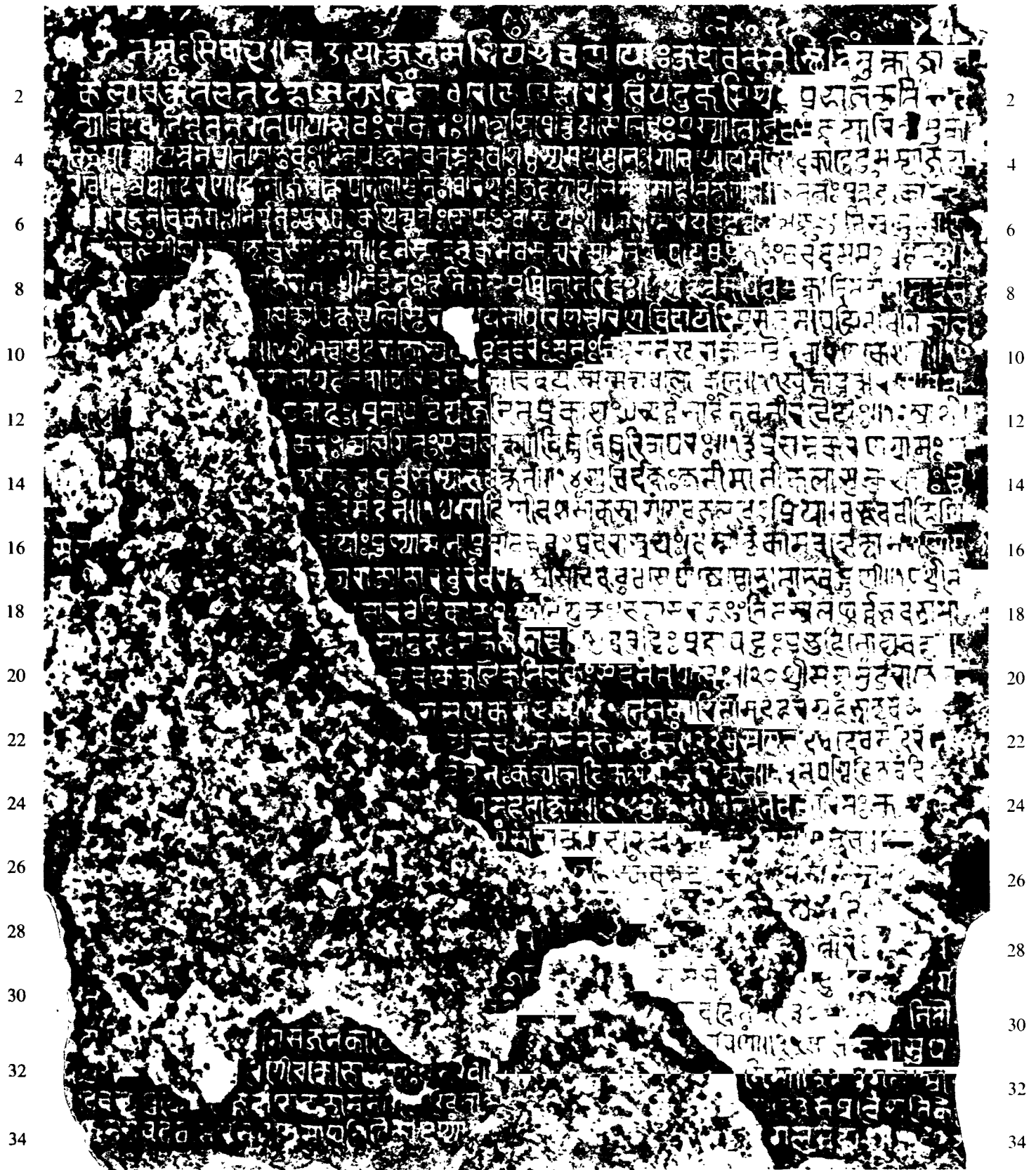
¹² Here is a pun on the word सूर, meaning the sun, and शूर, *i.e.*, a heroic person.

¹³ Here eight syllables are lost, of which the last appears to be र.

¹⁴ Nine syllables are lost here.

¹⁵ Here eleven syllables are lost, the first four of which have left some traces and the last one shows the *mātrā* of a long ī. Perhaps the intended reading is नदी-, or मग्नि-.

ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
CHĀMUNḌARĀJA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1137



Scale: One half

- Here the record ends with a floral design.

No. 86 : PLATE LXXXVII - A

ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀMUṆḌARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1159

THE stone bearing this inscription is stated to have been found in a ruined Jaina temple at **Arthunā**, situated about nine kms. straight south-southwest of Gaḍhī, the chief town of a *tehsīl* of the Bāñswāḍā District of the southernmost region of Rājasthān. The ruins of old temples existing there and the discovery of the inscriptions edited above go to indicate that the place was of considerable importance in former times. The inscription was first brought to notice by Gaurishankar H. Ojha of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, in the *Annual Report* of the Museum, for 1914-15, p. 2, where it is stated that the record "is much defaced". The record was also published in *Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśwara University Oriental Journal*, Vol. X, pp. 65 ff., and Plate. It is edited here for the first time from an impression provided to me, at my request, by Shri Om Prakash Sharma, the Curator of the Museum where the stone is now deposited.¹

The inscription consists of fourteen imperfect lines of writing, which measures, as original, 35.5 cms. broad by 17 cms. high. It is in a very poor state of preservation, the stone being unfortunately broken on the right and losing about one-third thereof on this side. The break is irregular: it commences at the end of the second line, and gradually increasing to about 12.5 cms. in ll. 7 to 9, it decreases again to about 4 cms. in ll. 10-11. The next line, which is the penultimate line of the inscription, has again lost its latter half, along with a portion of the last line, about the total length of which nothing can be said with certainty. In addition to this, about 5 letters in the middle of ll. 7-8 have left only indistinct traces and almost an equal number of them are altogether lost at the commencement of l. 9. Thus the inscription cannot be wholly deciphered. It can confidently be stated, however, that it was written and incised very carefully. The size of the letters is about .6 cms., except of those in ll. 6-8 where they are slightly bigger.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet, closely resembling those of the preceding records, found at the same place. The only points that call for attention are that *ś* has a distinct form of its own as in *śuchi*-, l. 9; that *t* does not end in a sharp tail and thus it is often confounded with *n*, e. g., in *punāti*, l. 2, and *-ttataḥ*, l. 5; that the slightly varying forms of *bh* are to be noted in *Vṛishabha*-, l. 1, and *subhaga*-, l. 10; and that *s* is often incised with the tail of its forelimb so as to resemble *m*, for which cf. *sujana*-, l. 2, and *sata*-, l. 8. The final consonants are occasionally not marked, e. g., in *imām* and *sahvat*, both in the last line as against *jayēt* in l. 11.

The **language** is Sanskrit, almost correct; and except for the mention of the year in the end, what remains of the record is all in verse, containing 13 stanzas, which are not numbered. The inscription has not lost anything in the beginning. The **orthography** calls for the only usual remarks, e. g., the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* also, as in *vivudha*-, l. 1; of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś*, occasionally, e. g., in *sāsati*, l. 7 but not in *diśatu*, l. 1; and the reduplication of a consonant following *r*, as in *kīrtti*, occurring twice in l. 3. The doubling of *t* in *kṛittya*, l. 13, is also worth noting. The *prishṭha-mātrās* are used.

The inscription is sectarian; and its **object** is to record the construction of a temple, evidently the one where the slab bearing it was found, by one Sahaja born in a Nāgara family, during the reign of the illustrious **Chāmuṇḍarāja**. The year is mentioned in figures in v. 7, to be **1159**,² without further particulars; and as current of the Northern Vikrama era, it corresponds to **1101 A.C.**

¹ I have also had another impression of the inscription supplied by Shri R. S. Garg, the Curator of the Indore Museum where it was obtained several years back and probably taken when the stone was found and taken to the Ajmer Museum. This excellent impression, which is reproduced here, was helpful to me in settling some disputable points in my reading; and due to the kindness of the Director-General of Archaeology in India who sanctioned my tour, I also revised my reading from the original, in my visit to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, where the stone is now deposited.

² See *n.* on l. 8 in the text below.

Opening with a verse invoking the blessings of Vṛishabhadēva, the first pontiff of the Jainas, the record introduces the learned Harishēṇa, and thereafter, Jayakīrtti, and Śrīkīrtti,¹ in succession. The portion stating the relationship that existed between them is fortunately preserved, and each of the latter-mentioned persons appears to have been the son (spiritual disciple) of the former, as we can conclude from the way in which these names are introduced. Verses 3-4 give the genealogy of Sahaja who constructed the temple. His grandfather was Bhalla (or Jhalla), a renowned Jaina of the Nāgara family, and his father's name is lost in v. 3. His mother was Kallukā. How Sahaja's family was related to the one which is mentioned before, *i.e.*, that of Harishēṇa, is not known from the existing portion of the record.

Verses 5-6 mention the **purpose** of the record, stating that Sahaja, perceiving the saplessness of life, constructed the temple of Jina, during the reign of the illustrious **Chāmuṇḍarāja**. The name of the house to which this king belonged is not stated, nor anything about his exploits; and his regnal titles are also missing, but from the provenance of the inscription he appears to be doubtless the homonymous **Paramāra** ruler of Vāgaḍa whose inscriptions were found at the same place, the earliest of them being dated in V.S. 1136 and the latest so far known bearing the date in V.S. 1157.² Thus the historical interest of the present inscription lies in the date which indicates that Chāmuṇḍarāja was on the throne of Vāgaḍa for two years at least thereafter. The next inscription that we have of the family is that of his son Vijayarāja; it is dated in V.S. 1166; and the find of the present record thus lessens the gap by two years.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, a laudatory account, as said in v. 13; and as is often the case, some of the members belonging to the family of Sahajāka, obviously the same as Sahaja who erected the temple, are also mentioned in the remaining portion thereof. His son was Papyāka, or Palyāka (v. 11), who married Jāmbavatī (v. 12). The name of the learned poet who composed the *praśasti* is lost in v. 13; and the record appears to have ended by mentioning the year in figures, those for the first two of which are totally lost but which were 59 as we learn from v. 7 which mentions the year in **word-numerals**. We have seen above that the present record indicates that the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja extended at least up to the year of the present inscription.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the inscription is **Lāṭa** (l. 2), which is, obviously, Southern Gujarāt.

TEXT³

[Metres: Verse 1 *Drutavilambita*; vv. 2 and 8-9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 3 *Mālinī*; vv. 4-7 and 10-13 *Anuṣṭubh*]

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ ॥ विवु(बु)धवृंदसि(शि)रःप्रणतः सदा ।⁵ सकलवो(बो)धयुतोपि कलापरः । वृषभनाथमुनिर्मुमि(नि)चित्तगो दिशतु का[म]म[कामु]-
- 2 कतामतिः ॥[१*] सूरिः श्रीहरिषेणनामविदितो लाटान्वये जानवान् ।⁵ यस्य ज्ञानजलं पुनानि मुजनं पुत्रप्र -- U --⁶ ।
- 3 संजातो जयकीर्तिरिदुसदृशः संतापनुत् प्राणिनां ।⁵ त[स्मा]त्प्रादुरभूद् गुणी गुणवतां श्रीकीर्तिना[मा मुतः] [11२*]
- 4 समजनि मु(शु)चित्चित्तावन्वये नागराणां जिनपतिजनसंघे⁷ झल्ल[ना]मा वरिष्ठः । [म]मभवदिह त[स्मा] -- U -- -- U --
- 5 नृपतिमुजनमान्यो दानसी(जी)लो दयावान् ॥[३*] सहजः महा(ह)जानंदः⁸ कल्लुकायामभूततः । पर -- U U -- -- U, U U U

¹ It cannot be said whether the word *Śrī* which is prefixed to the name is a part of it or is used for metrical exigencies or an honorific prefix.

² Above, Nos. 84 and 85, respectively, of course, excluding the present one which is two years later.

³ From an impression.

⁴ Denoted by a symbol.

⁵ The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

⁶ The traces following प्र appear to be as of लिष्ठा and all the missing *aksharas* here may have been --प्रतिष्ठान्वितम्.

⁷ The *prishṭha-mātrā* is detached from this letter and appears as a *daṇḍa*. The next letter looks more like *Jha*, but it may also have been *bha*.

⁸ This and the preceding sign of *visarga* were inserted subsequently. It cannot be known whether the mark above is that of *anusvāra* or a fault of the stone. Following this letter, ह्रा was originally incised and the *mātrā* appears to have been later on cancelled by an arrow-head below it.

- 6 U¹ हितः क्रमान्(त्) ॥[४*] आस्वादितमुखांभोजस्तृणीलोचनालिभिः । राजा चामुंडराजाह्वः U U U U U - U U² ॥[५*] रा-
 7 ज्यं सा(शा)सति तत्रासावकाशींज्जि(ज्जि)नमं[दि]रां(रम् ।) । संसारासारतां ज्ञा[त्वा] U U U U U - U³ ॥[६*] U U U U U -
 8 - - कोनषष्टि(ष्टि)स(ज)नाधिके⁴ । अचीक[र]दिदं [शुभ्रं ?] महजः [श्री]जिन[लयम्] ॥[७*] -----
 9 -----⁵ [मान्यो ?]⁶ राजगृहे यथा मु(शु)चितया क्षात्या य[नी]ना हृ[दि] [1*] - - - U U - U - U U U - - -
 10 U - भिक्षुभिः ॥[८] संभोगैः प्रमदाजनेप् मुभगः [सु]क्त्या च विद्वज्जनैः [समान्यः ?] U U - U - U U U - - - U
 11 [गा ?]त्रो जयेत् ॥[९*] अ U [जो]⁷ यस्य झल्लाकः मय्यदृष्टिर्नान्विनः । भवनः कला ----- दवेदान⁸----- ॥[१०*]
 12 यस्यामजीजनत्पुत्रं प[प्या ?]कं गुणशालितं(नम्) । नहृजकस्य मा भाय्या रामसीतेव मदगुणा ॥[११*] नाम्ना जाम्बु(म्ब)-
 [वती ?]⁹ - U U U
 13 - [घृ]णितेक्षणा । मुदक्षा च मनोज्ञा च चारित्रकृत्यभूषणा¹⁰ ॥[१२*] [भुवि]-----
 14 U [मी ?] विद्वान् प्रस(ज)स्तिमकरोदिमाम(म्) ॥[१३*] संवन(त्) १[१] - -¹¹

No. 87 ; PLATE LXXXVII - B

ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀMUṆḌARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1159

THE stone which bears this inscription was discovered in 1914-15 by R. B. Gaurishankar H. Ojha, in a dilapidated Jaina temple at **Arthūnā** in the Bāñswādā District of Rājasthān, and he removed it to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer,¹² where it is now preserved. Ojha also noticed the record very briefly in the *Annual Report* of the Museum, for the year, on p. 2. It is edited here for the first time from the original stone and an impression which I owe to the present Curator of the Museum.

The inscription consists of 16 lines. The writing covers a space about 32.5 cms. broad by 19 cms. high. A considerable portion of it is unfortunately damaged and a portion incised with about a dozen of letters in ll. 6-14, on the proper right side, is almost completely lost. On the proper left side also the stone has peeled off or abraded so as to lose 2 or 3 letters in each of the lines. The height of the individual letters is about .7 cms.

¹ The lacunae may be filled in by -कार्यपणे मान्यो नित्य स-, of which the first five letters are in traces. But this would not explain the use of क्रमान्

² The verticals of the first letter of the name are joined by a horizontal stroke as those of *dhā*, and the sign of *anusvāra* on the second is faintly visible. The missing *aksharas* may have mentioned something about the king.

³ Some of these *aksharas* are partly visible but nothing can be made out of them.

⁴ The portion mentioning the first two figures of the date is lost but these two figures can be restored as 11 with the help of those appearing in the end. Thus the year is 1159.

⁵ Of the whole quarter which is lost here, it cannot be said how many *aksharas* were in this and in the preceding line which also shows 4 or 5 *aksharas* struck off by horizontal lines.

⁶ The *mātrā* of the first letter in the brackets appears to have been first wrongly incised and later on struck off by two horizontal strokes—one on the vertical and the other on the curve above; and the lowest extremity of the vertical stroke ending *ya* is curved to the right instead of to the left. See the same letter in l. 5 above.

⁷ This *akshara* is more like जो than जो ; and unfortunately, the second *akshara* of a word showing the relationship is lost. The reading may have been अनुजो (?).

⁸ The reading is certain except that the *piśitha-mātrā* taken here as of *vē* may have been that of *ā* attached to the preceding letter. This broken part, however, does not give any sense.

⁹ The *aksharas* in the brackets are conjecturally restored. The following five *aksharas* that are lost are apparently meant to describe the lady.

¹⁰ This expression is metrically faulty: read कृत्यचारित्र-

¹¹ The rest of the inscription is all broken.

¹² It was acquired for the Museum on 2-7-1931.

A — ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
CHĀMUNDARĀJA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1159

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14

Scale: One half

B — ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
CHĀMUNDARĀJA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1159

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16

Scale: One half

The **script** in which the inscription is written is Nāgarī; and all that need be said about the palaeography is that the vowel *i* is shown by two dots placed horizontally with a stroke below, as in *iti*-, l. 12; the letter *ḍ* has an uncouth form making it appear as the initial *u* of Nāgarī, as in *maṇḍala*, l. 2; the conjunct *ṇṇ* is written as *ṇl*, e.g., in *suvarṇṇa-varṇṇa*-, l. 4; the subscript form of *t* is represented by a slanting stroke as the subscript *r*, as in *stuvē*, l. 2; the consonant *dh*, which has of course developed a horn on its left limb, continues to be without a top-stroke, see *dharmmya*-, l. 8; and finally, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the forms of *s* and *m*, for which cf. *-suta*-, l. 5.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and except for the introductory salutation *Ōm namō Vītarāgāya*, an expression consisting of five *aksharas* in l. 14 and the year in l. 15, the inscription is metrically composed. There are sixteen verses; they are not numbered. **Orthography** calls only for the general remarks, e.g., the use of the same sign for *b* and *v*, as in *vuddhi*-, l. 9; the doubling of a consonant following *r*, e.g., in *varṇṇa*, l. 4; the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant; see *palāsa*, l. 10; and the general use of the *prishṭha-mātrā*, except in a few instances like *rēkhā*, l. 1, and *tulyē*, l. 9.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a Jaina temple (at the place where the stone was found) by Chāhilla (?) during the reign of **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, who belonged to the **Paramāra** dynasty. The **year** of the inscription, as given in l. 15, is **1159** of the (Vikrama) era. The corresponding Christian year is **1101 A.C.**, taking the year to be current. The month, the fortnight and the *tithi* are not recorded in the inscription. The name of the composer appears to have been given in l. 14, or 15, and that of the engraver at the end: but they are now no longer legible.

After salutation to *Vītarāga*, as stated above, the poet pays homage to Vṛishabhēndranātha, i.e., Rishabhanātha, the first Jaina pontiff.¹ Verses 2-9 describe the pedigree of the man who erected the temple. We are told here that there was a person named Śrīsēna, who had hailed from Mathurā, and his disciple was Chhatrasēna. Another person, a gold-smith, whose name is lost and who appears to have been devoted to both of them, had a son of the name of Chāhilla. Chāhilla's wife was Gaurī, who had a son whose name is again lost. He is stated to have resembled Chāṇakya in intellect. Verse 10 states that this person was respected (or probably appointed an officer) by the **Paramāra king Chāmuṇḍarāja**; and he built a temple, evidently the one where the stone was found. Verse 15 is meant to describe the poet who composed the record: but his name too is no longer existent. Thereafter, with the year as seen above, and desiring the shrine to be everlasting, the existing part of the inscription ends.

No **geographical name** is to be found in the inscription, except **Mathurā**, which is well known.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 11-13, 15 *Upajāti*; v. 3 *Īryā*; vv. 4-9, 14, 16 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 10 *Mālunī*].

1 सिद्धिः³ ॥ ओं नमो दीनगमाय ॥ दत्तादपद्मं⁴ भजने⁵ जिनाभो रेखाच्छलाद्वारिजपद्मवर्गः [1] सदाजितं नं वृषभेन्द्र*]⁶-

¹ This verse contains such expressions as may be applicable to both, i.e., the Jaina pontiff and Śiva. But from the expression *Vītarāga*, which conventionally denotes the Jaina deity, I understand the stanza as mainly intended to denote the same; and the temple, the name of which is lost in verse 13 to have been a Jaina temple, as is also shown by the find-spot of the inscribed stone.

² From the original stone and inked impressions. Besides the one supplied by the Curator of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, I had another impression from the Curator of the Indore Museum, and being better, it was helpful to me in solving some points of doubt.

³ Denoted by a symbol.

⁴ The sign of *anusvāra* has been ornamentally treated.

⁵ The first syllable of this word is rather crisped and the consonant of the third appears as *s* due to a redundant stroke of the chisel in the beginning.

⁶ Letters which are totally or partially lost at the beginning or end of a line but can easily be made out from the context, are put in brackets marked with asterisks.

- 2 नाथं स्तुवे जटामंडलमंडितांगम्¹ ॥[११॥*] श्रीमाथु[रीयोजनि]² जातरूपः संपन्नकांत्या जितजात[रूपः]। गुणां(वु)धिर्यो गु-
 3 णिनामत्रे[यः]³ श्रीमेतन्निर्व्याजकनामधेयः ॥[२१॥*] श्रीमेतच्छत्रमेतौ यद्गुरुशिष्या क्रमादि[वाभूताम्]।-----⁴
 4 क्षमौ शांतौ तं प्रस(श)म(?)नधारिणम्⁵ ॥[३१॥*] चंद्रकरावदातोन्तः सुवर्णवर्णदीधितिः। सौवर्णिकान्वये ख्यातो विवु(वु)-
 5 [धः]⁶ स्थलिमं(डले) ॥[४१॥*] [चाहिल्ल]मन्तमुतः⁷ मुज्ञः कलामु कुशलोभवत्। माणिक्यमर्मविज्ञाता दयालुर्द्धर्मशीलवान्
 ॥[५१॥*]
 6 सा[म?] उ उ उ - - उ, जियिका(?)म्य महा उ - । रम्या चारित्रतो गौरीप्सिता सक्तशिवालय⁸ ॥[६१॥*] सुकुलो उ उ
 7 - - उ, उ उ उ उ उ उ - उ उ [१*] त[स्माद् गुह]⁹ इ[वो]त्पन्न(न्न)ः लोकत्रयहितावहः ॥[७१॥*] निमर्गतो दयास्तेयमम्यगृष्टि उ
 8 - उ -¹⁰ । उ उ उ उ उ उ - - उ, शक्तो दानरतः सदा ॥[८१॥*] कटुका[मा(पा)]युके धर्म्य¹¹ अस्या[भूदच]ले [शुभे]।
 सम्यगृष्टी-
 9 उ - - उ, उ उ उ उ उ उ - उ वान्¹² ॥[९१॥*] अथ नृपतिलकेरिमन्वु(न्वु)द्विचाणवयतुल्ये गुरुविवु(वु)धवु(वु)धानामाश्रयेसद्गु-¹³
 10 - - । उ उ उ उ उ उ - - उ - तङ्गसि[हे*] सुजयति परमारे राज्ञि चामुण्डराजे ॥[१०१॥*] यशोन्वितं पद्मपलास(श)-
 11 [नितं*], उ - उ - - उ उ - उ - उ (१*) उ - उ - चंचलमेवमेतदायुश्च वित्तं च सुखं च तुच्छम् ॥[१११॥*] स्त्रीणां कला-
 लापमधुस्मि[तं*] उ, उ - उ - - उ उ - उ -
 12 [च]। वक्षः कुचालंकृति[सि]वकांता(?) विपार्काकपाकफलोपमानाः ॥ [१२१॥*] इतीह कीर्त्युद्धर[णाय*]
 13 - उ, उ - उ - -¹⁴द्वरणोचितस्य। प्रासादमुत्तुंगसलक्षणं च स्वर्गस्य सोपानमिव प्रसन्नं(न्नम्) ॥[१३१॥*]-----
 14 ----- कारितरां तेन संप्राप्तं जन्मनः फलं(लम्) ॥[१४१॥*] पंचकुलकं(कम्)¹⁵। वशा(?)न्वये निर्मलवेदवृत्ते
 विख्या[तं*] - -
 15 उ नयो उ - - । उ - प्रणाम्त(न्त)ः स कविर्विधाता वाक्यार्थवेत्ता परमार्थतो यः ॥[१५१॥*] संवत् ११५६ [१*]
 स मेरुः सं[स्थि*]-
 16 [तो] यावत्सवि[ता च प्रकाशते]।¹⁶ [तावत्] कीर्तिरियं शुभ्रा नंदतादधिकाधिकं(कम्) ॥ [१६१॥*]-----¹⁷

¹ The sign of *anusvāra* over म of मंडित is so lightly engraved as to be seen only on the original.

² These four letters are supplied from the traces left. The *akshara* just before the bracket may also have been धृ but should be taken as थृ to show that he came from Mathurā, as we also find in No. 90, v. 11 below.

³ The reading is not certain and the meaning of the last word is also unknown. Probably अग्नीशः is intended. The name of the person is of course mentioned in the fourth foot of the verse.

⁴ The metre of this verse is regulated by the number of syllabic instants (*mātrās*) and therefore the number of the *aksharas* lost here cannot be definitely made out. Similarly, it is not possible to ascertain in certain cases of gaps as to how many of the *aksharas* are lost at the end of a line and how many in the beginning of the next line.

⁵ The first two syllables of the compound word appear also as मुप्त. The reading here is uncertain.

⁶ Some other *akshara* appears to have been engraved at first and then corrected, by overwriting. The reading is from the traces left.

⁷ The reading of the bracketed letters is doubtful.

⁸ The construction is grammatically incorrect.

⁹ The reading of both these *aksharas* is doubtful. The consonant of the first also appears as s and that of the second as bh, but this would give no name.

¹⁰ The gap may be filled in by समन्वितः.

¹¹ This probably signifies Jainism in the present concern.

¹² The sign of *visarga* was at first engraved here and later on struck off by a cross-mark above.

¹³ To restore as मद्गुणाब्धौ. A trace as of the fore-part of १ is visible at the end of the line.

¹⁴ All these letters are partly lost and the reading may also have been -द्वरणप्रशस्यं(स्यम्). The whole lacunae be filled in by चक्रे जिनस्य दुःखोद्धरणोचितस्य, or क्षमस्य.

¹⁵ More than half of v. 14 is lost. *Kulaka* is a number of verses from 5 to 15 and the whole forming one sentence, to be taken here as one part of the inscription.

¹⁶ Reading from the traces left.

¹⁷ There are 15 letters in the end, all mutilated. They may be read as -[मन्स्थि]: सज्जनउद्धरणम्(म्)व-येत ।

No. 88 : PLATE LXXXVIII - A

ARTHUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF CHĀMUNḌARĀJA

(Year probably lost)

THE stone-slab bearing this inscription was discovered in 1908-09, by G. H. Ojha in a dilapidated temple in the village **Arthunā** in the Bāṅswādā District of Rājasthān and removed to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. The inscription is referred to in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the same year on p. 49, but it remained untranscribed so far. It is edited here for the first time from my own transcript from an impression provided to me, at my own request, by Shri S. N. Sinha, Architectural Superintendent at Ajmer, and also from my personal examination of the original.

The record is incised on a sunken panel of a slate stone with a broad border, the vertical sides of which are fashioned like pilasters and the top shows a conical shape bearing geometrical designs, the whole appearing as a miniature temple. It has lost a few lines at the bottom. The preserved portion, which is marked by a boundary-line on both the vertical sides, measures 31·5 cms. broad by 29·5 cms. high, and contains 32 lines, 24 of which are complete, the following 6 have lost 1 to 7 or more *aksharas* due to an oblique break in the lower proper left corner of the stone, and the last two lines show the letters only in their upper parts. The size of the letters is about 8 mms. in the first ten lines, but is slightly reduced onwards in order to accommodate the remaining matter in the space left, in which they are not only occasionally deformed but also crisped, making the task of the decipherer indeed difficult. For it is often hard to distinguish between *s* and *m*, *t* and *n*, *m* and *y*, *n* and *v*, and *bh* and *l* and the like. A number of the *aksharas* have also suffered badly due to exposure to weather and also by abrasions so as to exhaust the patience of the decipherer. However, with patience I succeeded in making out a major portion of the writing which enabled me to form a general idea of its contents.

The **alphabet** is *Nāgarī* of the 10-11th centuries A. C. The signs of *mātrās* and *anusvāras* on the letters in the first line have ornamental additions. As to the individual letters, the slightly varying forms of the initial *i* can be seen in *ittha-* and *iti*, both in l. 3; the medial long *ū* is engraved as a subscript *t*, as in *pūshā-*, l. 2; the letter *k* loses its loop when it is the first member of a conjunct or when it has a *mātrā* below, cf. *kshita-*, l. 8, and *-laṅkṛita*, l. 10; the subscripts *chh* and *th* have identical forms, for example in *sthita-*, l. 5 and *-chchhēda*, l. 11; *ṇṇ* is incised as *ll* and *gg* as *gn*, as in *-pūrṇṇa*, l. 7, and *svargga*, l. 9, respectively; unlike in the preceding inscription, *dh* is devoid of its horn on the left limb and the verticals of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a stroke, e.g., in *nidhāna-*, l. 9; *bh* is written in its antique form, as in *-bhṛit*, l. 2; and finally, *y* is devoid of its vertical in the end, e.g., in *nitya-*, l. 1.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and, with the exception of a short sentence paying homage to Śiva in the beginning, it is in verse. The extant portion of it contains 32 stanzas and a portion of the next one. All the stanzas are numbered. With reference to the **orthography**, we see the use of *v* to denote *b* as well: the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant; the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* excepting in a very few instances, and of the sign of *anusvāra* doing the duty of a nasal. The word *pushpa*, which occurs three times in the record, in ll. 3, 11 and 22, has its second consonant written as *ph*;¹ and *nistṛimśa* in l. 7 is spelt as *nistṛumśa* and *dushkṛita* in l. 22, as *duḥkṛta*.

The inscription refers itself to the illustrious ruler **Chāmunḍarāja**, the son and successor of **Maṇḍanadēva**, and states that during the reign of the former, a temple in honour of Śiva (Harīśvara) was built by Hari, one of the six grand-sons of a goldsmith named Dōhaḍa, a resident of the fort of Chitrakūṭa in Mēdapāṭa. The date is probably lost in the portion which is

¹ The statement about l. 3 is rather somewhat doubtful.

now missing;¹ but as the earliest and the latest years of the king's reign are now known to be respectively V.S. 1136 (1080 A.C.) and 1159 (1102 A.C.), the temple may be taken to have been constructed either in the closing of the eleventh or in the opening years of the twelfth century A.C.

Commencing with the customary sentence paying obedience to Śiva, the record pays homage to the same deity in its first verse. The second verse describes Mt. Ābū, and it is followed by two verses narrating the well-known tale of the creation of the hero named **Paramāra**, by the sage Vasishṭha from his fire-altar. Verse 5 introduces king **Maṇḍanadēva** who was born in the clan, and verse 6, his son **Chāmuṇḍarāja**. Both these kings with the relationship existing between them are known from the other records of the house. The next eleven verses are devoted to introducing a goldsmith named Dōhaḍa, who lived in the fort of Chitrakūṭa in Mēdapāṭa, his son whose name is not completely preserved, and the latter's six sons, whose names were Gōvinda, Dāmōdara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, Chāhaḍa and Mahāṇa, respectively from the eldest to the youngest. They were all well-versed in testing precious stones such as diamonds, rubies, corals, sapphires and pearls. A portion of the last of these verses is lost: it appears to have been intended to say that they were all honoured by Chāmuṇḍarāja.

The following portion of the record (vv. 16 ff.) is devoted to bestow fulsome praise on the fourth of the brothers and states that he constructed a temple dedicated to Hariśvara² at this place, *i.e.*, Arthūṇā, where the inscription was found. He is also said to have planted a garden of flowers for the worship of the deity, established a water-place, excavated a tank and a stepped well there and also made some other benefactions which cannot be definitely known as the portion mentioning them all is lost (vv. 21-26). And lastly, it is said that for maintaining the worship of the deity, the king Chāmuṇḍarāja also donated a plot of land with well-marked boundaries. Enumerating some other benefactions of the king and with a request to the future kings to continue the gifts, the inscription in its preserved portion comes to an end (v. 32), mentioning *Sthali-janapada* in verse 33, which is found only in its first foot. The nature of this donation is not known, but it is somewhat similar to that which is found in the same king's inscription which was discovered at the same place and was dated V.S. 1136.³

The portion that follows is altogether lost. It was probably intended to say something more about the temple and to record the names of the writer and the engraver, along with the date.

¹ In his *List of Inscriptions* D. R. Bhandarkar includes one (No. 165), as found at Arthūṇā and existing in the Ajmer Museum. According to him, the record is of the time of the Paramāra Chāmuṇḍarāja and dated V.S. 1157, on Monday, the 2nd of the dark half of Chaitra. Since Chāmuṇḍarāja's latest known date is V.S. 1159, and as the present inscription has lost its lower portion, I am tempted to guess that it is the same inscription as noted by Bhandarkar in his *List*. The date, which may have been given towards the end, was lost with the lower portion of the stone.

The Christian equivalents of the date are as follows:—

1. Chaitrādi V. *Current* :

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| (a) pūrṇimānta | = | Wednesday, 9th February, 1099,
(with <i>pratipadā</i> combined). |
| (b) amānta | = | Friday, 11th March, 1099 A.C. |

2. Chaitrādi V. *expired* :

- | | | |
|----------------|---|--|
| (a) pūrṇimānta | = | Wednesday, 29th February, 1100 A.C.
(with <i>trīṭhyā</i> combined). |
| (b) amānta | = | Thursday, 29th March, 1100 A.C. |

3. Kārttikādi V. *expired* :

- | | | |
|----------------|---|---|
| (a) pūrṇimānta | = | Sunday, 17th February, 1101 A.C. |
| (b) amānta | = | Monday, 18th March, 1101. The second <i>tithi</i> commenced on that day at 3.15 hours after mean sunrise and was current for the whole day. |

Taking the reading *Sōmē* to be correct, the last of these alternatives appears to be the intended day. Or, considering the reading to be *Saunmyē*, for Wednesday, the intended date was as noted under 1(a), or 2(a). The portion containing the date is now lost and it cannot be verified.

² This name may also be interpreted to mean the combination of Hari (Vishṇu) and Īśvara (Śiva), denoting that the temple was dedicated to the deity known as Harihara. But from the initial verse of the record which pays homage only to the latter of these deities, it is evident that only one and the latter of these gods was enshrined in it and was evidently named after the builder, as in many other cases.

³ See No. 85, vv. 68 ff.

We have seen above that Hari who constructed the temple had migrated to Arthūnā which possessed a flourishing mart inviting traders from the neighbouring places, one of which was Chitrakūṭa, which is undoubtedly Chittor in Mēdapāṭa, *i.e.*, Mēwāḍ and is situated about 150 kms. straight north-northeast of Arthūnā. It is not known whether this fort was at that time included in the kingdom of Chāmunḍarāja, as it may appear to have been because of its close proximity; and if so, the province of Vāgaḍa, which in his time comprised the present districts of Ḍūṅgarpur and Bāṅswāḍā, may be taken to have then extended to the north so far as to include some of the southern territories of Mēwāḍ, which is mentioned as Mēdapāṭa in our inscription.

As for the **localities** occurring in the present inscription, the country (*janapada*) or **Sthali** (v. 33) has already been noted to be indentical with Vāgaḍa;¹ and **Mēdapāṭa** and **Chitrakūṭa** (v. 7) are respectively the region of Mēwāḍ and the fort of Chittor, as seen above.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 6, 14, 16, 18-19, 23 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 3 *Tōḷaka*; v. 4 *Drutavilambita*; v. 5 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 7 *Sragdharā*; vv. 8-13, 24-32 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 15 *Mandākṛāntā*; vv. 17, 21 *Rathōddhatā*; vv. 20, 22 *Āryā* (?); v. 33 (only the first foot preserved) *Prīthvī*].

- 1 सिद्धम्³॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ कैलासोदयशैल[लब्ध(ब्ध)]महिमा गौरीमुखाभोरुह्नी(श्री)रप्रीतिकरं [मु]रारिमथनश्चादृष्टदो[षः]
सदा । नित्यं या प-
- 2 U निस्पृहः⁴ शशिकलादत्ताश्रयो गोपतिः पायादः परमेश्वरस्त्रिनयनः पूषेव लोकप्रियः ॥१॥ श्रीखंडागुरुनागवल्लिदलभृत्पूगानुरा-
- 3 गान्वितः पुष्पस्त्री(श्री)घनसारभूषितननुः⁵ गंधर्वगी[तोल्वणः] । इत्थं पर्वतराजपुत्र इति यः ख्यातोर्व्वु(र्व्वु)दः क्षमाधरो धाव्या-
मस्ति सुरांगना-
- 4 [भ्रमस ?]खो रम्योपकटाशयः ॥२॥ तत्र वशिष्ठमुनिप्रवरस्य ती[व्र]तपोभिरतस्य जहार । गाधिनृपस्य सुतो वरधेनुं सानुशयो
हृतवान्मु ।⁶
- 5 मि(नि)रग्नि[म्] ॥३॥ अथ पराभवजातरूषामुना हृतसमं वहुताशनकुंडतः । [द्रुत]मुपात्त U षः स्थितवा[न्युरो] जितपरः परमार-
कृताभिधः ॥४॥
- 6 तस्मादनुक्रमवशा[त्]रमारवंशः पीयूषपुंज इव चंद्रमसः प्रवृत्तः । यत्राभवज्जनमवो(नो)नयनाभिरामः श्रीमंडनः क्षितितलप्रथितो न-
- 7 रेंद्रः⁷ ॥५॥ सूनुस्तस्य सरोजपत्रनयनः संपूर्णचंद्राननो जात्यस्वर्णसमप्रभः स्मरनिभो रूपेण चाल्हादिना । निस्तृ(स्त्रि)शं रिपु-
मस्तकेषु नि-
- 8 शितं भं[क्त्वा]वृकल्पं⁸ सुधीः [न]दत्वेष्ट क[लत्र]पुत्रसहितः चामुंडराजः क्षितौ ॥६॥ यत्र प्राकारसंस्थं तरुणपुरवधूवृंद - -
दिदूक्षुः दृष्ट्वा स्व-
- 9 स्था व(व)भूवुः स्मरस(श)रविवशाः - U - - U यक्षाः । अस्ति श्रीमेदपाटे धरणितलगव(त)स्वर्गखंडावतारं दुर्गं लक्ष्मी-
निधानं प्रवरगुणग ॥
- 10 णालंकृतं चित्रकूटं(टम्) ॥७॥ देवद्विजाग्निषु - U धर्मधीर्धनदोधने । चित्रकूटान्वये साधुरासीद्दोहडसंज्ञकः ॥८॥ सुवर्णं
वर्णविज्ञाता] क-

¹ See No. 88, v. 4, where it is mentioned as a *maṇḍala*.

² From an impression and personal examination of the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol which is partly visible.

⁴ Probably the reading is व्याप्ततमोपहः. A number of the *aksharas* in this inscription are mutilated and some others are misformed, and these errors are not always pointed out for the fear of increasing the foot-notes. Redundant and missing strokes also are not every time drawn attention to for the same reason, *e.g.*, the consonant of *p* in *parama*- is engraved as *sh* and *vice versa* is the case of the consonant *sh* in *dōshā* in the preceding line.

⁵ The first word here also appears as पृथ्वी. Above *ta* of *bhūshita* a redundant *rēpha* was at first engraved and then scored off. The *sandhi* is not formed here as also in some places below, *e.g.*, in v. 6. The reading of the bracketed letters that follow is from traces left.

⁶ This punctuation mark, as also some others below, is redundant. This too is not every time drawn attention to.

⁷ Excepting a slight change in the third quarter, this verse is a copy of v. 7 of No. 85.

⁸ These four letters are mutilated and neither the reading is certain nor is the meaning clear.

- 11 षच्छेदविचक्षणः। सौवर्णिक इति ख्यातस्तत्पुत्रो राह-भवत्¹ ॥६॥ वमंतस्येव पुष्प(ष्प)श्रीर्लक्ष्मीविष्णोरिव प्रिया। तस्यासी-
ल्लक्षणोपेता
- 12 सती पत्नी सलक्षणा² ॥१०॥ मुधियः माधवः संतः मुकम्मणिः सुवां(वां)धवाः। षट् पुत्राः सज्जना दांता दम्पत्योरभ-
वन्स्तयोः ॥११॥ गोविन्दः प्रथमस्तेषाम्(षां)
- 13 लघुर्दामोदरस्ततः। नारायणोत्तुजस्तस्य तत्कनिष्ठो हरिस्ततः ॥१२॥ चाहडो महणश्चैव षडेते भ्रातरो भुवि। नंदंतु परमां
वृद्धिं प्राप्तुवन्तु चि-
- 14 रायुषः ॥१३॥ दक्षा वज्रपरीक्षणे चतुराः³ माणिक्यसंप्रेक्षणे विज्ञा विद्रुमनीलमौक्तिकपरिज्ञाने कलाकोविदाः। - - सांद्रविचित्र-
च U⁴रजन-
- 15 स्थानेषु विज्ञानिनो धात्रीमंडलमंडनं षडपि ते - - U राजा नरः ॥१४॥ तेषां मध्ये हरिरिव हरिः सं(शं)खचक्राब्ज(ब्ज)-
पाणिर्लक्ष्मीनाथो विजितनरकः
- 16 [यासय[दं?] प्रियश्चा(श्च।) शुद्धः कृ - U दविरहितो यो गदाश्लिष्टदे[हो?] - के - पुः समधिकगुणः सार्द(?)पाणेरपोह⁵
॥१५॥ शृंगारी रमणीजने गुरु-
- 17 जने शान्तोद्भूतः कीर्तने⁶ वीरः साहसकर्मणि द्विषि [तथा] रौद्रस्तथा [क]ल्मषे। हाम्यो⁷ नर्मकथादि - U[पू?]करुणो दीने
परप्रेय-
- 18 सी⁸ वी(वी)भक्तो धरणीतलेव नवधा यश्चैकरूपोपि सन् ॥१६॥ सज्जनोपकृति[हेतु]जीवितं पूज्यस[त्कृ?]तिष्ठतेखिलं ध[नं?]। पुण्यक-
19 र्मकृतिकारणे वपुर्यः कृतार्थमकरोद् U - U -⁹ ॥१७॥ आ[द्या]नेक U -¹⁰युते व(व)हुजने स्फीतप्रकृत्यन्विते पुष्यारामसरः
सुरालयमहासव-
- 20 प्रपासंकुले। अत्रोत्थूणक[पत्तने] निवसता - - U¹¹मभ्रंकषं तेनाकारि हरीश्वरस्य हिमव[च्च]द्रोपमं श्रेयमे ॥१८॥ तेनैवेत-
दब्रानि तुङ्गलहरीसंसृ-
- 21 षटनारा[पथ]ः¹²भ्रंक्रानामृ[त]वर्षपूर्णमचल[प्रस्यद्द्वि]¹³पालकृतं(तम्)¹⁴। - - श्रीरविहार[पौ]रगमणी[पीत]स्तनप्रोच्छलल्लावण्योपचि-
- U - ध्वगजनतृष्णानर(रो?)च्छेद-¹⁴
- 22 कं(कम्) ॥१९॥ सो(शो)भनपदसंचारा वापी सुपयोधरा मु - - U¹⁵। जनयति - - U U - रम[णी]व जनस्य सर्वस्य
॥२०॥ नेन देव[व(व)]लिभोगहेतुतादुः(दुष्)कृतोदय-।
- 23 [निरामहेतु(?)]ना। कारिता विविधपुष्प(ष्प)वाटिका - U - U U U - U - U - ॥२१॥ ----- ते[ने]त्यमरपुर-
- 24 मिव पुरमिदमपि का[रि(रि)]तं मु U हे¹⁶ ॥२२॥ ल - - U पलाश - U कणिकानुल्यं U रद्धारिदं छायागत्वर - U - U
नयनप्रान्तास्थिरं यौवनं(तम्)। मत्वैतत्सम-

¹ The first *akshara* of the name is mutilated and the third is overwritten, and thus the reading of both these is not certain.

² Originally सु, with the *mātrā* perhaps erased later on.

³ The *visarga* is not dropped here.

⁴ This *akshara* may have been त्व.

⁵ A number of the *aksharas* of this verse cannot be made out but the general sense is to compare this person with Vishnu by using such expressions as may be applicable to both. The reading may be शार्ङ्गपाणे-.

⁶ What appears as the sign of *anusvāra* above this letter is either a redundant stroke or an abrasion.

⁷ Originally त, later on changed.

⁸ Reading uncertain.

⁹ Here the inscription shows traces of three and not four *aksharas* as required by the metre.

¹⁰ Both these letters, which are mutilated beyond recognition, may have been नरैः.

¹¹ A word denoting temple may have been employed here, but perhaps *prāsāda* was written. In his notice of the inscription in the *Report of the Western Circle*, 1908-09, p. 49, D. R. Bhandarkar took the first two *aksharas* of this stich as *ārā*, instead of *अत्रो* as we read, and took the name as *Ārāthūnaka*, connecting it with *Ārthūnaka*, i.e., *Arthūnā*. But to me the reading seems to be as taken here.

¹² The sign of *visarga* is lightly scratched off and that of *anusvāra* is put here. The word means the sky.

¹³ The reading of these three *aksharas* is doubtful and the first of them is written in the level of the margin on the proper right side of the stone, with an arrow-mark where it is to be supplied.

¹⁴ The twelfth *akshara* of the fourth foot of this verse is not long as metrically required. The lacuna may be supplied with तोगम्.

¹⁵ Probably *सुमन्धाना* may have been intended here.

¹⁶ This *akshara* is mutilated and the preceding one is altogether indistinct.

- 25 लंचकारि U U — — — पृथिव्यंतरा — — नेन ज[मां(जां)]क — U¹ धवला — — U सं[पा]यिनी ॥२३॥ जनकस्य जनन्याश्च पुण्यस्यार्द्धमुदीरितं(तम्) । वां(बां)धव-²
- 26 नानां परि-मर्द्ध न-ह सः ॥२४॥ —————³ ॥२५॥ पुण्यं समभागं
- 27 ————— ॥२६॥ अथ भूमिरियं दत्ता राज्ञा देवाय सा(शा)श्वती । श्रीमच्चामुंड[र]ाजेन सर्वाघाटोपल⁴-
- 28 पूर्व्वेण देव ————— एव हि दक्षिणे —————⁵
- 29 न विलेपनपूजा⁶ —————
- 30 ————— प्रार्थिता मया —————
- 31 ————— ॥२७॥ स्थलजनपदे चायं(?) पृथ्वीपतिप्रवरो [ददौ]⁷ —
- 32 देवब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणराज[षिक]म्मिणां च तपस्विनां(नाम्) [।*] पंचकुलतलारस्य महाजनघनाहि[धि?]कः⁸ । वाप्यारामतडागं [च] . . .⁹
- 33 एतेषां समर्पणा[त्सर्व्वे]तत्पालनीयं यावच्च[द्र]दिवाकर[ै] । व(व)हृभिर्व्वमुद्रा भुक्ता राजभिः[।*] मगरादिभिः [।*] य—¹⁰

No. 89 : PLATE LXXXVIII - B

ARTHUNĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1165

THIS inscription was discovered by the late Pt. Gaurishankar Ojha, who very briefly noticed it in the *Annual Report of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer*, for 1917-18, on p. 2. It is also enlisted by D. R. Bhandarkar, in his *List of Inscriptions of N. India*, under No. 177 ; but it remained unedited so far. It is edited here, for the first time, from my own transcript, based on two impressions, one of which was kindly supplied by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle, and the other, by the Chief Epigraphist, of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The record is engraved on the pedestal of the stone image of Hanumān, in a dwarf temple built in the close proximity of that of Maṇḍanēśvara Mahādēva, at **Arthūnā**, in the Bānswādā District of Rājasthān. Being coated with vermilion, along with the statue, the inscription baffled all attempts to decipher it; but at my request, the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle deputed his Technical Assistant, instructing him to remove the coating and prepare fresh impressions for my use. This impression, too, was not satisfactory; and I was informed that a part of the inscribed pedestal was concealed beneath the modern cement flooring. Intimating this to the Chief Epigraphist, I requested him to do something in this respect; and he, in his turn, deputed the Superintendent for Epigraphy, from his Office, who visited the spot and prepared fresh impressions, after removing the cemented portion. The impression thus made available to me was found complete and helpful in transcribing the whole record.¹¹

The inscription consists of nine lines of writing, measuring 47 cms. long and 12 cms. high. The average height of the letters is about 1 cm., excluding the flourishes and *mātrās* above. The mechanical execution, however, betrays slovenliness on the part of the writer, as well as, on that of the engraver. A number of letters are not well formed, and a few of them are crissed into each other, making the task of a decipherer rather difficult. But after a patient examination it enabled me to make out the whole record, with a few breaks.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the twelfth century. The subscripts *chh* and *th* appear almost alike, as in *Chhachchha-* and *Sthalh*, in ll. 3 and 6, respectively; *ch*, *n* and *bh* occasionally appear

¹ The intended *aksharas* were probably विव.

² Two *aksharas* are lost here. Could they be जन?

³ The whole verse 25 is lost, and of the one that follows, only six letters are preserved.

⁴ The next two *aksharas* which are lost may conjecturally be restored as क्षिना.

⁵ Almost all the letters in this line are indistinct.

⁶ From here the impression fails to give any intelligible and connected reading.

⁷ The rest of the line is altogether indistinct and the letters in the next line are only partly preserved. The rest of the inscription is altogether lost, as stated above.

⁸ The restoration is tentative. The last two lines are incised at the top.

⁹ The rest of the line is lost.

¹⁰ As above. The verse may have been completed on the border on the right side which has peeled off.

¹¹ His No. B-149 of 1972-73.

in their old forms; cf. *chakra-*, l. 4; *bhūbhujā*, l. 3, and *saṁya*, l. 1; *dh* and *v* are sometimes similar, e.g., in *dagdha* and *sad = aiva* both in l. 2, though we have examples to show that the former of these letters has a horn on its left limb, as in *-adhi-*, in l. 3, and *sudhi-*, l. 4. The subscript *r* is shown by a serif, for which, cf. *-kramāt* in l. 2. And finally, the medial long *ū* occasionally resembles the subscript *t* attached to the lower part of a letter, as in *kūṭa*, l. 1.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and excepting the initial short sentence showing adoration, a word each in ll. 4 and 5, and the date in the end, the whole of the extant portion is metrical, showing eleven stanzas. **Orthographically**, we may note that the sign for *v* is employed to denote *b*, as in *vāṇa*, l. 1; the palatal sibilant is occasionally marked by the dental; *kh* is written as *sh* in *ashaṇḍa*, l. 8; and the signs of the *avagraha* and the *prishṭha-mātrā* are used, with a few exceptions.

The inscription refers itself to the prosperous reign of **Vijayarāja**, in the *vishaya* of **Sthali** (v. 7), who, from this and from the mention of **Maṇḍana** and **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, who are known to have been his grandfather and father, respectively, from the following inscription, can safely be taken to have been the homonymous king who belonged to the **Paramāra** house of Vāgaḍa. This conclusion is quite consistent with the find-spot of the inscription. The **purpose** of the record is to show the consecration of an image of Hanumān, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The inscription is dated, in l. 7, in words, **Thursday, the second day of the bright half of Phālguna, of the Vikrama year 1165¹**. For the Northern Vikrama, *current*, the date is equivalent to Monday, 28th January, 1107 A.C., and for the *expired* year, to Saturday, 15th February, 1108 A.C. But neither of these equivalents shows the week-day as Thursday, as recorded in the inscription, and therefore the date must be taken as irregular.²

To note the contents of the record, it commences with a verse eulogising Hanumān, whose blessings are invoked. He is called Māruti and a part of the terrific aspect of Śiva, burning Laṅkā. Following this, a person whose name cannot be distinctly made out but appears as Vairabhraṅka, is introduced. He was proficient in the science of dramaturgy, which was instituted by Bharata and expounded by his followers. His son was Chhachchha, who lost his life in a battle fought by **Maṇḍanadēva** against his enemies. These enemies are not mentioned in the record, but the battle seems to have been the same in which Maṇḍana captured the general Kanha and produced him before his overlord Jayasimha, as seen above, in No. 83. In the next two verses we are told that this person was in the service of Maṇḍana, who vanquished his enemies. And further we learn that his son Viṁvala (?), who was a musician (proficient in instrumental music), received wealth from (Maṇḍana's son) Chāmuṇḍarāja, consecrated the stone image of Hanumān, at this place, at Utthapanaka, situated in the Sthali *vishaya*, to commemorate the death of his father, during the reign of Vijayarāja. Vijayarāja's relation in the house is not shown in the record, but as we shall see while editing the next document, he was Chāmuṇḍarāja's son and successor.

The next portion gives the date, as seen above, and expresses the desire that this image may stand as long as the deity is renowned on the Arbuda Mount. Then we are told that the record was composed by Nārāyaṇa, written on the stone by Ananta, and engraved by Nānāka, who also carved the image of Hanumān. Following this, the date is repeated in figures; and with the words "Auspicious and great blessings", the inscription comes to a close.

The importance of the record is that it gives the earliest date for Vijayarāja, which is about a year earlier than that of the one that follows.

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Utthapanaka** (v. 6) is, of course, Arthūṇā, as seen above; and **Sthali**, the *vishaya* in which it was situated, is the region of Vāgaḍa.³ **Arbudāchala** is the well-known Mt. Ābū.

¹ Ojha and, following him, Bhandarkar, did not note the week day, probably because the portion containing it was then hidden.

² It may also be noted here, however, that for the next year, i.e., Northern V. *Current* 1160, the equivalent of the date would be Wednesday, 3rd February, 1109 A.C.; and if we take into account this alternative, it would appear probable that the function actually began on Wednesday, the 3rd February, 1109 A.C., and the image was installed on the next day. But taking the reading of the fortnight as *Sudi*, the date would correspond, for the *amānta* Phālgna, to 18th February, 1109 A.C. when there was a Thursday, as mentioned.

³ It is interesting to note that Sthali is also mentioned as a *maṇḍala* in No. 87, v. 4; a *janapada* in No. 88, v. 33; and a *dēśa* in No. 90, vv. 2 and 25. It also appears possible that the first component of the name, Utthapanaka, represents a short form of Arthūṇā, and the second, that of Pānāhēḍā, both situated in the region of Vāgaḍa.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verse 1 *Sragdharā*; vv. 2, 6, 8-11 *Anushtubh*; v. 3 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 4 *Giti*; v. 5 *Indravajrā*; v. 7 *Mālinī*].

- 1 मिद्धम्² ओ नमो हनुमने । वैदेहीं द्रष्टुमिच्छुर्दृशवदन्तृतां मागरं यम्नार ।³ वैक्लव्यं संप्रविष्टे दशरथतनुजे मानुजे सैन्ययुक्ते ।
अनित्ये योऽद्रिकृत् खगतहरिजितातीक्ष्णवा(वा)णप्रवाहै⁴
- 2 रुद्रांशो मारुतिर्ममवतु स हनुमान्दधलकः मदैव ॥१॥ [वैरभ्र]⁵डकनामामीत्सम[त्यायापके]⁶ऽक्रमात् । सं[ध?]ता नृत्यशास्त्राणां
प्रोक्तानां भरतादिभिः ॥२॥ तस्मात्पाटहिको⁷ व(व)भूव प-
- 3 दृधीष्ठच्छेति नाम्ना गुणी ।⁸ श्रीमन्मंडनभूभुजारिषु ह[राप्]रेण⁹ संपूरितः । देवानामधिपायतः सुविमलं संकीर्त्तिनुं तद्यथा विस्तार्या-
जलधिर्जगाम स दिवं मुक्त्वाऽत्र कायं स्वकम् ॥३॥ त-
- 4 स्यात्समजेन⁹ पटुना शशतविनतघनमुषिरबाद्यानाम् । मिहलनाम्ना मुधिया भक्तेन ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगुरुजनदेवानाम् ॥४॥ आर्यागीतिः¹⁰ ।
दग्धारिचक्रस्य विशालवा(वा)होष्चामुडरा-
- 5 स्य जविभोः प्रशा(मा)दात् । संप्राप्य [द्युम्नं मु(शु)भवा-वेभ्यो - - U]¹¹ विजो व(व)हृ येन दत्तं(त्तम्) ॥५॥ द्विकुलकं
(कम्)¹² ॥ शैल्यो हनुमांस्तेन कारितो निजधर्मं(र्म)णा¹³ । मदुत्थपनके चास्मिन्(न्?)¹⁴ प-¹⁴ ॥
- 6 नित्यप्रमोदितं(त्तम्) ॥६॥[*] प्रणतकुमुदचंद्रे कामिनीलोकरम्ये विहतरिपुसमाजे तीक्ष्णशस्त्रप्रहारैः । अबति विजयराजे पूर्ण-
सोमाभचक्रे ।¹⁵ स्थलिविषयमनूनं भूरिलो-
- 7 कैः समृद्धिः ॥७॥ संवत्सरगते[ती]ते महस्त्रेण समन्विने । राजो विक्रममूर्यस्य पंचषष्ट्या च संयुते ॥८॥[*] फाल्गुनस्य
द्वितीयायाम् (यां) ।¹⁶ शुक्लपक्षे गुरौ दिने [1*] [पुत्रेण वग्दायी] U¹⁵
- 8 स्थापितो हनुमानयम् ॥९॥[प्रदेशे सकले]¹⁶ कीर्त्तिर्हनुमतोऽर्जु(र्जु)दाचले । अप(खं)डो हनुमांस्नावन् स जीयादुत्तरोत्तरम् ॥१०॥
लिखितेयमनन्तेन कृता नागयणेन च ।
- 9 का¹⁷नानाकेन समुत्कीर्णा हनुना(मा)न् घटितस्तथा ॥११॥ विक्रमांकतः संव(व)न् ११६५ फाल्गुन शुदि २ गुरौ दिने
हनुमान्प्रतिष्ठितः ॥ मंगलः¹⁸ महाश्रीः ॥

¹ From the impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol. The syllable that follows it is denoted by the sign for the Nāgari *ū*, with an *anusvāra* above.

³ This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

⁴ The language is rather obscure here, but the sense seems to be that the points of the arrows (of Bharata ?) were made blunt and thus not felt by Hanumān while flying in the sky, with the mountain peak in his hands.

⁵ The reading of the first and the third letter of the name is not certain, and it appears to be a curious name.

⁶ Reading from traces left: but it does not convey any sense.

⁷ The reading is probable, and the second letter of the name may have been *da*. The meaning of this word is not clear.

⁸ The reading of the letters in the brackets is uncertain.

⁹ Both these letters are damaged and crisped into each other.

¹⁰ This is the name of the metre. It is a rare instance to mention it along with the verse. Also, the fourth foot of the verse is metrically irregular. The musical instruments mentioned here are stringed, solid and perforated.

¹¹ The bracketed syllables are all mutilated and the reading is not certain.

¹² The word is used here to show that both these stanzas are to be taken together, for the sense.

¹³ The correct form is *dharmēṇa*, which would not suit the metre.

¹⁴ The reading of the third *akshara* in this word is uncertain. A double *daṇḍa* is also put at the end of the line.

¹⁵ All the bracketed letters are mutilated and the reading is from the traces left. The last *akshara* in the line is lost.

¹⁶ Reading from the traces left.

¹⁷ Though indistinct, the stich in the preceding and the following line is complete, each having eight *aksharas*; and thus this *akshara* appears to be redundant. Or, it may have been some symbol (?).

¹⁸ The sign of *visarga* is redundant.

ARTHŪNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIJAYARĀJA

Vikrama Year 1966

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered in the village of **Arthūnā**, which is situated about 45 kms. southwest of Bāṇswāḍā, formerly the capital of a State but now the chief city of a district of the same name in Rājasthān. The record was very briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* of the Archaeological Survey of India, ending 1909, on p. 49;¹ and subsequently it was edited by R. R. Halder, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXI (1931), pp. 50 ff., with his reading of the text, in Nāgarī (pp. 51-55) and a facsimile facing p. 52. It is edited here from the original stone and two inked impressions, one of which (taken in 1956-57) was kindly placed at my disposal by the Chief Epigraphist, and another, prepared fresh and supplied to me, by Om Prakash Sharma, the Curator of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer, where the stone is now deposited. The latter of these impressions shows that both the right and left borders of the stone have now suffered a little, though, fortunately, none of the letters is lost.

The inscription, which is in a sunken panel with a border on all sides, consists of 31 lines of writing which occupies a space 46·5 cms. broad by 30·2 cms. high; but ll. 22 and 27-31 which contain one or two *aksharas* beyond the normal limit, measure 48 cms. in length. The left hand margin of ll. 22-25 contains three *aksharas* which could not be accommodated in the last line. The average size of the letters is about 6 cms. The writing is well preserved, with the exception of a few *aksharas* which have suffered from abrasions here and there and four of them which are entirely lost in l. 20.

The inscription is written in Nāgarī **script** of the twelfth century. The initial *a* has begun assuming its modern form, for which see *āśīt*, l. 2; and the initial *i* is in a transitional stage: in ll. 2, 13 and 15 its form entirely differs from that which is employed in a singular instance in *itī*, l. 21. Of the consonants, *ch* is distinguished from *v* in showing its loop angular: cf. *vachasi*, l. 12, where both these letters appear side by side, and in *chapalā-*, l. 1, it resembles its modern form; but occasionally it reverts to its older form resembling *v*, as in *khadyōtakaiś = cha*, l. 1. *Dh* continues to resemble *v*, for which see *dhvajinī*, l. 2 and *vōdha-*, l. 12. In two instances the form of *dh* resembles a bow with its string on the right: see *sudhā*, l. 4 and *sādhāraṇa*, l. 19; and in a singular instance in *vidadhē*, l. 6, the top of its left limb shows a bend inclined to further develop itself as a horn. *J* also shows its transitional stage and its older and advanced forms are written side by side in *rājī-janita*, l. 1. *Bh* also shows two forms, e.g., one in *bhavya* and the other in *tamōbhiḥ*, both in l. 1. The subscript *r* which used to be written as a complete letter with its superscript half drawn, or which is occasionally shown as a serif attached to the lower limb of a letter, as in *vrata-*, l. 5, has given place to an oblique stroke attached to the middle of a letter, as in *prabhūta*, l. 7.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the text is in verse, with the exception of a short sentence at the beginning of l. 1, the portion containing the date in l. 22, a word in l. 23 and a short sentence at the end of l. 26. In all there are 39 verses, which are numbered. The main body of the document ends with l. 26 (v. 30), and the next five lines (27-31) are devoted to reproduce nine stanzas from a *Digambara* work entitled *Ātmānuśāsana*.²

The record contains grammatical and other errors, e.g., the use of *sthalau* for *sthalyān*, l. 3, *pratishṭhitam* for *pratiṣṭhāpitam*, l. 22, *jagatau* for *Jagatyām*, l. 23, and *utkīrnnā* for *utkīrṇā*, l. 26. Verses 5 and 10 offend against the metre, and in v. 25, the second letter in the fourth foot is made short for metrical exigencies. In v. 29 we also find the use of *vai* for *pāda-pūrti*. With reference to technical execution, it may be observed that the *ūrdhva-mātrās* representing the diphthongs in l. 1 show beautiful flourishes, and the sign of *anusvāra* on *taṁ* in the same line

¹ Also see *op. cit.*, p. 9, No. 2432, and *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1908-9, p. 118. The inscription is also referred to in the *A. R.*, Rājputānā Museum, 1918, p. 2.

² See Halder, *op. cit.*, p. 51, n. 2.

shows a floral design around. Such flourishes are occasionally also to be seen in some other instances, *e.g.*, in the medial *ā* in *dhṛitīnām*, l. 9, and in *nyā* of *paṇyāṅganā*, l. 3, where it is shown by a curve above the top, unlike in any other instance. There are also instances, though rare, showing the punctuation marks so close to a letter as to make them appear as the sign of medial *ā*, as after *shōḍaśa*, l. 23. Wrong chisel strokes have occasionally changed the form of some of the letters, *e.g.*, *y* has become *ch* in *yo'vanti*, l. 2, and *t* has become *g* in *vitata*, l. 3.

In respect of **orthography**, the record shares the same peculiarities as to be seen in contemporary inscriptions, *viz.* (1) the general use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* also, as in *vuddhi*, l. 12; (2) doubling of a class-consonant following *r*; see *kīrtti*, l. 2; (3) the use of the dental sibilant for the palatal and *vice versa*; *e.g.*, in *sāsana*, l. 15, and *śalila*, l. 31; (4) use of both, *viz.* the *prishṭha*- and the *ūrdhva-mātrā*; (5) putting the sign for *avagraha* in l. 3 and for *jihvāmūliya* in l. 29; (6) representation of a class-nasal by *anusvāra*, even though wrongly at the end of a stich, perhaps the singular exception being in *sundarīkaṁ*, l. 4; (7) occasional use of *anusvāra* and a class-nasal side by side, as in l. 4; and (8) frequent violation of the rules of *sandhi*, as noted in the text, below.

It is a **secterian** record; and its **object** is to state the foundation of a Jaina temple and the consecration of the image of Vṛishabhānātha, at Utthūṇaka, obviously the village of Arthūṇā, in the province of Sthalī, *i.e.*, Vāgaḍa, by one Bhūṣhaṇa, whose lineage is shown below, during the reign of **Vijayarāja**, son of **Chāmuṇḍarāja** and grandson of **Maṇḍalika** of the **Paramāra** family. The date, as given both in words and figures in l. 22, is **Monday, the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the Vikrama year 1166**, which regularly corresponds, for the Chaitrādi expired year, to **the 5th of April, 1109 A.C.** It was *akshaya-tṛitīyā*, a holy day, though not mentioned in the inscription.

Commencing with a short sentence paying homage to Vītarāga, the inscription has one verse to eulogise the same deity. It then speaks of **Maṇḍalika**, who was born in the **Paramāra** lineage and who killed the general **Kanha** and **Sindhurāja**. Maṇḍalika's son was **Chāmuṇḍarāja**, who is said to have destroyed the army of the lord of **Avanti** in the Sthalī country (v. 2). This statement obviously refers to a king belonging to the Paramāra house of Mālava, and the details in this respect, though unknown, may of course be conjectured. From the Pānāhēḍā inscription dated V. 1116, we know that Maṇḍalika, the ruler of Vāgaḍa was greatly devoted to Jayasīṁha, the immediate successor of Bhōja. Presuming that the same policy may have been followed by his son Chāmuṇḍarāja, he too may have helped Jayasīṁha by destroying some of the forces of the latter's adversary Udayāditya or some other person who was then struggling against Jayasīṁha, and also possibly some others, for the throne. H. C. Ray suggested that the king of Avanti was probably the Chaulukya Jayasīṁha Siddharāja who conquered Mālava and assumed the title of *Avantinātha*. See *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 923, n. 4.

The next verse introduces Chāmuṇḍarāja's son Vijayarāja, who was a meritorious and valorous person. The names of these three kings with their relationship to each other are also known from the other records of the house:¹ but it is interesting to note that whereas the present document says that Maṇḍalika killed the general Kanha, the Pānāhēḍā record of V.S. 1136 says that Sindhurāja was captured or vanquished not by Maṇḍalika but by his son Chāmuṇḍarāja (v. 55). Thus the facts mentioned in the present inscription do not agree with those stated in both these records; but as they are earlier, their testimony is more reliable, particularly when the inscription under review is sectarian.²

While editing the Arthūṇā inscription of V.S. 1136, we have seen that the word Sindhurāja is used in it in a general sense of a ruler of Sindh, about whom nothing is known. And in view of the statement recorded in the present inscription, it is possible that the Sindhurāja who was killed by Maṇḍalika may have been altogether a different ruler than the one who was made captive by Chāmuṇḍarāja. But we cannot be definite on this point unless more information is available.

¹ The Pānāhēḍā and Arthūṇā inscriptions (S. 1136); Nos. 83 and 84, above.

² To reconcile the statements of both these records, however, it appears possible that Chāmuṇḍarāja, as a prince, may have helped his father in the latter's struggle with Sindhurāja.

The inscription then digresses to give an account of a Jaina family, devoting 21 verses (4-24) to it. One of the members of this family built the temple of Vṛishabhanātha and consecrated in it an image of the same deity. Verses 4-6 inform us that in the territory of Vijayarāja there was a town called Talapāṭaka, where resided one Ambaṭa, a learned Jaina physician and a jewel of the Nāgara family, who was philanthropic and devoted to the service of the country. His son was Pāpāka, who was expert in the whole of *Āyurvēda* (v. 7). Pāpāka had three sons viz., Ālāka, Sāhasa and Lalluka (v. 8); the first of these, i.e., Ālāka was learned, charitable, helpful to sages and devoted to his preceptor Chhatrasēna, who belonged to the Māthura family, i.e., hailed from Mathurā, and whose discourses greatly amused the audience (vv. 9-11). Ālāka had three sons by his wife Hōlā (v. 12): the eldest of them, Pāhuka, was intelligent, well versed in *Śāstras*, munificent, self-possessed, and he became a recluse (vv. 13-4). His younger brother was Bhūshaṇa, a pious Jaina, whose glories are described in vv. 15-20. He had three sons from his wife Śīlikā (v. 21). Vv. 23-4 are again devoted to state that Bhūshaṇa's younger brother was Lallāka and the eldest of them all was Pāhuka, whose name has already appeared above in v. 13; Pāhuka had a son of the name of Ambaṭa, the same as appearing above, from his wife Sūkā. Then is given the date in v. 25, and the prose passage that follows, as we have seen above.

Verses 27-8 inform us that the sixteen stanzas beginning from the fourth, along with the first stanza were composed by the learned Kaṭuka while the rest (evidently Nos. 2-3) was the work of Bhāṭuka,¹ son of the Brāhmaṇa Sāvaḍa and grandson of Bhāilla of the Valla family. The next verse is devoted to express that the *kīrtti*, i.e., the temple,² may stand perpetually. The following prose portion states that the document was engraved by the *viññānika Sūmāka*,³ and in the end, we find the customary expressions *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ*, as in many Paramāra records.

Here the main body of the record practically ends; and the rest of the lines (27-31) are meant to express self-discipline, from a work entitled *Ātmānuśāsana*, as seen above.

The present inscription is the last known record issued during the reign of the Paramāra house of Vāgaḍa, and after the year V.S. 1166, when it was issued, this branch does not appear to have continued its political importance for long. For we know that in 1145 A.C. Mālwa was conquered by the Chaulukya house of Gujarāt; and this calamity befalling the imperial Paramāra house must have told upon the subordinate house of Vāgaḍa also. This was taken advantage of by the Guhilas of Mēwāḍ, as we know from Mūta Nēṇsī, who relates that the Guhila Samarasimha (1172-1179 A.C.) brought the province of Vāgaḍa and the adjacent territories to his subjection; and this account is confirmed by an inscription of Samarasimha's reign, dated in V.S. 1236 or 1176 A.C.⁴ His descendant Sīhaḍa (1220-1234 A.C.) issued an inscription from Vāgaḍa-vaṭapadraka.⁵

Of the **geographical names** figuring in the record, **Sthalī** (ll. 3 and 22) is the other name of Vāgaḍa itself,⁶ and **Utthūṇaka** (l. 23) is the modern village of Arthūṇā, as already seen. **Talapāṭaka** (l. 3) has been identified with the village of Talwāḍā, lying about 20 kms. not to the south of Bāṇswāḍā, as stated by Halder, but to its west, connected by a metalled road with it.⁷

¹ As stated in n. 23 in the text below, the name may also have been *Bhāḍuka*.

² The word *kīrtti* means 'any work of public utility calculated to render famous the name of the constructor of it'. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 212, n. 6. Here it refers to the temple. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 267, n. 3.

³ Halder reads the name as Stamāka, but the first letter has evidently a *mūtrā*. He also calls it a *praśasti* though no such word but *kīrtti* is used in the inscription in v. 28.

⁴ *Prog. Rep. of A. S. I., W. C.*, 1915, p. 35. This inscription, which is *I. N. I.*, No. 392, was found at Sōlaj (Dūṅgarpur District) included in the Vāgaḍa territory.

⁵ See *A. S. I. R., W. C.*, 1915 p. 36; *Ind. Ant.*, LIII, p. 102, n.

⁶ The *maṇḍala* was probably so known after the place *Thalī* which lies about 2 kms. north by east of Arthūṇā itself.

⁷ See *C. I. R. A.*, pp 476-77.

TEXT¹

[Metres:—Verses 1, 13, 14 *Mālinī*; vv. 2, 5, 6, 30 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 25 *Gīti*;² vv. 3, 26, 31-33 *Āryā*; vv. 4, 11, 17 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 7 *Sragdharā*; vv. 8, 20 23-24, 27-29, 34-38 *Anushtubh*; vv. 9-10 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 12, 21 *Upajāti*;³ vv. 15, 16, 39 *Śikharinī*; v. 18 *Prithvī*; v. 19 *Harinī*.]

- 1 ओं⁴ नमो वीतरागाय ॥ स जयतु जिनभानुर्भव्यराजीवराजीजनितवरविकाशो(सो) दत्तलोकप्रकाशः । परसमयतमोभिर्न स्थितं यत्पुरस्तात्क्षणमपि चपलासद्वाद्विद्योतकैश्च ॥१॥⁵
- 2 आसीच्छ्रीपरमारवंशजनितः श्रीमंडलीकाभिधः कन्हस्य ध्वजिनीपतेन्निधनकृच्छ्रीसिंधुराजस्य च । जज्ञे कीर्तिलतालवालक इतश्चामुंडराजो नृपो योवंतिप्रभुसाधनानि व(ब)हुशो हंति स्म
- 3 देशे स्थलौ(त्याम्)⁶ ॥२॥ श्रीविजयराजनामा⁷ तस्य सुतो जयति जगति विततयशाः । सुभगो जितारिवर्गो गुणरत्नपयोनिधिः शूरः ॥३॥ देशेऽस्य पत्नवरं तलपाटकाख्यं पण्याङ्गनाजनजिता-
- 4 मरसुंदरीकम् । अस्ति प्रशस्तमुरमंदिरवैजयन्ती[वि]स्ताररुद्धदिननाथकरप्रचारं(रम्) ॥४॥ तस्मिन्नागरवंशेश्वरमणिनिःशेष- शास्त्राम्बु(म्बु)धिर्जेनेद्रागमवासनारसमुधाविद्धास्थिमज्जा⁸ भवत् ।
- 5 श्रीमानंव(ब)टसंज्ञकः कलिव(ब)हिर्भूतो भिषग्यामणीगार्हस्थ्येपि [निकुंचिताक्षप(प्र)सरो⁹ देशव्रतालंकृतः ॥५॥ यस्या- वश्यककर्म्मनिष्ठितमतेनिष्ठा वनातेभवन्नतेवासिवदाहितांजलिपुटा¹⁰-
- 6 श्वौ[राः] कृतोपासनाः । यस्यानन्यसमानदर्शनगुणैरन्त[श्च]मत्कारिता शुभ्रूपां विदधे सुतेव सततं देवी च चक्रेश्वरी ॥६॥ पापाकस्तस्य सूनुः समजनि जनितानेकभव्यप्रपो(मो)दः प्रादुर्भू-
- 7 तप्रभूतप्रविमलधिषणः पारदृश्वा श्रुतीनां(नाम्) [1*] सर्वयिर्व्वेदेदी विहितसकल[स्वक्रांत]लोकानुकम्पो¹¹ निम्नी(र्णी)ताशेष- दोषप्रभृतिरपगदस्तत्प्रतीकारसारः ॥७॥ तस्य पुत्रास्त्रयोभूवन्भूरिशा-
- 8 स्त्रविशारदाः । आला¹²कः साहसाख्यश्च लल्लुकाख्यः परोनुजः ॥८॥ यस्तत्राद्यः सहजविशदप्रज्ञया भासमानः स्वानादर्शस्फुरित- सकलैतिह्यतत्त्वार्थ[स]ारः¹³ । संवेगादिस्फुटतरगुणव्य-
- 9 क्तसम्प[र्क]भावः तैस्तैर्दानप्रभृतिभिरपि [स्वो]पयोगीकृतश्रीः ॥९॥[1*] आध्या[रो] यः स्वकुलसमितेः साधुवर्गस्य चाभूदधे शीलं सकलजनताह्लादि रूपं च काये । पात्रीभूतः कृतयति[धृ]तीनां¹⁴
- 10 श्रुतानां प्रि(श्रि)यां च सानंदानां धुरमुदवहङ्गोगिनां योगिनां च ॥१०॥ यो म[धु]रान्वयनभस्तलतिग्म[भा]नोर्व्याख्यानरंजिन- समस्तसभाजनस्य¹⁵ । श्रीच्छत्रसेनमुगुरोश्चरणारविदसे-
- 11 वापरोभवदनन्यमनाः सदैव ॥११॥ तस्य प्रशस्तामलशीलवत्यां होलाभिधायी वरधर्मपत्न्यां(त्याम्) । त्रयो व(ब)भूवुस्तनया नयाद्या विवेकवंतो भुवि रत्नभूताः ॥१२॥ अभवदमल-
- 12 वो(वो)धः पा(हु)कस्तव पूर्वः कृतगुरुजनभक्तिः मत्कु[शाग्र]ीयवु(बु)द्धिः¹⁵ । जिनवचसि यदीयप्रश्नजाले विशाले गणभृदपि विमुह्येत्कैव वार्त्तापरस्य ॥१३॥ करणचरणरूपानेक-

¹ From impressions. The reading was also verified from personal examination of the record.

² Metre irregular, for which see n. 8 on the next page.

³ And not *Upēndravajrā*, as taken by Halder.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol which is preceded by what appears to be a symbol for *siddham*, followed by two *danḍas*. The *mātrās* and the *anusvāra* appearing above the line are ornamental.

⁵ At the end of the line there is a symbol resembling the *akshara* छ followed by two *danḍas*.

⁶ The wrong form is used here evidently for metrical exigency.

⁷ The vertical stroke of the left limb of म is faint in the impressions but it is clear in the facsimile accompanying Halder's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI and also on the stone which I examined.

⁸ Halder corrects it to ज्ञो which is not necessary.

⁹ The ninth *akshara* of this foot is unnecessarily stressed by the following प्र, but also see the *Piṅgala-Sūtra* प्रह्ने वा, according to which, it is not an offence.

¹⁰ The strokes following this letter are redundant.

¹¹ The *danḍa* is redundant.

¹² The impression shows a dot above this letter; it may be a redundant stroke or a *mātrā* (?). It may also have been आलोकः.

¹³ The *danḍa* is redundant, as also some others below.

¹⁴ What is at the end of the line is not a *danḍa* but only a flourish of the *mātrā*. This foot also involves *yati-bhaṅga*.

¹⁵ The adjective सत् is redundant here.

- 13 शास्त्रप्रवीणः परिहृतविषयार्थो दाननीर्यप्रवृत्तः। जमनिधिमितचित्तो ज्ञानवैराग्यभावः कलिकलिलविमुक्तो पा(वा)सकी(वी)य-
प्रभाद्यः¹ ॥१४॥ कनिष्ठस्तस्याभूद्भुव[न]विदि[तो] भूषण इति श्रियः पात्रं
- 14 कांतेः कुलगृहमुमायाश्च वसतिः। मरस्वत्याः क्रीडागिरिरमलवु(बु)द्धेरतिरना(?)² क्षमावल्याः कंदः प्रविततकृपायाश्च [नि]लयः
॥१५॥ स्मरः सौरुष्ये[ण] प्रव(व)ल[सुभ]गत्वेन जशभृत् कुवेरः संप-³
- 15 त्या(त्या) समधिकविवेकेन धिषणः। महोन्नत्या [मिह]र्जलनिधिरगाधेन मनमा।⁴ विदग्धत्वेनोच्चैर्य इह वरविद्याधर इव ॥१६॥
जैनेंद्रसा(शा)सनसरोवरराजहंसो मौनीद्रपादकमलद्वय-
- 16 चंचरीकः। निःशेषा[शा]स्त्रनिवहोदकनाथनकः (।) सोमंतिनीतयनकैरच(व)चारुचंद्रः ॥१७॥ विदग्धजनवल्लभः मरससार[शृं]-
गारवानुदारश्च(च)रितश्च यः सुभगसौम्यमूर्तिः सुधीः। प्र[सा]द-
- 17 व(न)परानमद्वरविलाशि(मि)नीकुंजलव्यप[।*]स्तपदंजकजिह्व(त)यरेणुरत्युन्नतः ॥१८॥ प्रथमधवल[ल]प्राये [चै]त्ये [ग]तेपि
दिवं पुनः। कुलरथभरो येनैकेनाप्यसंभ्रममुद्धृतः। गुह्यतरविप-
- 18 द्गर्तग्रावप्र[हा]दुदतारि च स्थिरमतिमहास्थाम्ना नीतो विभूतिगिरेः शिरः ॥१९॥ द्वे भार्ये भूषणस्य स्तः लक्ष्मीसी(शी?) -
नीति विश्रुते। पतिव्रतत्वसंपुक्ते चारित्र्यगुणभूषिते ॥२०॥[।*] म सी(शी?) -
- 19 लिकायामुदपादि पुत्रान्सन्नामयोग्यान्गुह्यदेवभक्तः। अलोकसाधारणशक्तिमु[ह्य]स्त्वबंधु(बन्धु)चित्ताब्ज(ब्ज)विका(म)भानून् ॥२१॥
आयुस्तप्तमहीध्रसारनिहितस्तोकाम्बु(म्बु)वन्नस्व(श्व)रं⁵
- 20 संचिन्त्य द्विपकर्णचंचलतरां लक्ष्म्याश्च दृष्ट्वा स्थितिं(तिम्)। ज्ञात्वा शास्त्रमुनिश्चयात्स्थिरतरे नूनं य -- U⁶ सी तेनाकारि
मनोहरं जिनगृहं भूमेरिदं भूषणं(णम्) ॥२२॥ भूषणस्य क-
- 21 निष्ठो(ष्ठः) श्रीलल्लाक इति विश्रुतः। देवपूजापरो नित्यं भ्रातुरादेशकृत्स[दा] ॥२३॥ [ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठः)] पाहुकनामा यः
स्त्री(श्री)उका⁷यामजीजनत्। शुभलक्षणसंयुक्तं पुत्रमम्ब(म्ब)टसंजकं(कम्) ॥[।*]२४॥
- 22 वर्षसहस्रे याते षट्षष्ट्युत्तरशतेन संयुक्ते। विक्रमभानोः काले स्थलि(ली)विषयमवनि ⁸मति [वि]जयराजे ॥[२५।*][।*]
विक्रमसंवत् ११६६ वैशाखसु(शु)दि ३ सोमे वृषभनाथस्य प्रतिष्ठा ॥२६॥
- 23 श्रीवृषभनाथनाम्नः प्रति[ष्ठितं] भूषणेन विव(विम्ब)मिद(दम्)। उत्थूणकनगरेस्मिन्निह⁹ जगतौ(त्यां) वृषभनाथस्य ॥२६॥⁴
युगलम् ॥०॥ तुर्यवृत्तात्समारभ्य वृत्तान्ये[ता]नि षोडश। आद्यवृत्ते-
- 24 न युक्तानि कृतवान्कटुको वु(बु)धः ॥२७॥ [भा]इल्लो वल्लवसे(शे)भनज्जः श्रीमावडो द्विजः। तत्पूतोर्माटु¹⁰कश्यपं निःशेषाथापरा
कृतिः ॥२८॥ वालभा¹¹न्वयकायस्थराजपालस्य
- 25 मूनुना। संधिविग्रहसंस्थेन लिखिता [वामनेन] वै ॥२९॥ यावद्रावणरामयोः सुवरितं भूमौ जनैर्गीयते।¹¹ यावद्विष्णुपदी-जल
प्रवहति व्योम्यस्ति यावच्छशी। अर्ह-
- 26 द्वक्त्रविनिर्गतं श्रवणकैः यावत् श्रुतं पठ्यते तावत्कीर्तिरियं विराय जयतात्संस्तूयमानां(ना) जनैः ॥३०॥ उत्कीर्त्ता(र्णा)
विज्ञानिकसूपाकेन¹² ॥०॥ मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥¹³

¹ Probably here the poet intended to use प्रभावाद्यः, which would not suit the metre.

² There appear some scratching and over-writing on this and the preceding two letters, making the reading indistinct. Probably -रतिजयः may have been intended.

³ There are two redundant *daṇḍas* at the end of this line.

⁴ There is a redundant stroke here.

⁵ The sign of *anusvāra*, as also some others below, is represented by a hollow circle marked not over but in continuation of the letter to which it belongs.

⁶ These four *aksharas* are totally mutilated and the space occupied by them shows that one more *akshara* may have originally been at first engraved and deleted later on. Probably what appears to have been engraved is यज्ञःश्रेयसी.

⁷ The reading of the first letter of the name is uncertain: it may be सीडका also, as read by Halder.

⁸ Taking the second letter of this foot short, as engraved here, it would have 17 *mātrās* instead of 18, as required. The name was स्थली and not स्थलि, which is used for the metre.

⁹ This *akshara* can also be read as दु.

¹⁰ This letter is mutilated and looks like मा but is restored here in view of the appears of the word in the preceding record.

¹¹ The *daṇḍa* is redundant. Moreover, it is strange to note how Rāvaṇa's behaviour is called good here.

¹² Halder read the name as स्तमकः, but to me what he took to be त appears to be a *mātrā*. उत्कीर्णा is in feminine as an adjective of *kīrtti*, meaning *praśasti*.

¹³ This is followed by a floral design and a symbol resembling *chha*, between a double *daṇḍa*, as also the first syllable in the next line.

[illegible]

Scale: One half

2 4 6 8 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30

- 27 ओं । लक्ष्मीनिवासनिलयं विनीनकिल(कलु)षं¹ निधाय हृदि वीरं(रम्) । आत्मानुशाण(स)नमहं वक्ष्ये² मोक्षाय-
रुच्यानां(नाम्)² ॥१॥³ दुःखाद्वि(द्वि)भेषि नितरामभिवाञ्छामि मुखमनोहमश्यात्मन् । दुःखापहारिमुख-
28 करमनुसा(शा)स्मि त[वा]नुम[त]मेव ॥२॥ यद्यपि कदाचिदस्मिन्विपाकमधुरं तदात्वकटु किञ्चित् । [त्वं तस्मात्मा] भैषीर्यथा-
तुरो भेषजादुग्रात् ॥३॥ जना घनाश्च वाचालाः सुलभाः [स्यु]र्वृथोत्थिताः । दुर्ल-
29 भा ह्यंतराद्विस्ते जगद[स्र]जिहीर्षवः ॥४॥ परा[य]त्तात्मुखाद् दुःखं स्वायत्तं केवलं वरं(रम्) । अन्यथा मुखिना[मा]नः कथमा[त्ता]-
स्तपश्वि(स्वि)नः ॥५॥ उपायकोटिदूरस्थे स्वनस्तत इतोऽन्य[तः] । सर्वतः पतनप्राये
30 काये कोयं तवाग्रहः ॥६॥ अवस्यं(ष्यं) नम्व(श्व)रैरेभिरायुः कायादिभिर्यदि । मास्व(शाश्व)तं पदमायाति सुधायतमवैहि
ते ॥७॥ यंतुमुच्छा(च्छ्वा)सनिःस्वा(श्वा)सैरभ्यस्यत्येष संततं(तम्) । लोकः पृथ[ग]ितो⁴वाञ्छत्यात्मा-
31 [नमज*]रामरं(रम्) ॥८॥ गलत्यायुः प्रायः प्रकटितवटीयंत्रश(स)लिनं खलुः(लः) कायोप्यायुः गतिमभिपतत्येष सततं(तम्) ।
किम[प्य]न्यैरन्यैर्द्रव्यमग्रमिदं जीवामिह स्थितो आत्मा न विःत(?)मित्र मातुजे म्याःनु मरणं⁵(णम्) [ः॥*] ९ [॥*]

¹ These three letters are much mutilated and are restored here from Halder's reading. Perhaps what is intended is कलिकलुषं.

² The reading of the last foot of the stanza is not free from doubt. Halder reads it as व(द्ये) जायरुच्यानां(?), and the editor of *Ep. Ind.* (p. 40, n.) suggests that perhaps we have to read मोक्षाय रोच्याना- But what both of them take to be मो is mutilated, and following it, क्षाय is clear. And the following letter, taken here as रु may also be read as भ, but the next letter is not क्ता to give the reading भक्तानाम्. The reading of the last letter too is equally doubtful; but compare the formation of the same word in l. 1. above.

³ From here the stanzas are numbered in the original as 1, 2 and so on, and I have retained the same numbers. But while showing the kind of metre above, they are taken as in continuation.

⁴ Halder read प्रथमितो and suggested its correction to प्राथमिको.

⁵ These three *aksharas* are written on the left hand margin of ll. 25 to 22, with the sign of *kāka-pada* before them, but the corresponding sign where they are to be supplied is not engraved.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF BHINMĀL

No. 91 ; No PLATE

RŌPĪ PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DĒVARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1059 (?)

THE inscription on these plates was first brought to notice by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of North India*, in which he gave his own transcript of ll. 1-2 and 12, and read its date as Samvat 1069.¹ The plates are said to have been found by Bisheshwar Nath Shastri, in 1920, in his tour at the village of **Rōpī** or **Rōpsī**, lying about ten kilometres south-west of Bhinmāl in the Jālōr District of Mārṇād. Shastri stated them to have then been in possession of an Audīchya Brāhmaṇa, whose name is not recorded. The same scholar photographed the inscription for the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur, and about fourteen years subsequently, he published his article on the inscription, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXII, pp. 196 ff., with text in the Nāgarī characters (pp. 197-98), but without any illustration. The plates are now not accessible to me; and as even an impression of the inscription is not now forthcoming, I give below the transcript of it made by Shastri in his article, together with my notes on it.

They are **two** plates of copper, each measuring about 22·86 cms. by 20·32 cms.,² and have two holes through which were passed two rings to hold them together. The first plate contains eleven and the second twelve lines of writing. Their weight and the size of the letters engraved on them were not recorded.

The **characters** are Nāgarī; and with the exception of one verse in the *anushṭubh* metre in the end, the record is in prose. The **language** is Sanskrit; and there are a few errors in the writing, *e.g.*, the omission of a letter in l. 11, the omission of the signs of *anusvāra* and *visarga* and the unnecessary insertions of the punctuation mark at some places, as to be seen from the text given below. As regards **orthography**, the only peculiarity which calls for notice is that the figure 2 is used to denote the repetition of the word *śrī* in l. 6.

The inscription, which is a royal record, refers itself to the reign of **Dēvarāja**; but neither the clan nor any of his ancestors is mentioned in the charter. However, from the mention of **Śrīmāla** where he is stated to have his residence and on the basis of the year given in the record, it is not difficult to presume him to be the homonymous **Paramāra** prince whose name is recorded in the Bhinmāl inscription of his grandson Kṛishṇarāja, dated (V.) year 1117.³ The imperial epithet of *Mahārājādhirāja* attached to his name in the record shows that he was ruling independently and was wielding full regnal powers over the region around Bhinmāl.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a donation, by the illustrious Dēvarāja, *viz.*, of a field situated to the south of the city-wall (*kōṭṭa*) of Śrīmāla, *i.e.*, the modern Bhinmāl, for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and himself (ll. 3-4 and 15-16). The donee was Āurakāchārya, the son of Chaṇḍasivāchārya and the head of the temple of Siddhēśvara Mahādēva, situated at Kshēmamāthuna,⁴ on the occasion which is stated to have been a **lunar eclipse** (ll. 14-17). The grant was made, as stated in ll. 1-2, on the **full moon day of Māgha**, of the (Vikrama) year which was read by Shastri to be **1059**, but according to D. R. Bhandarkar, the decimal figure is six; and following it, is calculated by him, the corresponding Christian date is **Wednesday, the fourteenth of January, 1012 A.C.**⁵ But while publishing Shastri's article on

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, *appx.*, p. 18, No. 103, where he calls them Bhinmāl plates. These plates are not mentioned in the *Western Circle Report of the Archaeological Survey* for 1907-08 in which year D. R. Bhandarkar visited Bhinmāl. Following Shastri's transcript, however, here I take the year to be 1059, and not 1069 as taken by Bhandarkar, but I have no means to verify the same.

² As calculated by me from the measurements given by Shastri who is not definite as to which is the breadth and which the height. He uses the words 'as far as I remember', showing that he is not exact. In his article nothing is said about the metal and the details of the rings attached to the plates.

³ Below, No. 92, l. 4.

⁴ For the reading of this name, see *n.* in the text, below.

⁵ See his *List of Inscr.* in *N. Ind.*, No. 103, where he says that he recorded the date from his own transcript.

the inscription, the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* remarks that the date is irregular for it is not verifiable either for Samvat 1059 or Samvat 1069.¹

The boundaries of the plot of land which was granted are mentioned in ll. 7-11 of the inscription. They are: to the east, the land of the Brāhmaṇa Gōvinda; to the south, the land of Vāmana, son of Durlabha; to the west, the land of the village belonging to the *mahā-sāmanta* Pūrṇachanḍa; and to the north, the land of the Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara. The witnesses were (i) Matvāka, the preceptor of Dēvarāja himself, and (ii) Pūrṇachanḍa (ll. 19-20) who was evidently the same person mentioned above in l. 10. The grant was written by Sūryaravi, a son of Nyāsa (ll. 20-21). This account is followed by one of the customary hortatory verses, requesting the successors of the donor to continue the grant, and, with the **sign-manual** of Dēvarāja, the record comes to a close.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, **Śrīmāla**, mentioned in l. 3 is the modern Bhinmāl where the plates were found. The other place, **Kshamamāthuna** or **Māthuna** (l. 17), I am unable to identify. It may however be remarked here that there are two places both bearing the name Munthala, one of which is about 10 kms. south-east and the other about 18 kms. south-southeast of Bhinmāl,² and in view of the fact that this name sounds somewhat similar to Māthuna and also that the donated field is stated to have existed to the south of Bhinmāl and in the same direction as of either of these places, it is possible that either of these may have been intended here. If so, the village denoted by the first half of this name, *viz.*, may have been Samrani, lying about 15 kms. south-west of Bhinmāl.

TEXT³

[Metre: V. 1 (in ll. 21-23) *Anuṣṭubh*].

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁴ [11*] ऊँ(ओं) नमः जिवाय ॥ संवत् १[०]५६ मा-
- 2 घ शुदि १५ अस्यां संवत्सरमामपश्चदि-
- 3 वसपूर्व्यां श्रीर⁵मालावस्थितमहाराजा-
- 4 धिराजश्रीदेवराजः स्वभुज्यमानविषये
- 5 धर्मदायेन क्षेत्रशामन(नं) प्रयच्छति ॥ यदिहै-
- 6 व श्रीर⁵मालीयकोट्टाक्षिणदिग्भागे क्षेत्रं
- 7 यस्याघाटनानि ॥ पूर्वतो गोविन्दब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
- 8 सत्का भूसीमा । दक्षिणतो वामनदुर्लभमु-
- 9 तसत्का भूसीमा । पश्चिमतो महासामन्तश्री-
- 10 पूर्णचण्डसत्का[ग्रा]मेण सह भूसीमा ।
- 11 उत्तरतः श्रीधरब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणक्षेत्रे[वि*]ण भूसीमा [1*]

Second Plate

- 12 एवमेतच्चतुराघ(घा)टनाभ्यंतरक्षेत्रं(त्रम्) ।⁶
- 13 अस्माभिः सोमग्रहणे स्नात्वा त्रिलोकीगुरुं शंकर-
- 14 मभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धय(ये)

¹ See *op. cit.*, p. 197 n. 2. I agree with the editor in his remarks that from the *Ind. Ephemeris* we find that a lunar eclipse in Māgha occurred not in V.S. 1069 but in 1070, corresponding to 29th January, 1013 A.C. In V.S. 1059 there was no lunar eclipse in the month, either for *current* or *expired* year.

² *C. I. R. A.*, p. 347.

³ From transcript in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 197 f.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol (B. N. S.).

⁵ The figure 2 is used to denote the repetition of *śrī*. (B. N. S.).

⁶ The *danḍa* is unnecessary (B. N. S.).

- 15 शामनेतो(नो)दकपूर्वमाचंद्राकर्ककालीनतया प्रति-
 16 पादितं(तम्) [1*] [आ]उरकाचार्याय ।¹ चण्डशिवाचार्यपुत्रा-
 17 य ² श्रीमिद्वेश्वरदेवस्थानाधीशाय
 18 प्रदत्तं न केनापि परिपंथनीयं (यम्) ॥³ अम्मद्वंशजैरन्य-
 19 ष्व भाविभोक्तृभिः । अत्र माक्षी श्रीदेवराजगुरुर्मत्वा-
 20 कः⁴ । अत्र माक्षी श्रीपूर्णचण्डः । लिखितं सूर्यगर्व-
 21 णा न्याममुनेन । यो यः पृथिव्या राजा हि समा-
 22 तोद्ध्वं⁵ भविष्यति । तस्याहं करलग्नस्तु शामनं मा(मा)
 23 व्यतिक्रमै(मे)न् ॥ [१॥*] स्वहस्तः[*] श्रीदेवराजस्य ।

No. 92 ; No PLATE

BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1117

THIS inscription was brought to notice, in 1896, by A. M. T. Jackson, who published its transcript and translation in the *Bombay Gazetteer*.⁶ After about a decade it was again noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of the Western Circle* for 1907-08, p. 37. As observed by both these scholars, the record is inscribed on the lower part of a pillar in a *dharma-śālā* to the east of a temple, locally known as of *Bārājī* and standing to the east of the town of **Bhinmāl** in the present Jālōr District of south-west Rājasthān.⁷ At my request, the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India deputed his Technical Assistant, Shri N. M. Ganam, to prepare fresh estampages of the record for my study; but when he reached the place in September 1968, he was surprised to find a wall raised against the pillar containing the inscription which was hidden behind it, and thus it was not possible for him to prepare an impression, which is now not forthcoming from any other source too. This being the case, I am left only to the alternative of editing the record from Jackson's transcript of it and adding my notes to it.

The inscription consists of twenty-three lines of writing. The **characters** are Nāgarī; and the **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of a verse to eulogise the Sun in the beginning, the record is entirely in prose. It refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Kṛishnarāja** of the **Paramāra** lineage. The **orthography** calls for no special remarks.

¹ As n. 6 on the preceding page.

² Here Shastri observes that the reading seems to be क्षमे माथुके but the sense is not clear. While publishing the article in the *Ep. Ind., op. cit.*, the editor observes that the reading appears to be क्षममाथुके, and may mean 'at क्षममाथुक where the temple of Mahādēva Siddhēśvara seems to have been situated. But I am unable to trace out the place in the maps at my disposal.

³ Delete the punctuation mark.

⁴ D. R. Bhandarkar read मातृकः, See *I. N. I.* No. 103.

⁵ Incorrect, to suit the metre. The correct expression would be सद्धर्ष प्रभविष्यति, which would also be suitable metrically. In the preceding *pāda* the use of हि is unnecessary and this word can be deleted by reading भूस्वामी or भूजानिः.

⁶ Vol. I, pt. i, *Hist. of Gujarāt*, appx. III, p. 472, No. IV.

⁷ Bhinmāl, or Bhīnmāl, is the principal town of a *tehsil*, lying about 50 kms. straight south-west of Jālōr. The antiquities of this place have been described by James Campbell in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, which mentions the temple of *Sūrya* existing some time at the place. Portions of the monument were in tact in Campbell's time, but when D. R. Bhandarkar visited the place in 1907, he found it completely demolished and he was also informed that the material was utilised for constructing the Police Superintendent's bungalow. See *A. S. I. R., W. C.*, for 1907-08, pp. 36 ff. And possibly the stone containing the present inscription was then taken to the *dharma-śālā* and set up there.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the restoration of the temple of Jagat-svāmin¹ (evidently the temple where it was first put), at Śrīmāla, and also to furnish it with a golden cupola and a banner. It is **dated**, as stated in figures in l. 3. **Sunday, the sixth of the bright half of Māgha of the year 1117**, which must be referred to the Vikrama era, and the corresponding Christian date would be **31st December, 1060 A.C.**²

After a short sentence in prose which pays obeisance to Sūrya (the Sun) and a verse in glorification of the same deity, the record mentions the date, as seen above, and then introduces the reigning king, the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Kṛishṇarāja** the son of **Dhundhuka** and grandson of **Dēvarāja** of the **Paramāra** lineage (ll. 3-7). That he was the youngest of the three sons of Dhandhuka (Dhundhuka) is known from the Rōhērā copper-plate which gives the names of his elder brothers as Pūrṇapāla and Dantivarman and which also informs us that all the three brothers succeeded their father, one after the other.³ Pūrṇapāla, the eldest of all these brothers is also mentioned in inscriptions from Vasantaḡaḡḡ and Bhārūḡḡ, as the son of Dhandhuka,⁴ but the former of these two records gives the name of his grandfather not as Dēvarāja but as Mahīpāla; and this led D. R. Bhandarkar to assume that the names of Dēvarāja and Mahīpāla denoted the same person who was the grandfather of Kṛishṇarāja. In assuming this, Bhandarkar appears to be correct in his observation that "the discrepancy in the names of their grandfather is not of any importance, as we have several instances of one and the same prince bearing more than one names, not only identical in meaning but also distinct from one another."⁵

The title of *Mahārājādhirāja* attached to Kṛishṇarāja's name in the present and the following inscriptions, both of which are from Bhinmāl, can be explained only by the assumption that he was appointed governor of that place by his father Dhandhuka, and in course of time he made himself independent of the Chandrāvātī throne and also of the Chaulukya supremacy. Thus he is the real founder of the Bhinmāl branch of the ruling house. It is also possible that some time subsequently he succeeded in extending his sway over the Chandrāvātī region also, where he did not allow his nephew Yōgarāja, who was the real claimant, to ascend the throne of the latter's father,⁶ and this gave rise to a long civil war in the family which continued up to the accession of Yaśōdhavala on the throne of Chandrāvātī in about the middle of the twelfth century A.C.⁷

Lines 3-5 of the inscription give the names of the persons who repaired the temple. They are: (1) Kiri(rā)ṇāditya, a son of Jēla of the Dharkuṭa family, who was an office-holder (in his turn) for the current year: (2) Dēdahari, son of Mādhava: (3) Dhandhanāka, son of Dharaṇachandā: and (4) Dharaṇāditya, son of Sarvadēva of the Thākḡhāṭa (Prāḡvāṭa?) family. The inscription also relates that these persons restored the temple after inducing kings, princes, Brāhmaṇas, mahājanas, citizens and the other people to resort to *sauradharma*, i.e., the worship of the Sun (ll. 10-11), and also to contribute, as we can imagine to be the meaning of the lost portion of the inscription just thereafter.

The inscription further relates that the very pious Brāhmaṇa Jējāka endowed the temple with a golden cupola, and a banner was furnished on it (ll. 12-13). After this, the record mentions

¹ The name *Jagatsvāmin* appears to be the same as *jagatsākshī*, which is a synonym of the Sun. In course of time the word *jagaddēva* was corrupted into *jagām dēva* (*jagatām dēva* ?), as the name of the temple is known at present. The name of the statue that was installed therein was *Bārāji*, which may have been a corrupted form of *Bālārka(jī)*; and the site of the temple is now popularly known as of the *Vrajī* temple, which is evidently a further corruption of the name. Thus it is an interesting example of how a name undergoes changes with the time.

² As calculated by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions in N. India*, No. 135. The date was first calculated by Kielhorn in his *List*, No. 639, when he also drew attention to the fact that in the Eng. trans. the year is given wrongly as 1113. Accordingly, the other *tithi* mentioned in l. 15 of the inscription, though really fell on Tuesday, 29th of May, 1061, shows the preceding night to be that of Monday, as we find in the expression *Sōmē rātrau* in it, in l. 15.

³ No. 76, v. 5.

⁴ Nos. 62-63.

⁵ See *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1907-08, p. 38.

⁶ As we are informed by the Rōhērā copper-plate, which also states that Yōgarāja's son Rāmadēva also did not occupy the throne.

⁷ *H. P. D.*, p. 303. Probably it is due to this civil war that a reference to the name of the ruling king is omitted in the Girvaḡ stone inscription of V.S. 1181. See below, No. 187.

another date when the work was completed and the temple was furnished with the cupola and the banner. It is **Monday, the eighth of the bright half of Jyēshṭha, the 25th pala of the 3rd ghaṭikā of the night** (ll. 15-16), *i.e.*, after about four months of the date mentioned above. It is further stated that the king Kṛishṇarāja, who was evidently the king in whose dominions the temple was situated, donated a village in the Śrī.....*purīya*¹ district, 20 drammas annually and a field in Sachaliyā village and also made some other endowments.² In the end, the name of the writer and possibly also of the engraver is given. It cannot be made out as the writing is here lost.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the present inscription, **Śrīmāla** is doubtless the town of Bhinnamāla, now known by the popular name Bhinnmāl, as seen above. The name of the *maṇḍala* occurring in l. 18 is broken; and therefore it cannot be identified. In the vicinity, there are a number of places with their names ending in *pura*. **Sachaliyā** mentioned in the same line as containing the field is perhaps Salyā, which appears to be the contracted form of the name. The place lies about 20 kms. due west of Jālōr and at almost the same distance due north of Bhinnmāl.

TEXT³

[Metre: Verse 1 (ll. 1-3) *Āryā*].

- 1 ओं नमः सूर्याय । यस्योदयास्तसमये मुर-मकुट-निस्पृ-
- 2 ष्ट⁴-चरण-कमलोऽपि । कुस्तेज्जलिं त्रिनेत्रः स जयति धाम्ना[+*] निधि[:*]
- 3 सूर्यः । [I*] संवत् १११७ माघ सुदि⁵ ६ रवौ श्री-श्रीमाले परमार-वंशो-
- 4 द्भुवो महाराजाधिराज⁶-श्री-कृष्णराजः श्री-धुङ्कुसुतः⁷ श्रीमदेवरा-
- 5 ज-पौत्रः तस्मिन् क्षितीशे विजयिनि ।⁸ वर्तमान-वर्ष-वारिक-⁹धकुट-
- 6 जाति-किरिणादित्यो¹⁰ जलसुतो देदहरिमधिव-सुतो धंधनाको ध-
- 7 रणचण्ड-सुतस्तथा थाबाट¹¹-जाति-धरणादित्यः सर्वदेव-सुतः । अमी-
- 8 भिश्चतुभिस्तथा वान्येन धरकुटजात्या¹² धंधकेन जाल-सुतेन निज-कु-
- 9 ल-मण्डनेन देव-गुरु-ब्राह्मण-सुश्रूषा¹³-परेण रवि-चरण-युग-ध्याना-
- 10 विष्टेन संसारस्यानित्यतां [नि]रीक्ष्य राजानो राजपुत्रांश्च ब्राह्मणान्¹⁴[म]-
- 11 हाजन-पौरांश्च तथा लोकान्सौर-धर्मं प्रवर्त्तयि द्रव्याणि मे [नि]-
- 12 त्य-नेजो-निधेः श्री-जगत्स्वामि-देवस्य देव-भवन-जीर्णोद्धा ¹⁵
- 13 [का]रापितं भवनस्योपरि स्वर्ण-कलसं ब्राह्मणेन पर[म-ध्या]-

¹ Here the name of the *vishaya* is partly lost.

² These endowments are not specified.

³ From Jackson's transcript in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 472.

⁴ Perhaps a mistake for निष्पृष्ट, which, besides giving the correct meaning, would also show one *mātrā* less in the second quarter of this verse and remove the metrical defect. Cf. मुरासुरगिरोरत्ननिष्पृष्टचरणेऽम्बिके in the *Saptaśatī*, *Argalā-stōtra*, v. 15.

⁵ In his *List of Inscrs. of N. India* in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, appx., p. 22, No. 135, D. R. Bhandarkar reads the original as शुदि. If Jackson's reading of the date is correct, it is possible that *ratha-saptamī*, which is sacred to the Sun and which commenced on the same day, was intended.

⁶ D. R. B. in *ibid.* reads जा(ज) in the original.

⁷ D. R. B. reads धुङ्कु.

⁸ The punctuation mark is redundant.

⁹ This word means an officer, or the superintendent of the temple. See *I. E. G.*, p. 364.

¹⁰ Probably किरिणादित्य is intended.

¹¹ The intended reading appears to be प्राग्वाट.

¹² The same as धकुट in l. 5, above.

¹³ To be restored to ब्राह्मणसुश्रूषा-

¹⁴ Read राजः. ब्रा- *Vr* in l. 13 also to be corrected to *Br*.

¹⁵ The missing *aksharas* may have been -र-कर्म.

- 14 म्मिकेन जेजाकेन निज-द्रव्येण कारितमिति ॥ सं ।
 15 ज्येष्ठ सुदि¹ = सोमे रात्रौ घटिका ३ पल २५ अस्मिन्ल-
 16 [ग]ने सर्व-कर्म निष्पाद्य कलसं षड्जं च दयपितमिति² ॥
 17 [त]था पुरातन-वृत्तेन परिदेवस्यास्य³ राज्ञा कृष्णराजेन श्री-
 18 [पु]रीय-मण्डले ग्रामं प्रति व० द्रा०⁴ २० मचलिया-ग्रामे क्षेत्रमेकं
 19 त्राया राजभोगात्तु द्रोण मति का
 20 ॥ रामसी पोमरपि का प्रतिव० द्रा० ।
 21 ... विज्ञाप्य चंदनेन कारापितमिति ॥ तथा आलव⁵
 22 य प्रद लिखितं कद
 23 काय

No. 93 : NO PLATE

BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KRISHNARĀJA

[Vikrama] Year 1123

THIS inscription was first brought to light by A. M. T. Jackson, by publishing its partial transcript with translation, in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I (1896), pp. 473 f. It is incised, as stated by him, "on the north face of the upper square section of the more northerly of the two pillars that support the eastern side of the dome of the temple of Jagasvāmin, at **Bhinmāl**", where the preceding inscription was found. Jackson did not illustrate his transcript by a facsimile of the record, and as no impression of it can now be obtained, it is edited here from Jackson's transcript, with my notes added to it.

The inscription contains thirteen lines of writing. It is **fragmentary**. Lines 6-13 are badly damaged and only a few letters in them are legible here and there: and ll. 2-5 are also full of lacunae, and some letters in them are also mutilated. Some sense, however, can be made out of them. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is entirely **in prose**. With reference to **palaeography** and **orthography**, there is nothing worth noting.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Kṛishnarāja** in Śrīmāla, and the **object** of it is to record the gift of a number of *drammas* made by some persons in favour of the deity installed in the temple where it was found. The record is **dated** in the (Vikrama) year 1132 in the **dark half of Jyēshtha**, 12th Saturday. The date, as already calculated by D. R. Bhandarkar,⁶ regularly corresponds to Saturday, 12th of May, 1067 A.C. The year was *kārttikādi* and the month *pūrṇimānta*.

Beginning with the date, which we have just seen, the inscription mentions the name of the imperial ruler Kṛishnarāja, reigning at Śrīmāla, without the family name or any of his ancestors, but from the find-spot of it there is no doubt that he is the same king referred to in the preceding inscription, dated only six years before. Following this, it mentions Chēṭaka who was the servant of the office of religion of the God Śiva (*Chañḍīśa*), and then the supreme teacher of the *Pāśupatas*, who was Jāvala. Then are mentioned the names of the gold-smith Jasaṇāśa, the

¹ Read गृदि. Also read संवत् at the end of the preceding line and delete the punctuation mark. The figures for the year in the preceding line may either not have been engraved or were lost, or Jackson may have omitted them in his transcript.

² Read दायितमिति.

³ The sense of this word here is not clear to me.

⁴ These two abbreviations probably stand for प्रतिवर्ष द्रा(द्र)म्मः.

⁵ In ll. 19-23 there are breaks and it is not definitely known how many letters are lost at which place. What may be presumed is that in this portion may have been given the names of the writer and the engraver.

⁶ See *I. N. I.*, No. 139.

śrēshṭhins Chandana, Kiraṇāditya and Jōgachandra, the last of whom, is stated to have been a member of the town-council for that particular year (*ētaḍ-varsha-vārīka*). The portion showing the purpose of mentioning these names is lost, but they appear to have been witnesses of the donation recorded below. The latter portion of l. 3 is broken, but it appears to have embodied a name as we can infer from the expression that follows, *viḥ, ēka-matir bhūtvā*, i.e., being of one thought, or, unanimously. This person, along with Gugā, who is mentioned at the beginning of l. 4 and about whom nothing is known, and with the Brāhmaṇa Vāhaṭa, is stated to have presented certain *drammas* to the illustrious Chaṇḍīśa, i.e., Śiva. The number of the *drammas* stated to have been presented is also lost, and so the purpose also, which, as can, however, be conjectured, was to put them to use for the worship of the deity.

The inscription is important in that it shows the prevalence of the Pāsupata sect of Śaivism in the locality. We also note that it was incised only six years subsequent to the preceding inscription and in the same temple. Thus the king Kṛishṇarāja, who is mentioned in both the records with the Imperial title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, is evidently identical, as noted above. We have seen that he was the son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Dēvarāja of the Sirōhī branch of the Paramāra kings. The Sūndhā inscription of the reign of Chāchigadēva of the Jālōr Chāhamāna house, dated V. 1319, informs us that Bālaprasāda, the son and successor of Aṇahilla of the Nāḍōl house of the same family, forced the Chaulukya king Bhīma I (1022-1063 A.C.) to release Kṛishṇarāja (Kṛishṇadēva as the name figures in it) whom he had put in captivity.¹ And the present inscription, which pushes forward the date of Kṛishṇarāja by six years and styles him as *Mahārājādhirāja*, goes to point out that after his release, the Paramāra king not only regained his throne but also ruled as an independent monarch. It remains unknown whether to show his indebtedness to the Chāhamāna throne, he helped Bālaprasāda's successor Jēndurāja in the latter's struggle² with Bhīma, the old enemy of the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna house.

The only **geographical name** figuring in the inscription is **Śrīmāla**, which is the same as Bhinmāl, as we have seen above.

TEXT³

- 1 ओं संवत् ११२३ ज्येष्ठ वदि १२ शनौ॥ अद्येह श्रीश्रीमाले महाराजाधिराजश्रीकृष्णरा-
- 2 जराज्ये देवश्रीचण्डीशमहादेवधर्माधिकारचेटक-परमपाशुपताचार्यश्रीजावलस्ये ⁴। मौव-
- 3 णिकजसणाशा। श्रेष्ठिचंदना⁵ किरणादित्या सीहरा वर्त्तमानवर्षवारिक जोगचन्द्र
- 4 गुगा नवाइ लोके च एक . . मतिभूत्वा⁶ श्रीमालीयन्ना(त्रा)-
- 5 द्वाणवाहटेन श्रीचंडीश द्रम्माः ⁷
- 6-13 ⁸ [11*]

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 18, I. N. I., No. 561.

² For the details of this struggle, see *E. C. D.*, p. 127.

³ From reading in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, i. p. 473.

⁴ The number of letters broken in each case is not known. The name may have been a corruption of Jābāli.

⁵ This and the following names are without case-endings; and it appears that each of them was separated by a *danḍa* which was mistakenly taken as the *mātrā* of ā.

⁶ Read -मतिभूत्वा, which too cannot be defended by grammar.

⁷ A word like प्रदत्ताः is probably used here.

⁸ All these lines are badly damaged and only a few letters are legible here and there, as remarked by Jackson.

No. 94 : PLATE XC

KIRĀḌU STONE INSCRIPTION OF SŌMĒŚVARA

Vikrama Year 1218

THIS inscription was very briefly noticed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle* for 1906-07, p. 41, where he mentions its date and says that "it is entirely a new Paramāra dynasty." Subsequently it was published with a transcript and the summary of its contents, by G. V. Acharya, in his *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt* (1912), Part III, pp. 149 and 175 ff.; and it was again transcribed by Puran Chand Nahar in his *Jaina Inscriptions* (1918), Part I, p. 251, No. 942.¹ It is edited here, for the first time, from a set of excellent impressions prepared fresh for me by the Technical Assistant of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India and supplied by the Superintending Archaeologist, to both of whom I am obliged.

The inscription was found on a pillar in the porch of a Śiva temple, locally known as of Sōmēśvara, at **Kirāḍū**, a deserted place about three kilometres from the village of Hātmā and about twenty-five kilometres north-northwest of Bādmēr,² the headquarters of a district in West Rājasthān. The record contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space about 42 cms. broad and 43 cms. high; but a great portion of it in its middle, roughly elliptical in shape and showing its major axis to be about 25.5 cms. from ll. 3 to 19 and minor axis to be about 23 cms. in ll. 10-11, is completely lost owing to the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The existing portion of the inscription has also suffered considerably owing to some abrasions here and there. The preserved portion, however, shows that the letters were very carefully engraved. Their average height varies from .8 to 1 cm., excluding the *mātrās* above and flourishes below.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī of the twelfth century. The forms of *ch*, *dh* and *v* can be distinguished from each other, the first of these letters beginning with a horizontal stroke, as in *cha chira*, l. 3, and the second showing a horn on its left limb, as in *dharādhāra-dharaṇī-dhara*, l. 8. The verticals of *dhā* are joined by a horizontal stroke, as in the latter of these examples. *J* and *bh* continue their old forms; see *Sindhurāja-bhūpāla*, l. 16. *T* and *n* are occasionally so formed as to be hardly distinguished from *v*; cf. *namaḥ*, l. 1, and *śvēta*, l. 23. The medial short *u* attached to *r* shows a fine curve at the end so as to make the letter appear as the modern *rū*; see *guru*, l. 21. A consonant in the end is marked not by a stroke but by what resembles a *mātrā* of a long *ū*; cf. *Jajjakāt*, l. 22. Examples of wrong strokes of the chisel are occasionally to be seen, e.g., in the formation of *ta* in *Karṇṇāṭa*, l. 15, of *va* in *varshē*, l. 17, and of *d* in *durggau* appearing as *vurggau* in l. 23.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition has a very few minor types of mistakes. Except for a small sentence paying homage the *sarvajña*, in the first line, and the portion giving the details of the date in the end, the record is metrically composed throughout. It contains 27 stanzas, wholly or partially preserved, all of which are numbered.³— **Orthographical** peculiarities are more or less the same as to be seen in contemporary writings, e.g. (1) denoting *b* by the sign for *v* as in *śavda*, l. 13; (2) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *sasvat*, l. 2; (3) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *durvāra*, l. 11; and (4) the general use of an *anusvāra* to denote a final *m*, as in v. 21.

¹ Acharya has stated that he prepared the transcript from a rubbing from the Bhāvnagar Museum, whereas Nahar has not mentioned the source of his transcript; but he appears to have prepared it from the original stone. We find that besides some minor differences in both the transcripts, the latter one gives some names also, e.g., that of Dhandhuka in v. 12 and of Sōmēśvara in v. 17, which are missing in the former. Another important variation is that whereas Acharya read सोछराज, तणुकोट्ट and य(शो)देवः in vv. 14, 25 and 27 respectively, Nahar read the same as सोच्छदराज, तणुकोद and वणे(म)देवः. It is possible that the rubbing before Acharya may have been indistinct and the letters which were then damaged in the original may not have come out in it.

² For the antiquities of Kirāḍū see *A. S. I. R., W. C.* for 1906-07, pp. 40 ff.

³ The numbers of stanzas 7 to 11 appear to have been lost in the damage caused to the stone.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, a laudatory account of the Paramāra house to which Somēśvara, in whose reign it was put up, belonged, and also to commemorate one of his heroic deeds, as we shall presently see.¹ The **date** of the record, as given in words in ll. 21-22, was **Thursday, the first of the bright half of the month of Āśvina of the Vikrama era 1218**, which, as calculated by D. R. Bhandarkar, corresponds to **21st September, 1161 A.C.**²

The inscription opens with a small sentence in prose, paying obeisance to *Sarvajña* (Omniscient), and it is followed by two verses in honour of Śambhu, the Supreme god. The next verse relates the myth of the origin of the **Paramāras** from the fire-altar of the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Ābū, as we have seen so often; it also introduces **Sindhurāja**, a king of Maru-*maṇḍala*. This prince has been identified by D. C. Ganguly with the homonymous ruler of Mālava and the younger brother of Vākpati-Muñja, the latter of whom, as presumed by the same scholar, appointed Sindhurāja's son Dūsala, to govern the Bhimmāl-Kirāḍū area.³ But we have nothing to vouchsafe this conjecture, except similarity in the two names; and what is more, this identification also involves chronological difficulties, as rightly shown by some scholars.⁴ Verses 5-7 introduce Dūsala (or Ūsala?), whose description, as to be seen from the portion that is preserved, is all conventional; but it is most unfortunate that the very portion which appears to show his relationship with Sindhurāja is lost. However, from the way in which he is introduced here, he may be taken to have been a son of Sindhurāja.

Verse 8 uses the expression *-dharanī-dhara*, in a compound; but it is easy to guess that here we find the name of **Dharanīvarāha** who was the next ruler,⁵ and the extant portion of v. 9 mentions two names, *i.e.* of **Surarāja** and **Dēvarāja**. The portion mentioning their relationship with their predecessors is entirely lost, but there can be no doubt that Dēvarāja is the homonymous prince who issued the Rōpī plates dated V.S. 1059.⁶ The general trend of describing Dēvarāja in v. 11 is that he pleased one Durlabharāja, about whom nothing is specifically mentioned; and Dr. D. C. Ganguly is perhaps correct in proposing the identification of this Durlabharāja with the younger brother of Vighararāja who ruled over the province of Śākambharī in the latter part of the tenth century A.C. But the possibility of the identification of this prince with Durlabharāja, the son of Chaulukya Chāmuṇḍarāja who was also a contemporary of Dēvarāja who issued his Rōpī plates in 1002 A.C.,⁷ cannot be gainsaid when we know Durlabharāja to be on the throne from about 1010 to 1022 A.C. And unless more material on this point is forthcoming, the view held by Ganguly cannot be said to be conclusive.

Following this account, a name is again missing in v. 12 of the inscription; and it is possible that the lost name may have been of **Dhandhuka**, who, according to the Bhinmāl inscription of Kṛishṇarāja, was the father of this prince and the son of Dēvarāja.⁸ Next, we have the mention of **Kṛishṇarāja**, who is described as *Mahāśabda-vibhūṣitaḥ*, which means to say that he bore the epithet of *Mahārāja*, or, like his father and grandfather, that of *Mahārājādhirāja*, the title attached to his name in the inscriptions found at the same place and issued in 1060 and 1066

¹ It is possible that the temple was so known after the name of the king. The discovery of the inscribed slab in a Śiva temple is also quite in consonance with the fact that *praśastis* were generally inscribed in a part of a temple also.

² See *J. N. I.*, No. 312. Acharya's calculation of the date to be 11th September, 1162 A.C. is evidently wrong, because, as he himself has stated in *op. cit.*, that the day comes to Tuesday whereas it is mentioned as Thursday.

³ See *H. P. D.*, p. 62. for the details. This view, however, is now no longer held, as we have shown in the Section dealing with the Political history of the house.

⁴ *P. B. P.*, p. 183. See the Kauthēm grant of the Chālukya Vikramāditya, in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, 11, 41-42. Also see Padmagupta's verse in *Jr. Bomb. Br.*, Vol. XVI, p. 173.

⁵ He is identical with Dharanīvarāha of the Vasantagaḍh stone inscription. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI (1911), p. 239. It is our No. 62.

⁶ Above, No. 91. In his *Inscrs. of Gujarāt*, p. 149, G.V. Acharya says that Dharanīdhara's (Dharanīvarāha's) copper-plate of V.S. 1059 was obtained (*op. cit.*). He has not given the details but the plate mentioned by him appears to be the one found at Rōpī (of Dēvarāja) and not of Dharanīvarāha, as he seems to have been wrongly informed.

⁷ For Ganguly's view, see *H. P. D.*, p. 345. Also see *Journ. Bihar & Orissa Res. Soc.*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, p. 41.

⁸ In his transcript of v. 12 of the record Nahar actually gives the name of Dhandhuka in its first half. See *op. cit.*, p. 251, No. 942.

A.C.¹ Kṛishṇarāja's son was **Sōchchharāja** (v. 14) and the latter's son was **Udayarāja**, who is here said to have extended his kingdom up to that of the Chōlas, Gauḍas and Karnāṭas and also in the northwestern part of Mālava (vv. 15-17). The extent of his kingdom up to the boundaries of the first three provinces evidently seems to be a poetic panegyry; and his conquest of a part of Mālwa appears to be a reference to his participation in Jayasimha Siddharāja's (1096-1145 A.C.) expedition over that region. Udayarāja's son's name is again lost in the latter half of v. 17, but he is undoubtedly **Sōmēśvara**,² as mentioned again in vv. 20 and 25 below, which also refer to him and up to which the same account continues. Due to the favour of Jayasimha Siddharāja, as we are told here, Sōmēśvara obtained Sindhurājapura and also regained his hereditary possession of *Kirāṭakūpa* and *Śivakūpa*³(?) and uplifted his kingdom under the king Kumārapāla in the (Vikrama) year 1205 or 1148 A.C. (vv. 19-22).

The following four verses again describe Sōmēśvara in glorious terms, telling us that he vanquished king Jajjaka and captured from him the forts of Taṇukōṭṭa and Navasara, along with Āḍhyā⁴ (?), and fined him seventeen hundred horses, besides some other possessions of his; and pleasing the Chaulukya king in various ways, he again established Jajjaka in the latter's own kingdom.

Who was this Jajjaka who met this treatment at the hands of Sōmēśvara is not known; however, a conjecture may be hazarded in this respect, in view of the political situation prevailing in the times which were far from peaceful and gave rise to sudden revolts. We know that the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna Āsarāja acknowledged Chaulukya supremacy under Jayasimha Siddharāja and we also know that he helped the Chaulukya ruler in his war against the Paramāra Naravarman.⁵ Āsarāja's second son Ālhaṇadēva, who was a warlike ruler, actively helped Kumārapāla in suppressing a revolt in Saurāshṭra and in recognition of his services, obtained *Kirāṭakūpa*, i.e., *Kirāḍū*.⁶ We have a record of Ālhaṇa, dated in V.S. 1205 (1152 A.C.) and found at *Kirāḍū* itself, testifying to his rule over the region around.⁷ What was the fate of Sōmēśvara who was then ruling over *Kirāṭakūpa* as his own patrimony is difficult to say, and the only possible assumption that can be made is that like some of his predecessors on the throne, e.g., Kṛishṇarāja and the latter's father Dhandhuka, he too may have revolted against his overlord Kumārapāla, and consequently, when again subdued, may have suffered the loss of the region of *Kirāḍū*, which the Chaulukya king bestowed upon Ālhaṇadēva, as seen above; and the latter may have appointed his governor over that region. And if we guess this governor to be the same as Jajjaka, it would be quite natural for Sōmēśvara to take advantage of the disturbed political situation to struggle with him for his ancestral dominions; and in the battle that ensued, he also snatched from Jajjaka some other regions around the forts referred to in v. 25, as we have already seen, and after pleasing Kumārapāla, as we learn from the inscription, he returned these regions to Jajjaka, retaining his own patrimony of *Kirāḍū*. This line of thought can well explain why Sōmēśvara had to reconquer the *Kirāḍū* region in the year of the present inscription, i.e., in 1152 A.C., as seen above, and why he had to regain the pleasure of his overlord Kumārapāla again (*bahuśaḥ*). But this is all a mere conjecture, unsupported by any evidence.

The last verse of the inscription (27) states that the *prāsasti* was composed, by the order of the king who was evidently Sōmēśvara, by Narasimha, and that it was written by Yaśōdēva and was engraved by Yaśōdhara. And with the mention of the date, as seen above, the record comes to a close.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Arbuda** (v. 3) is the Mount Ābū, as often noted; and **Chōla**, **Gauḍa**, **Karnāṭa** and **Mālava** (v. 16) are all too well known

¹ The reference here is probably to the incident when he fell captive into the hands of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva and succeeded in obtaining his release through the efforts of the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna king Bālaprasāda, as we know from the Sūndhā hill inscription. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 76.

² In his transcript Nahar actually gives this name also.

³ The text is mutilated here; and whereas Acharya reads [*Chitrakūṭa*], Nahar reads *Śivakūpa*. The first of the letters of the name doubtless shows the curve of ś.

⁴ The reading of this name too is doubtful. See text, below.

⁵ See the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 76, v. 26.

⁶ *S. E.*, p. 87.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 43.

to be identified. **Sindhurājapura** mentioned in v. 20 cannot be identified for want of any evidence; and **Kirāṭakūpa** (v. 22) is the same place now known as Kirāḍū where the inscribed stone was found and which appears to have been derived from it. **Śivakūpa** (?) may have been any place in the vicinity of Kirāḍū, but I am unable to suggest its identification. **Tanukōṭṭa** and **Navasara** (v. 25) are the forts now known as Tanōṭ and Nausar, respectively in the regions of Jaisalmēr and Jodhpur, as already identified by G. V. Acharya.¹

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1 and 3-27 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 2 *Vasantatilakā*].

- 1 [ओं। नमः]³ सर्वजाय ॥ [न]मोन्ताय सूक्ष्माय जानगम्याय वे[धसे] ॥ विश्वरूपाय शृङ्गाय देवदेवाय शंभवे ॥१॥
- 2 देवस्य तस्य चरितानि जयन्ति शंभोः मम्ब(शण्व)त्कपाल[विधुभ]स्मविभूषणस्य । ग[र्वः] म कोपि हृदि यस्य प-
- 3 दं करोति गौरी नितं च चिरवल्कल[व]र्षहर्षा(र्षा)न्⁴ ॥२॥ वसिष्ठ . . . [भूषिते]वृद्ध(वृद्ध)भूषणे । मुरभ्याः
- 4 परमाराणां वंशोस्त्यनलकुडितः ॥३॥ तवानेकमही [1] मिथुराजो महाराजः
- 5 [स]मभून्म[रु]मंडले ॥४॥ निरर्गलमिलद्वैरिव[श] [1] प्रतापोज्व(ज्व)लद्म-
- 6 लः ॥५॥ शंभुवद्भूरिभूमीशाभ्यर्चनी[यो भ] [1] [व्य]मुः⁵ ॥६॥ ग्णे
- 7 खङ्गरणत्कार[ो] रावणोत्वनवैरिणा(णाम्) ॥ व [1३] मिथुराजधरा-
- 8 धारधरणीधरधामवान् ॥ श्री ⁶[1२] जोभवत्तस्मान्
- 9 मुरराजो [ह]राजया । देवराजेश्वर [1६] पहाय महीमि-
- 10 मां(माम्) । मन्ये कल्पद्रुमः प्रायाददृश्यत [क्ष]⁷ [1१०] दारणात् । श्रीम-
- 11 दुर्लभराजोपि राजेद्रो रं[जितो] [1११] तैः । येन दुर्वार-
- 12 वीर्येण भूषितं म[रु]मंडलं(लम्) ॥१२॥ ि करीव भू [1] [ण]राजो महा-
- 13 शब्द(ब्द)विभूषितः ॥१३॥ तस्मिन् मोच्छराजाख्यः [1] तस्य [महाकल्प]⁸-
- 14 द्रुमोभवत् ॥१४॥ तस्मादुदयराजाख्यो महाराज [1] मंडलीकपदाधि-
- 15 कः ॥१५॥ आचोडगौडकण्ठिमालवोत्तरपञ्चिमा[न्] । [1] [1१६] [1१७] [1१८] [1१९] [1२०] [1२१] [1२२] [1२३] [1२४] [1२५] [1२६] [1२७] [1२८] [1२९] [1३०] [1३१] [1३२] [1३३] [1३४] [1३५] [1३६] [1३७] [1३८] [1३९] [1४०] [1४१] [1४२] [1४३] [1४४] [1४५] [1४६] [1४७] [1४८] [1४९] [1५०] [1५१] [1५२] [1५३] [1५४] [1५५] [1५६] [1५७] [1५८] [1५९] [1६०] [1६१] [1६२] [1६३] [1६४] [1६५] [1६६] [1६७] [1६८] [1६९] [1७०] [1७१] [1७२] [1७३] [1७४] [1७५] [1७६] [1७७] [1७८] [1७९] [1८०] [1८१] [1८२] [1८३] [1८४] [1८५] [1८६] [1८७] [1८८] [1८९] [1९०] [1९१] [1९२] [1९३] [1९४] [1९५] [1९६] [1९७] [1९८] [1९९] [2००] [2०१] [2०२] [2०३] [2०४] [2०५] [2०६] [2०७] [2०८] [2०९] [2१०] [2११] [2१२] [2१३] [2१४] [2१५] [2१६] [2१७] [2१८] [2१९] [2२०] [2२१] [2२२] [2२३] [2२४] [2२५] [2२६] [2२७] [2२८] [2२९] [2३०] [2३१] [2३२] [2३३] [2३४] [2३५] [2३६] [2३७] [2३८] [2३९] [2४०] [2४१] [2४२] [2४३] [2४४] [2४५] [2४६] [2४७] [2४८] [2४९] [2५०] [2५१] [2५२] [2५३] [2५४] [2५५] [2५६] [2५७] [2५८] [2५९] [2६०] [2६१] [2६२] [2६३] [2६४] [2६५] [2६६] [2६७] [2६८] [2६९] [2७०] [2७१] [2७२] [2७३] 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¹ The first of these places is on the northern border of the Jaisalmēr District and about 25 kms. from Rāmgadh, the chief town of a *tehsil*; and the second, now known as Nōnsar, is about 20 kms. from Osian, the principal town of a *tehsil* in the Jodhpur District of Rājasthān.

² From impressions.

³ A portion of the slab has peeled off and the bracketed letters which are now missing are supplied from Acharya's reading.

⁴ The eleventh and the thirteenth of the *aksharas* of the fourth foot of

KIRĀDŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SŌMEŚVARA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1218



Scale: Two-fifths

- 19 द्रुव(वम्) । भूयो निर्व्याजसौ(शौ)येण¹ राज्यमेतत्समुद्धृतं(तम्) ॥२०॥ पुनर्द्वादशसंख्येन्द्रे(न्द्रे) पंचाधिकशते[व]लं(लम्) । कु-
 20 मारपालभूपालात् सुप्रतिष्ठमिदं कृतं(तम्) ॥ [२१ कि]राटकूपमात्मीयं [चित्रकूट]² समन्वितं(तम्) । निजेन क्षत्र-
 21 धर्मेण पालयामास यश्चिरं(रम्) ॥२२॥ अष्टादशा[धिके] चास्मिन् शतद्वादशकेऽश्विने । प्रतिपद्गु[ह]संयो-
 22 गे सार्द्ध[या]मे गते [दिनात्] ॥२३॥ दंडं सप्तदशशतान्यश्वानां³ नृपजज्जकात् । सह पंचनखा-
 23 श्वेत⁴मयूरादिभिरष्टभिः ॥२४॥ तणुकुट्टं नवसरो दुर्गा⁵ सोमेश्वरोग्रहीत् । उच्चं [U] वरहा⁶-
 24 माढ्यां चक्रे [चै]वात्मसादसौ ॥२५॥ व(ब)हुशः [सि]व⁷कीकृत्य चौलुक्यजगतीपतेः । पुनः संस्थापया-
 25 मास तेषु देशेषु जज्जकं(कम्) ॥२६॥ प्रशस्तिमकरोदेतां नरसिंहो नृपाज्ञया । लेखकोऽयं य[शो]-
 26 देवः सूत्रधारो तु जसोधरः⁸ ॥२७॥ [विक्रम] संवत् १२१८ अ(आ)श्विन शुदि १ गुरौ ॥ मंगलं [महाश्रीः ॥]

No. 95 ; PLATE XCI

BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYATSIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1239

THIS inscription was transcribed and translated, in 1896, by A.M.T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Volume I, Part I, (1896) p. 474 (No. vi), and its date was noted by Dr. Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions*, published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V, appx. (No. 696). It was also referred to in *P.R.A.S., W.C.*, 1907-08, p. 38. It is edited here from a fresh impression which I owe to the kindness of the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle, Baroda.

Jackson found the record 'on the upper face of the eight-sided section of a fallen pillar on the south side of the dome of the temple of Jagasvāmī', which is evidently a corrupt form of Jagat-svāmī (the Sun), at the town of **Bhīnmāl**⁸ in the **Jālōr** District of western Rājasthān. Some time subsequently, the pillar was set in a *dharma-śālā*, to the north-west of a Śiva temple now locally known as of Chaṇḍīśa-Mahādēva, where it exists to-day.⁹ The inscribed portion measures 19 cms. wide by 24.5 cms. high, and contains ten lines of writing.

The **alphabet** belongs to the twelfth century, but the letters were neither carefully formed nor deeply engraved; and now they are so highly weather-worn that a number of them have to be made out from the traces left and from the context. At three places (in ll. 3, 4 and 7) I had to restore some of them from Jackson's reading. Their average size varies from 2 to 2.5 cms.

The **language** is Sanskrit: and the inscription is entirely in prose, showing inaccuracies concerning language and the technical execution. With reference to **orthography**, the only peculiarities that call for notice are:— the use of the sign of the *avagraha* in l. 7 and of an *anusvāra* which is wrongly put for a final *m* in the end.

¹ Originally ये engraved, later on changed to ये.

² The *aksharas* in rectangular brackets are damaged, leaving only traces. Similarly, the first *akshara* of the preceding name is equally damaged; it is read as कि both by Acharya and Nahar. But it may have been वि, in view of the last letter of the name being ट, which is very clear in the impressions.

³ Rhythm requires the fourth letter in this verse to be long.

⁴ The second *akshara* in the line is corrupt and may be read as त, न or even व. In view of this, the reading appears to be either श्वेत or श्वेन, to be restored to श्वेतत्. But even with this, I am unable to make out any sense out of the latter half of this verse. Should we restore the expression to —खैः श्वेत—, or नखाश्वेत—?

⁵ The bracketed letter which is left here may have been ग, as could be known from the reverse side of the impression; but it is not certain. The whole appears to be a name. The last letter too of this line is damaged.

⁶ The reading of the bracketed letters is not certain, as they are damaged. They were so read both by Acharya and Nahar; but grammatically the construction does not appear to be correct.

⁷ Drop तु for metrical exigencies. The correct form of the name is यशोधर. The impression shows that the letters up to this name in the line are now lost or damaged. They have been adopted here from Jinavijaya's transcript.

⁸ The antiquities of Bhīnmāl are described in *A. S. I. R., W. C.*, for 1907-8, pp. 37-8.

⁹ Information from the Technical Assistant of the Superintending Archaeologist, Baroda.

The inscription is sectarian and its **purpose** is to record that during the reign of the *Mahārāja-putra* Jayatsimha at Śrīmāla, one Aravasāka, a son of Paramahidā, presented one *dramma*, in cash, to Vālākadēva (*i.e.*, Bālārkadēva) and another *dramma* was offered to the same deity by his wife. The **date**, which is mentioned in figures in l. 1, is **Wednesday, the tenth of the dark half of Āśvina of the (Vikrama) year 1239**; and the corresponding Christian date is either **25th August of 1182 A.C.**, or **12th October, 1183 A.C.**¹

The inscription opens with the date which we have seen above, and then records the presents in ll. 2-7. Lines 7-8 also impose one *dramma* to be offered to the deity by some other persons, and ll. 9-10 state that whosoever be the king here (*i.e.*, at Śrīmāla) in future, he should offer one *dramma* annually to the same god.²

Though not a royal record, this is the only inscription which is so far known to reveal the name of Jayatsimha who was ruling over the region around Śrīmāla, or Bhinmāl, in the last quarter of the twelfth century A.C. And though nothing about his family or pedigree is given in the record, the very mention of the locality, which was under the Paramāras of Bhinmāl, unquestionably shows him to be a successor of Kṛishṇarāja, who, as known from the two preceding inscriptions, was ruling there in 1060 and 1067 A.C. It may also be assumed that he was a son of Kṛishṇarāja.

The view that Jayatsimha was a scion of this house is merely tentative, resting on the provenance of the inscription. On the other hand, in his *I. N. I.* (No. 397), D. R. Bhandarkar took him as belonging to the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna branch; and this view is probably based on the evidence of the Sādaḍī inscription of V.S. 1251 (*I. N. I.*, No. 429), mentioning one Jayatsimha as a son of Kēlhaṇa. But we have no evidence to show that Bhinmāl was then included in the Nāḍōl territory. We have also a record of one *Mahārājadhiraṇya* Samarasimha of the Sōnigirā branch of the Chāhamānas, dated in the same year of the present inscription (*I. N. I.*, No. 396), at Jālōr, which is only about 50 kms. north by east of Bhinmāl, which may have then been included in it. Thus, nothing can be definitely said, until fresh evidence is forthcoming.

Jayatsimha, if he was at all a member of this line, was the last of the rulers belonging to this branch of the Paramāra house. His son was Salakha, whose name is known from the *Rāsamālā*.³ but whether he actually occupied the throne is not known from any of the epigraphic records. The above view too is not certain, for on the other hand, we find that the Jālōr Chāhamāna Udayasimha, whose inscriptions bear dates extending from 1205 to 1249 A.C. and whose record dated 1206 A.C. is from Śrīmāla itself, appears to have ended the career of this junior branch of the Paramāras who were powerful in this region for about two centuries. Their career ended almost simultaneously with the other junior branch holding its sway at Jālōr. Thus, the present record belongs to the Chāhamāna house, as actually taken by D. R. Bhandarkar.⁴ Neither of these views, however, is certain, unless it is corroborated from any other evidence.

The only **place-name** mentioned in the inscription in l. 3 is **Śrīmāla**, which is no other than the town of Bhinmāl, as we have so often seen and where the inscription was found.

TEXT⁵

- 1 मिद्धम्⁶ [1*] सं. १२३९ [आ]श्विन वदि १० [वृ(वृ)]धे
2 अद्येह श्री - श्रीमाले महाराज-

¹ Respectively for the *expired* and the *current* Vikrama years, as calculated by F. Kielhorn in his *List of Inscriptions in Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, appx., No. 696. As the day was the same on both the *tithis*, it cannot be ascertained whether the record was put to stone in the *expired* or the *current* year.

² The expression here is "Ye ke' = pi atibhavanti". What is precisely intended is not clear, *ati-bhav* means 'to conquer', and probably what is meant is 'whosoever conquers this region'.

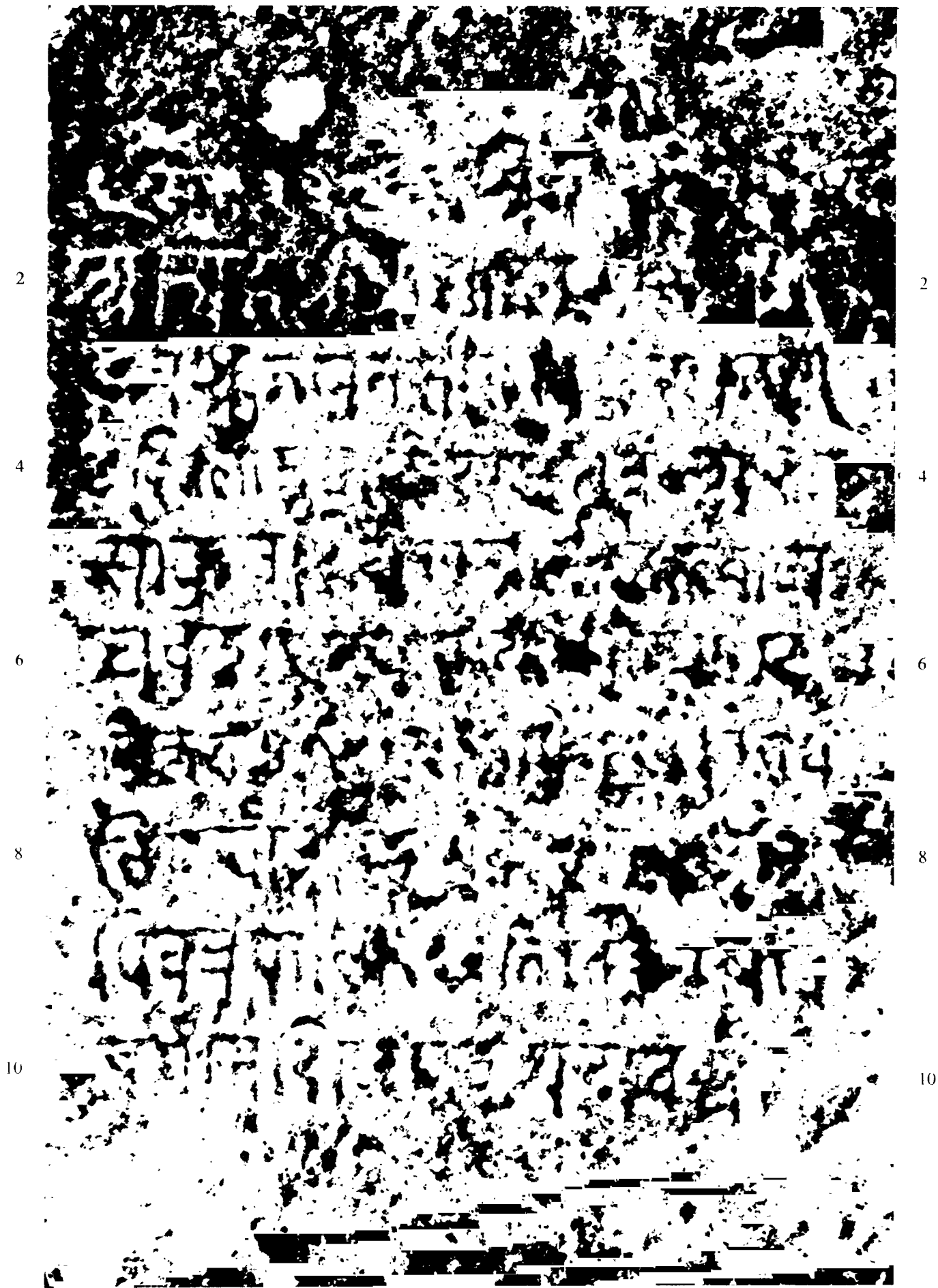
³ By Forbes, edited by Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 202, describing a battle between Jētsī (Jayatsimha), his son Salakha and Prithvirāja III on the one side and the Chaulukya Bhīma II on the other, for the hand of Jayatsimha's daughter Ichchhinikumārī.

⁴ See *I. N. I.*, No. 397.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Denoted by a symbol. Of the figures that follow, those of thousand and hundred are damaged and the first of these is engraved as joined to the point after सं. What appears between them is only a scratch on the stone.

BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF
JAYATSIMHA: (VIKRAMA) YEAR 1239



From Facsimile

- 3 [पुत्र]श्रीजयतसीहदेवराज्ये ॥¹
 4 गुहिलो [परम]हिदा²-मुत-त०³ अरव-
 5 माकवहियण [वालाक]² देवाय
 6 द्रव(?) द्र०⁴ १ तथा[स्य] भार्या माल्हणदे-
 7 [वी]कृत द्र० १ [1*] ये केऽपि य(च) [अति]भव-
 8 ति तेषां प्रति द्र० वि १ लभ्या(भ्यः।) यः को-
 9 पि [च्छ]⁵ त्रपालो भवति तेन वर्षा[नु]-
 10 वर्ष दिने देवाय दानव्यं(व्यम्) ॥

¹ The *danḍas* are redundant. In his *List* referred to above, Kielhorn read the first two letters in this line as given here and remarked that the original text has perhaps -कुल. But the impression before me shows the traces of *putra* as taken here.

² The bracketed letters are lost and have been restored from Jackson's reading.

³ The impressions show a curve above this letter, suggesting that it may have been त्रि, an abbreviation of त्रिवेदिन्.

⁴ This is an abbreviation of द्रम्म.

⁵ This letter appears to be *ch*, and in view of the following letters we have to read it as च्छ.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMĀRAS OF JĀLŌR

No. 96 ; PLATE XCII

JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪSALA

[Vikrama] Year 1174

THE stone on which this inscription is incised was found, some time in the early years of the present century, by D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent of Archaeology in the Western Circle, and the record was first noticed by him in the *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for 1908-9, p. 54, and then summarised in his *List of Inscriptions of North India*, No. 194. Some time later, the stone was removed to the Sardār Museum, Jodhpur, for preservation, by its Curator Bisheshwar Nath Reu, who published the inscription inscribed on it in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume LXII (for 1933), p. 41, with text in Nāgarī characters and English translation thereof, but without an illustration. The record is edited here from fresh inked impressions prepared and supplied to me, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist, Western Circle, Baroda, from whom I also understand that the stone has now been removed to the Museum at Māndōr, some 90 kms. south-southwest of its original find-spot, where it is exhibited.¹

As stated by both Bhandarkar and Reu in their respective articles noted above, the inscribed stone was fixed in the north cloister of the building called Tōpkhānā or a shed for artillery, which was originally a mosque, at **Jālōr**,² the principal town of a District of the same name in the Jodhpur Division of Rājasthān, about 130 kms. due south of Jodhpur and famous for the strength of its fort in former days. It is a "bulky white stone slab", 56·18 cms. broad and 69·85 cms. high; and the writing covers a space measuring 53·5 cms. broad by 58 cms. high. The stone was originally near a temple and appears to have been fixed in the fort-wall some time later, and it is possible to conjecture that in course of this operation a portion on the right was slightly damaged, as can be known from the loss of one or two letters at the end of ll. 3-5 and the first letter in l. 13. Otherwise, the inscription is in a fair state of preservation. The letters are carefully written and well carved. The **height** of an individual letter varies from 2·5 to 4 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century. The initial *a*, which appears twice in *āsīd-*, l. 3, and *Āshāḍha*, l. 13, begins with a dome-shaped curve; the subscript *ṇ* of the same letter resembles l, as in *pūrṇṇa-*, l. 1; the letters *p* and *y* have often the same form, cf. *putrō = yaṇ*, l. 9, where *p* does not differ from *y*; and *bh* continues its antique form, as in *samabhavat*, l. 5, and *bhūpatēh*, l. 11. The letter *r* is in a transitional stage, often showing its form with a triangular loop in the middle, as in *rāja-*, l. 3, but occasionally, we find it in its old form which is marked by a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle on the left, as in *Paramāra-*, l. 2.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and, excepting the initial *Om* and the portion showing the date in the last line, it is composed in verse. The total number of verses is 5; they are not numbered. In all there are 13 lines of writing. The following **orthographical** peculiarities can be noted: (1) the use of the *prishṭha-mātra* to denote a medial diphthong, excepting in a few instances like *yēna*, l. 10, and *bhaumē*, l. 13; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *pūrṇṇēna*, l. 1; (3) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in two instances only, viz., *Visvāmitraṇ*, l. 1 and *Sindhurājēsvarē*, l. 12; and (4) the change of a final *m* to *anusvāra* at the end of a hemistich, in two instances, viz., *nūnaṁ*, l. 7 and *kṛitaṁ*, l. 12.

¹ Since this article was written, the inscription has been edited by Dr. G. S. Gai in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 222 ff.

² For the history and antiquities of Jālōr see *A. S. I. R., W. C.* for 1909-10, pp. 54 ff.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that Mēlaradēvī, queen of the king **Visala** of the **Paramāra** family, furnished the temple of Sindhurājēśvara with a golden cupola (ll. 11-12), on the **fifth day of the bright half of Āshāḍha in Saṃvat 1174**, on **Tuesday** which must be referred to the Vikrama era and which corresponds to **25th June, 1118 A.C.**¹

The record commences with the familiar legend relating to the creation of the **Paramāra** ruling house by Vasishṭha, from his sacrificial fire (ll. 1-2), and then gives the names of the rulers of the family to which Visala belonged. The first of these names is that of **Vākpatirāja**, and he is stated to have been followed, in succession, by **Chandana, Dēvarāt, Aparājita, Vijjala, Dhārāvarsha** and **Visala**, each of these kings being mentioned as the son and successor of his predecessor. The inscription then ends with the date, which we have just seen. It may also be mentioned here that the record does not contain any invocatory or imprecatory verse, nor does it mention anything about the achievement of any of the rulers.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals a new Paramāra house, with its capital at Jālōr where it was discovered, and the reference to its origin from the fire-pit of Vasishṭha goes to indicate that it was related to the main house of the Paramāras of Mālava or to any other branch. As we have just seen, the first name mentioned in the record is that of Vākpatirāja; and counting back from V.S. 1174 when the present record was put to stone and allotting twenty years to each of the six generations, D. B. Bhandarkar concluded that the Paramāra family had been reigning at Jālōr since 120 years before V.S. 1174, i.e., since V.S. 1054 or 997 A.C., and this is approximately the time when Vākpati-Muñja, the well-known Paramāra ruler of Mālwa, closed his reign.² This ruler, as we know not only from the Paramāra court-poet Parimala³ but also from the Kauthēm grant of the Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, a verdict of the third party, in his long-drawn war with the Chāhamānas of Nāḍōl, who succeeded in snatching from them a part of their region around Jālōr; and we also know that he placed his son Chandana in charge of this newly conquered region. Since then this subordinate house founded by Chandana was ruling over this territory, with Jālōr as the seat of its government as can be known from the find of the present inscription at that place.

The view expressed above, however, is not conclusive to establish a family connection between the two houses. As against it, for example, it may be pointed out that we have no evidence to show that Vākpati had a son of the name of Chandana whom he placed in charge of this territory; and accordingly, the Vākpati of the present inscription cannot be identified with his namesake who flourished in the imperial Paramāra house. Thus nothing can be definitely said unless we get more material to enlighten us on the point.

The temple of Sindhurājēśvara is not in existence now; but as suggested by Reu,⁴ it was probably built by Sindhurāja, the founder of the Paramāra house of Ābū, however, we cannot here preclude the possibility of its construction by the ruler of the same name and a younger brother of Vākpati-Muñja himself who flourished in the closing years of the tenth century and thus much before the time of the present inscription.

It may also be noted here that the present one is the only record found so far of this branch of the Paramāras. How long this house continued to hold this region is not known, but in V.S. 1218 or some time earlier we find Kīrttipāla, the youngest son of the Nāḍōl Chāhamāna Ālhaṇa, transferring his capital from Nāḍōl to this place:

No **place-name** occurs in the inscription.

¹ Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 41.

² *A. S. I. R., W. C.*, 1908-09, p. 54. Also see *D. H. N. I.* Vol. II, pp. 924 f. D. C. Ganguly, working on different lines, assumed V. S. 1174 or 1117 A.C. as the year of accession of Visala, and assigning 25 years to each of the preceding generations, calculated 972 A.C., which is almost the same time when Vākpati-Muñja began to rule. Both the calculations support each other. Thus Vākpati, the first Paramāra ruler mentioned in the present inscription is the same as the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa, and not different, as Reu states while editing the inscription in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 41. G. H. Ojha also shares Reu's views. See *History of Rājputana* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 182. But this view is not now tenable, as already shown above.

³ For *Parimala*, see *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 173; the Kauthēm grant, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 23, text lines 41-42.

⁴ In his article, *op. cit.*, p. 41, n. 1.

⁵ *H. P. D.*, p. 344.

TEXT¹[Metres: Verses 1 and 3 *Āryā*; v. 2 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 ओं² [1] जेतुं विस्वा(श्वा)मित्रं वशिष्ठमुनिनातिकोपपूर्णं [1*]
- 2 परमारणाय जनितः कुंडे नेनैव परमारः [11911*]
- 3 आसीद्वाक्पतिराजनामनृपतिः श्रीपारमारा[न्वये]³
- 4 तत्पुत्रोजनि चंदना(नो)वनिपतिः⁴ तन्नन्दनो देव[राट्] [1*]
- 5 तत्पुत्रस्त्वपराजितः समभवत्प्रौढप्रतापः सुधीः⁵
- 6 पुत्रोभूदपराजितस्य विजयी श्रीविज्जलो भूपतिः⁶ [11211*]
- 7 सेनानीरिव⁷ शंभोः प्रद्युम्न इवाथ वा हरेर्द्विनं(नम्)? [1*]
- 8 दक्षो वाम्बु(म्बु)जसूते⁸ धारावर्षो नराधिपतिः 11[311*]
- 9 धारावर्षस्य पुत्रोयं जातो वीसलभूपतिः 11(1)
- 10 येन भूमंडलीकानां धर्ममार्गोत्तं दर्शितः 11[411*]
- 11 राज्ञी मेलरदेव्या तु पत्नी⁹ वीसलभूपतेः 11(1)
- 12 सौवर्णं कलसं मूर्द्धनि सिधुराजेस्व(श्व)रे कृ¹⁰तं(तम्) 11[511*]
- 13 [स]वत् ११७४ आषाढ सु(शु)दि ५ भौमे 11¹¹



¹ From ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ प is changed to पा for the sake of the metre.

⁴ The *sandhi* is not made here, as required by rules.

⁵ Reu: न्वयं (यम्).

⁶ The *visarga* shows three dots here.

⁷ After the third letter in this line there is a vacant space for two letters. The figures of speech in this verse leave no doubt to conclude that Dhārāvarsha was the son of Vijjala.

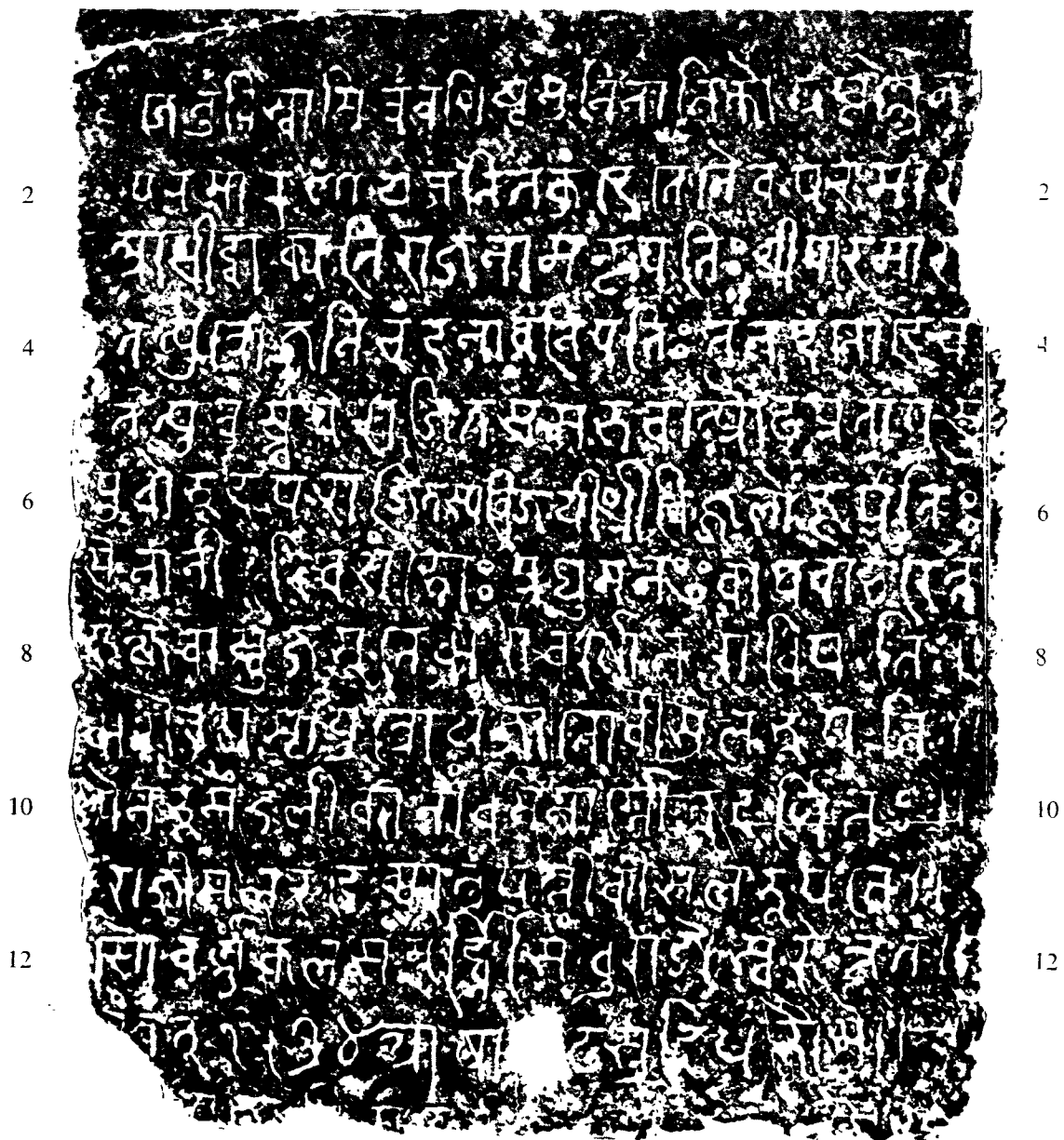
⁸ Daksha was born of one who had himself his birth in a lotus, i.e., Brahmā.

⁹ Probably some other letter was originally formed here. The words राज्ञी and पत्नी are to be changed to the third case, to be connected with कृतम् in the next line.

¹⁰ The formation of this letter is rather peculiar.

¹¹ Some traces below show that at least one more line was there, originally, probably giving the name of the poet and the engraver.

JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪSALA:
(VIKRAMA) YEAR 1174



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